**The 1894 Pullman Strike Chicago's Daily Papers Report the News**

The Pullman Strike had begun in May 1894 as a peaceful labor protest against a single Chicago employer. On its face, there was nothing remarkable about his particular social strike against the Pullman Palace Car Company. Though all labor strikes were illegal in the United States, that fact did not silence the thousands of U.S. workers' protests staged in the three decades following the Civil War. The Pullman strike might have erupted and been put down like countless others. But uniquely combustible conditions in the early summer of 1894 ignited the local Pullman strike, causing it to explode first into a national boycott of more than twenty railroads and then into a violent confrontation between the federal government, the railroad companies, and American workers. A singular mix of employer intransigence , government aggression, worker bitterness, and general economic desperation transformed the Pullman strike into a pivotal event, galvanizing debates in America over the rights of employers and workers m an



industrialized democracy and over the role of government in labor disputes.

Long before the strike, the Pullman Palace Car Company and its president, George Pullman, were famous. Pullman had perfected the passenger rail car providing comfortable seats and sleeper cars to the traveling public in the 1870s and 1880s. Pullman's cars were so popular and his business dealings so shrewd that by 1890 three-quarters of the nation's railroads were under contract to carry only Pullman Company passenger cars, and the brand name "Pullman" had become synonymous with "passenger cars." In addition to the fame of his product, George Pullman was well-known for creating the "model" industrial town of Pullman, Illinois, just fifteen miles south of Chicago.

Some observers admired Pullman town's array of fourteen hundred red brick rental units, which ranged from boardinghouses and two­ bedroom tenements to four-bedroom homes. Others praised its modem systems of water, gas, and sewage.

Some, however, criticized Pullman's town for its lack of elected government and the paternalistic nature of the company-owned schoolhouse, shopping "arcade", library (where borrowers had to pay a member's fee), and hotel - the fanciest place in town and the only place where alcoholic beverages could be sold. Still others worried that Mr. Pullman owned the only church building in town and set the rent too high for working-class congregations . But George Pullman was firm on the subject of rent in Pullman town: this real estate endeavor was no charity. Investors in the Pullman Land Association were assured of a steady 5 percent return on their shares in the town .

Pullman workers experienced both boom and bust in the year before their strike. The World's Columbian Exposition was staged in Chicago in 1893 to celebrate American industrial progress, and "the Fair" momentarily stimulated full employment and high wages in Pullman town. But a stock market crash in New York that same year led to the bankruptcy ofl 6,000

###### businesses nationwide - including hundreds of railroads.



In the town of Pullman itself, the depression caused layoffs, wage cuts, and increased resentment over the company 's housing policies . During the Fair's boom time, less than 40 percent of the 4,500 Pullman workers had chosen to live in the company town. Most chose to live in neighboring towns, with lower rents, greater independence, and the opportunity to buy their own home. When the depression began, the Pullman company laid off workers, cut wages by as much as 40 percent, and then gave rehiring preference to workers who took up residence in Pullman town, where the rents (unlike the wages) had not been reduced at all. Bitterness over these practices grew because management salaries did not decline during the depression and because stockholders' guaranteed dividends of 8 percent were not reduced. That bitterness caused the Pullman workers to join the American Railway Union (ARU) early in 1894 and culminated in a strike vote in May, after George Pullman and his managers refused to negotiate with the union.

The minute Pullman workers affiliated with the American Railway Union, their local labor conflict became part of a national struggle within the railway industry, the most important arm of transport and travel in the United States in the late nineteenth century. On one side of the struggle, the railroad owners affiliated in voluntary collectives like the General Managers' Association (GMA), which represented the twenty-four railroads with terminals in Chicago. GMA members secretly set wage scales and work rules for its lines and negotiated with a few craft unions of highly skilled workers while agreeing to blacklist all workers who attempted to fonn industry-wide unions. On the other side of the struggle was the ARU, a brand-new, national "industrial" union in which skilled, semiskilled, and unskilled railroad workers formed one industry-wide association. Railway owners feared the potential power of the ARU, which first appeared in 1893 and claimed 150,000 members by 1894. Just weeks before the Pullman strike began, the ARU won a strike against the Great Northern Railroad , and the members of the GMA understood that, on the field of labor,

this new, industry-wide union was the player to beat.

The ARU, led by its charismatic president, Eugene V. Debs, gathered for its national convention in Chicago in late June 1894. The Pullman strike had been underway for six weeks, and the company had refused all invitations to arbitrate the dispute. At that moment, public sympathy lay with the workers, who appeared to be battling a stubborn, paternalistic employer. Debs and the ARU hoped for a great victory by refusing to handle any Pullman cars on the railway lines, thereby forcing George Pullman to the negotiating table. Members of the GMA saw the situation differently. The railway owners hoped for a victory over the ARU by insisting that their lines were contract-bound to carry Pullman cars and they would have to cease all service if workers would not attach Pullman cars to their trains. The GMA was betting that public sympathy would shift its way if the ARU appeared to be threatening America's vital arteries of trade and travel.

