**CHAPTER 19: IMMIGRATION, URBANIZATION, AND EVERYDAY LIFE, 1860-1900**

* While the middle and upper classes prospered, immigrants, farmers, and the urban working classes – the majority of the population – improved their families’ economic position only slowly and slightly.

EVERYDAY LIFE IN FLUX: THE NEW AMERICAN CITY

* Cities grew dramatically from 1870 to 1900.
* The late nineteenth century thus witnessed an intense struggle to control the city and benefit from its economic and cultural potential.

### Migrants and Immigrants

* Many rural people flocked to cities because of the promise of good wages and diverse jobs.
* Many immigrants came as well, with the Germans leading the way.
* Many of these immigrants had been forced out of their home countries by overpopulation, crop failure, famine, religious persecution, violence, or industrial depression.
* Many came voluntarily to look for better wages.
* Immigrants had to pass a physical and then had their names recorded, sometimes their names were changed to anglicize them.
* ELLIS ISLAND and ANGEL ISLAND – processing centers of immigrants. They exchanged foreign currency for US dollars, and arranged lodging.
* Most Germans and Scandinavians went to the Midwest because they generally had more money. The Irish and Italians primarily stayed on the East Coast.

### Adjusting to an Urban Society

* Immigrants tended to settle where other immigrants from the same nation settled.
* Some immigrants who were familiar with customs and could speak English had an easier time getting along here.
* Irish immigrants were facilitated in the mainstream by dominating Democratic Party politics and controlling the hierarchy of the Catholic Church in NY, Chicago, and Boston.
* Immigrants from the same home country forged a new sense of ethnic distinctiveness as Irish-American, German-American, or Jewish-American that helped them downplay internal division, compete for political power, and eventually assimilate into mainstream society.
* Some immigrants made enough money here to return home – mostly Italians and Chinese
* All immigrant groups faced increasing hostilities from white native-born Americans who not only disliked the newcomers’ social customs but also feared their growing influence.
* Fearing the loss of privileges and status that were associated with their white skin color, native-born whites began to stigmatize immigrants as racially inferior, even when they were of the same race. Only gradually did they become to be considered white.

### Slums and Ghettos

* People were crowded together and discrimination played a role.
* Children also had it tough with the amount of disease spreading and there was a high infant mortality rate.
* Many of these slums were in close proximity to factories, so they had to deal with the noise and pollution as well.
* Most immigrants stayed there until they could afford to move out. Blacks had a difficult time because they were stuck with the worst jobs.
* Blacks were shut out and they weren’t given opportunities
* W.E.B. DUBOIS – a black sociologist, pointed out in *The Philadelphia Negro* (1899), wealthy black entrepreneurs within these neighborhoods built their own churches, ran successful businesses, and established charitable organizations to help their people.

### Fashionable Avenues and Suburbs

* Cities also had wealthy people.
* But, wealthy people started to move farther away out of the cities (suburbs) to get away from the tenement houses.
* Middle-class city-dwellers followed the precedents set by the wealthy.
* They also began to move just outside of the city limits
* In time, a pattern of informal residential segregation by income.
* This new system heightened ethnic, racial, and class divisions.

MIDDLE –CLASS SOCIETY AND CULTURE

* How did people rationalize this disparity and wealth?
* Separate spheres: women were to be the driving moral force and men were to engage in the self-disciplined industrial order.

### Manners and Morals

* The Victorian worldview rested on two assumptions (1830s and 1840s this began to emerge).
* 1. People could improve themselves.
* 2. Social value of work. Self-discipline and self-control would help advance the progress of the nation.
* They also stressed good manners and the value of literature and fine arts. This marked a truly civilized society.
* It was rarely followed, but it was an ideal that was widely preached as the norm for all society.
* The Victorian code – with its emphasis on morals, manners, and proper behavior – thus served to heighten the sense of class differences for the post-Civil War generation.
* This simply widened the gap that income disparities had already opened.