This showdown on the railroads lasted from June 26 to July 10, but those tow weeks brought a bloody end to both the national boycott and the

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###### local Pullman strike. During the first week of the showdown, close to 100,000 railway workers refused to handle Pullman cars and 24 railways refused to run trains without Pullman cars. Even Eugene Debs was stunned by the strength and speed of the strike, which revealed railway workers' anger at their own employers as much as it showed support for Pullman workers. The ARU work stoppage tied up lines across the country. During that first week, vital trade arteries in 27 seven states were stalled and snarled, which meant delays and disruptions for travelers, manufactured goods, fuel, livestock, produce, and - most importantly -the U.S. mail.

During the second week of the showdown, control of events shifted

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###### Moreover, the highest officials in the administration favored the railroads in this conflict since those officials had worked as lawyers for railroad companies, and the federal government in 1894 had no formal mechanism for mediating disputes between labor and management. For all of these reasons, no one in the White House viewed arbitration of the strike as an option. Instead, on July 2, a federal judge issued sweeping injunctions forbidding the ARU from interfering with rail service, from interrupting mail service, or from inducing workers to cease working for the railroads. Working in cooperation with the GMA, the U.S. Attorney General's office effectively declared all ARU activity to be illegal.

It then dispatched over 16,000 federal

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###### the ARU could control the outcome. Fifty-one people died and ove·r 500 were arrested in street skirmishes. In the end, none of the violence occurred in Pullman town and only a handful of those arrested for violence were ARU members, but 71 union leaders - including Eugene Debs -were arrested on July 10 and charged with violating the federal injunctions. With it leaders in jail and troops on the streets, ARU members could not sustain their boycott and Pullman workers could not sustain their strike. By July 19, the trains were running and the Pullman Palace Car Company was ready to hire anyone who pledged not to join a umon.

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**How the Other Half Lives** (1890) by Jacob Riis



**Introduction**

The rapid growth of industrialization in the United States of the 1880s created an intense need for labor. The flood of tens of thousands of people- most of them immigrants- to northeastern cities created a housing problem of major proportions. Landlords, rushing to realize quick profits,persisted in subdividingtheir apartments into ever smaller units, forcing the poor into increasingly overcrowded living conditions.

In the late 1880s,Jacob Riis,himself a Danish immigrant, began writing articles for the *New York Sun* that described the realities of life in New York City's slums. Riis was one of the first reporters to use flash photography, allowing him to take candid photos of living conditions among the urban poor.In 1890, he published *How the Other Half Lives,* illustrated with line drawings based on his photographs. Riis's work helped spark a new approach to reporting called "muckraking" that eventually led to the Progressive Era reform movements to improve these conditions. Here is are 2 excerpts from

Riis's book.



##### Passage:

*Excerpt #1: The tenement is much like the one infront wejust left, only fouler, closer, darker--we will not say more cheerless. The word is a mockery. A hundred thousand people lived in rear tenements in New York last year.*

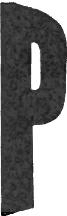
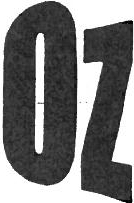
*Here is a room neater than the rest. The woman, a stout matron with hard lines of care in her face, is at the wash-tub. "I try to keep the childer clean," she says, apologetically, but with a hopeless glance around. The spice of hot soapsuds is added to the air already tainted with the smell of boiling cabbage, of rags and uncleanliness all about. It makes an overpowering compound. It is Thursday, but patched linen is hung upon the pulley-line*

*from the window. There is no M onday cleaning in the tenements. It is wash-day all the week round, for a change of clothing is scarce among the poor. They are poverty's honest badge, these perennial lines of rags hung out to dry, those that are not the washerwoman's professional shingle. The true line to be drawn between pau perism and honest poverty is the clothes-line . Withit begins the effort to be clean that is the first and the best evidence of a desire to be honest.*

*Excerpt #2: Bottle Alley is around the corner in Baxter Street; but it is a fair specimen of its kind, wherever found. look into any of these houses, everywhere the same piles of rags, of malodorous bones and musty paper, all of which the sanitary police flatter themselves they have banished to the dumps and the warehouses. Here is a "flat" of "parlor"and two pitch-dark coops called bedrooms. Truly, the bed is all there is roomfor . Thefamily tea­ kettle is on the stove, doing dutyfor the time being as a wash-boiler. By night it will have returned to its pro per use again, a practical illustration of how poverty in "the Bend" makes both ends meet. One, two, three beds are there, if the old boxes and heaps of foul straw can be called by that name; a broken stove with crazy pipe from which the smoke leaks at every joint, a table of rough boards propped up on boxes, piles of rubbish in the corner. The closeness and smell are appalling. How many people sleep here? The woman with the red bandanna shakes her head sullenly, but the bare-legged girl with the brightface counts on herfingers-five , six! "Six, sir!" Six*