### The Cult of Domesticity

* From the 1840s on many promoters of the CULT OF DOMESTICITY – had idealized the home as “the women’s sphere.”
* Women could express their special maternal gifts, including sensitivity toward children and an aptitude for religion.
* During the 1880s and 1890s a new obligation was added to her duties of the household: to foster an artistic movement that would nurture her family’s cultural improvement.
* Middle and upper class women spent a great deal of time decorating their households.
* Not all women did this, but many did.
* By the 1880s and 1890s many women sought outlets such as settlement house work and social reform.

### Department Stores

* A key agent in modifying attitudes about consumption was the department store.
* ROWLAND H. MACY in NY and JOHN WANAMAKER, and MARSHALL FIELD built giant department stores that changed the way people shopped.
* They advertised “rock-bottom” prices and engaged in price wars.
* They also had end of the season sales to get rid of inventory.
* Shopping became a form of entertainment.

### The Transformation of Higher Education

* Wealthy capitalists gained status by donating to colleges or starting their own, as in the case of Leland Stanford.
* The classroom experience but also social contacts and athletics helped to prepare men for the world.
* Football began in 1869 from rugby.
* By 1900 college football was well ingrained.
* More than 150 new colleges and universities were founded between 1880 and 1900, and enrollments more than doubled.
* Many of the state universities of the Midwest were financed largely through public funds generated from state sales of public land under the MORRILL LAND GRANT ACT (1862).
* Many colleges were also founded by religious denominations.
* By 1900 graduate medical education had been placed on a firm professional foundation. Similar reform happened in architecture, engineering, and law.
* Research universities began to emerge. The new conception of higher education laid the groundwork for the central role that America’s universities would play in the intellectual, cultural, and scientific life of the twentieth century.
* College attendance was still the exception.

WORKING-CLASS POLITICS AND REFORM

* As the upper and middle classes had elegant places to go. The working class turned to saloons and dance halls. The late nineteenth century witnessed an ongoing battle to eradicate social drinking, reform “boss” politics, and curb lower-class recreational activities.

### Political Bosses and Machine Politics

* A new kind of politician emerged
* BOSS – who listened to his urban constituents and lobbied to improve their lot. He presided over the city’s MACHINE – an unofficial political organization designed to keep a particular party or faction in office.
* Local ward or precinct captains assisted them, and they wielded enormous power/influence in the city’s government.
* Typified by TAMANY HALL – the Democratic organization that dominated NYC from the 1830s to 1930s
* It rewarded its friends and punished its enemies through its control of taxes, licenses, and inspections.
* It gave tax breaks to favored contractors in return for large payoffs and slipped them insider information about upcoming street and sewer projects.
* At the neighborhood level, the ward boss often acted as a welfare agent, helping the needy and protecting the troubled.
* It was important that their constituents viewed them as generous.
* It entangled urban social services with corrupt politics and often prevented city government from responding to the real problems of the city’s neediest inhabitants.
* Under NYC’s boss WILLIAM MARCY TWEED, the TAMMANY HALL MACHINE revealed the slimy depths to which extortion and contract padding could sink.
* Between 1869 and 1871, Tweed gave $50,000 to the poor and $2,250,000 to schools, orphanages, and hospitals. In these same years, his machine dispensed 60,000 patronage positions and pumped up the city’s debt by $70 million through graft (getting money dishonestly) and inflated contracts.
* Convicted of fraud and extortion, he was sentenced to jail in 1873. He served 2 years, escaped to Spain, was re-apprehended and re-incarcerated, and died in jail in 1878.
* By the turn of the century the urban elite was challenging bosses.
* They worked more with civic organizations and reform leagues – the result: new sewer and transportation systems, expanded parklands, and improved public services – a record of considerable accomplishment, given the magnitude of the problems created by urban growth.

### Battling Poverty

* Most early reformers saw immigrants as lacking self-discipline and self-control.
* They often turned their campaigns to help the destitute into missions to Americanize the immigrants and eliminate customs that they perceived as offensive and self-destructive.
* They first focused on children because they said they were more impressionable.
* CHARLES LORING BRACE – founded the New York Children’s Aid Society in 1853. He established dormitories, reading rooms, and workshops where the boys could learn practical skills, he also sent orphans to families in the country to work in the fields.
* YOUNG MEN’S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION (YMCA) – provided housing and recreation.
* YOUNG WOMEN’S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION (YWCA) – provided housing and a day nursery for women and their children.
* Both organizations subjected their members to curfews and expelled them for drinking and other forbidden behavior.

### New Approaches to Social Work

* SALVATION ARMY – a church established it, in 1865 they sent volunteers to the US to provide shelter, food, and temporary employment for families.
* They ran soup kitchens and day nurseries and dispatched its “slum brigades” to carry the message of morality to the immigrant poor.

### The Moral-Purity Campaign

* Prostitution soared after the Civil War.
* In the 1880s saloons, tenements, and cabarets, often controlled by political machines, hired prostitutes of their own.
* Although immigrant women did not appear to have made up the majority of big0city prostitutes, reformers often labeled them as the major source of the problem.
* In 1892, brothels, along with gambling dens and saloons, became targets for the reform efforts of New York minister CHARLES PARKHURST.
* He blamed Tammany Hall and the police of the city.
* The purity campaign lasted scarcely three years. The reform coalition quickly fell apart.
* Cities were too big to stop the spread of all the societal ills that existed.

### The Social Gospel

* WILLIAM S. RAINSFORD, the Irish-born minister of NYC’s Saint George’s Episcopal Church, pioneered the development of the so-called institutional church movement.
* Large downtown churches would provide social services as well as a place to worship. He organized a boys’ club, built church recreational facilities for the destitute, and established an industrial training program.
* SOCIAL GOSPEL MOVEMENT launched in the 1870s by Washington Gladden. He insisted that true Christianity commits men and women to fight social injustice wherever it exists.
* It all attracted a few people.

### The Settlement-House Movement

* JANE ADDAMS – an early advocate of the settlement house movement. She opened HULL HOUSE – the first experiment in the settlement house approach.
* She turned it into a social center for recent immigrants. They did a variety of activities to help these women.
* They pressured politicians to enforce sanitation regulations.
* By 1895 at least 50 settlement houses had opened in cities around the nation.
* Settlement houses functioned as a supportive sisterhood of reform through which they developed skills in working with municipal governments.
* Many veterans of the settlement houses would draw on their experience to play an influential role in the Progressive Era.
* They gave hope that problems in cities could be overturned.
* They had mixed success. Although many immigrants appreciated the resources and activities, they felt that the reformers were uninterested in increasing their political power.

WORKING-CLASS LEISURE IN THE IMMIGRANT CITY

* In colonial time, preachers linked leisure time with “idleness”
* After the Civil War, new patterns of leisure and amusement emerged, most notably among the working class.

### Streets, Saloons, and Boxing Matches

* Urban working class needed recreation.
* The streets were a form of leisure; they had peddlers and organ grinders.
* Gymnastics clubs and singing societies provided championship and the opportunity to perpetuate old world custom, especially for the Germans. Mostly for males.
* Saloons were popular. Some were good. But the seedier ones had crime and prostitution. This was a strong cry for temperance reformers.
* For working-class men, bare-knuckled fighting became popular.

### The Rise of Professional Sports

* In the 1960s baseball took its modern form.
* By the 1890s baseball had become big business.
* The working class, in particular, took the game to heart.
* Baseball pulled the largest crowds, but horse racing and boxing were also popular.

### Vaudeville, Amusement Parks, and Dance Halls

* Vaudeville performances offered a succession of acts, all designed for mass appeal. They usually opened with a trained animal routine or a dance number, followed by a musical interlude, then comic skits, more musical numbers and acts by ventriloquists, pantomime, and magicians, the program ended with a “flash” finale such as flying trapeze artists.
* The popularity of blackface vaudeville acts reinforced white racial solidarity and strengthened the expanding wall separating whites and African –Americans.
* CONEY ISLAND – prototype of the urban amusement park. You could dance, ride through the tunnel of love, go down the roller coaster, or watch bell y dancers at the sideshows.
* These were great places for working class women to meet men, dance, and share fashion ideas and tips.

### Ragtime

* The middle class preferred hymns or songs with a moral lesson.
* The working class delighted in ragtime – which originated in the 1880s with black musicians in the saloons and brothels of the South and Midwest and was played strictly for entertainment.
* It used syncopated rhythms and complex harmonies, but it blended these with marching-band musical structures to create a distinctive style.
* Part of its popularity came from its origin in brothels and its association with blacks, who were widely stereotyped in the 1890s as sexual, sensual, and uninhibited by the rigid Victorian social conventions that restricted whites.
* It was a mixed blessing for blacks. It testified to the achievements of black composers like, Scott Joplin helped break down the barriers faced by blacks in the music industry, and contributed to a spreading rebellion against the repressiveness of Victorian standards.
* IT also helped to confirm stereotypes and helped to justify segregation and discrimination.

CULTURES IN CONFLICT

* By 1900 the Victorian social and moral ethos was crumbling on every front.

### The Genteel Tradition and Its Critics

* SAMUEL LONGHORN CLEMENS, MARK TWAIN - explored new forms of fiction and worked to broaden its appeal to the general public – away from Victorian ideals.
* Many writers shared skepticism about literary conventions and an intense desire to understand the society around them and portray it in words.
* Twain sought a mass audience. He would lecture from coast to coast, founded his own publishing house, and used door-to-door salesmen to sell his books.
* Twain and Dreiser broke decisively with the genteel tradition’s emphasis on manners and decorum.
* The publication of social scientists, coupled with the economic depression and seething labor agitation of the 1890s, made it increasingly difficult for turn-of –the-century middle class Americans to accept the smug, self-satisfied belief in progress and gentility that had been a hallmark of the Victorian outlook.

### Modernism in Architecture and painting

* Chicago architects followed the lead of LOUIS SULLIVAN – who argued that a building’s form should follow its function.
* They looked to modernism – not European models.
* FRANK LLOYD WRIGHT’S - “prairie-school” houses, broke from bulky Victorian houses.

### From Victorian Lady to New Woman

* FRANCES WILARD – devoted her energies full-time to the temperance cause. Five years later she was elected president of the newly formed WOMEN’S CHRISTIAN TEMPERANCE UNION (WCTU).
* She believed the domestication of politics would protect the family and improve public morality.
* She expanded WCTU work to welfare work, prison reform, labor arbitration, and public health.
* It became the largest organization of women. Through it, women gained experience as lobbyists, organizers, and lecturers, in the process undercutting the assumption of “separate spheres”
* Women also had clubs were they could do these things.
* Colleges began to accept women.
* Initially universities taught them domestic duties. But participation in college organizations, athletics, and dramatics enabled female students to learn traditionally “masculine strategies for gaining power.
* It allowed them to compete on a more equal basis with men.
* Victorian constraints were further lessened at the end of the century when a bicycling vogue swept urban America.
* Victorians did not like exercising – they thought that a woman should not sweat.
* There was a rise in the divorce rate from 1880 to 1900.
* Although many women were seeking more independence and control over their lives, most still viewed the home as their primary responsibility.

### Public Education as an Arena of Class Conflict

* WILLIAM TORREY HARRIS – wanted children to spend more time in schools. He wanted them to learn punctuality and civic responsibility.
* Harris and others elaborated a philosophy of public education stressing punctuality, centralized administration, compulsory-attendance laws, and a tenure system to insulate teachers from political favoritism and parental pressure.
* By 1900 31 states required school attendance of all children from 8-14.
* They system was seen as memorization and prison like discipline.
* However, illiteracy rates dropped. High school was also coed, and girls made up the majority of the students by 1900.
* Many immigrants pulled their children from school once they learned hoe to read and write.
* Catholic immigrants objected to the overwhelmingly Protestant orientation of the public schools.
* So, they set up parochial school systems.
* Wealthy people sent their children to private academies.
* The US created diverse system of locally run public and private institutions that allowed each segment of society to retain some influence over the schools attended by their own children.
* Enrollment did increase.