*grown people and five children. "Only five,"she says with a smile, swathing the little one on her lap in its cruel bandage. There is another in the cradle-actually a cradle. And how much the rent? Nine and a half, and "please, sir! He won't put the paper on." "He" is the landlord. The "paper"hangs in musty shreds on the wait.*

*Well do I recollect the visit of a health inspector to one of these tenements on a July day when the thermometer outside was climbing high in the nineties; but inside, in that awful room, with half a dozen persons washing, cooking, and sorting rags, lay the dying baby alongside the stove, where the doctor'sthermometer ran up to 115°! Perishing for the want of a breath of fresh air in this city of untold charities!*

**Olitlcsof  **

*This fascinating story of how The Wizard Of Oz might really be a political allegory comes from the Utne Reader, "The Best of the Alternative Press.n Written by Michael Dregni*

## Who would believe that the battle between the gold and the silver standard in turn-of-the-century US politics would make a good plot for a children's fantasy book?



And who would believe that a story as delightful as *The Wizard of Oz* could also have meaning for adults?

In *These Times* (Feb 18, 1987) exposes *Oz* as a parable of populism, the 1890s Midwestern political movement led by William Jennings Bryan . The populists challenged Eastern banks and railroads, which they ··charged with oppressing farmers and industrial workers. Bryan felt that farmers were being

crucified on a cross of gold; a switch to silver backed currency would make money plentiful for all .

*Oz* author L. Frank Baum was a populi st-and also a bit of a fantasizer. As editor of a South Dakota newspaper, he advised poor farmers to feed wood shavings to starving livestock, after fitting the beasts with special green glasses so they would think they were eating grass.

After Bryan 's 1896 bid for the presidency failed, Baum was so moved tow rite the first of his long-running Oz series.



The allegory begins with the title: Oz is short for ounce, the measure for gold. Dorothy, hailing from the populist stronghold of Kansas, represents the common person. The Tin Woodsman is the industrial worker who is rusted solid, referring to the factories shut down in the 1893 depression. The Scarecrow is the farmer who lacks the brains to realize his own political interests. And the Cowardly Lion i-s Bryan himself, with ·a loud orator's roar but little else.

After vanquishing the Wicked Witch of the East (the Eastern banker) Dorothy frees the Munchkins (the little people). With the witch 's silver slippers (the silver standard), Dorothy starts down the Yellow Brick Road (the gold standard) to the Emerald City (Washington) . There the group meets the Wizard

(the President), who, like all good politic ians, appears as whatever people wish to see . When the Wizard is defrocked, the Scarecrow denounces him as a humbug, which is the core of Baum's

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## message, writes Michael A. Genovese in the Minneapolis Star

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*Tribune* (March 22, 1988).

## Dorothy saves the day by dousing the Wicked Witch of the West with water, evoking the drought that was plaguing Midwestern farm at the time . The Wizard flies away in a hot-air balloon, the Scarecrow is left in charge of ·Oz, the Tin Woodsman rules the East, and the Cowadly Lion returns to the forest - Bryan had lost the election.



In the 1939 movie starring Judy Garland, the populist parable lost out to Hollywood escapism, and Dorothy's silver slippers were inexplicably changed to ruby. However, Baum might have applauded the use of black and white film depicting the grim reality of Kansas farm fortunes and color stock or the fantasy world of Oz. And the song "Somewhere Over the Rainbow" suited well the populist dream.

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12/15/2014 Henry Grady Sells the "New South"

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**Henry Grady Sells the "New South"**

### The vision of a "New South" was heralded by southern landowners, entrepreneurs, and newspaper editors in the decades following the Confederacy 's defeat in 1865 and the abolition of racial slavery across the South. These "New South" boosters argued that, with its plantation economy destroyed by the Civil yvar and Reconstruction, the South would develop a new economy more attuned to the industrial capitalism that defined the rest of the American economy. Atlanta *Constitution* editor Henry Grady was the leading exponent of a "New South" based on industrial development, giving speeches throughout the country and writing articles and editorials in his newspaper. Both of the following speeches by Grady­ one given in Boston in 1889, the other in New York in 1886-conveyed not only the message of

industrialization as a panacea , but also Grady's fierce regional pride and his general moderation on racial issues, which were becoming increasingly contentious in these years.



*Henry Grady to the Bay State Club of Boston, I 889*

I attended a funeral once in Pickens county in my State. . . . This funeral was peculiarly sad. It was a poor "one gallus" fellow, whose breeches struck him under the armpits and hit him at the other end about the knee-he didn't believe in *decollete* clothes. They buried him in the midst of a marble quarry: they cut through solid marble to make his grave; and yet a little tombstone they put above him was from Vermont. They buried him in the heart of a pine forest, and yet the pine coffin was imported from Cincinnati. They buried him within touch of an iron mine, and yet the nails in his coffin and the iron in the shovel that dug his grave were imported from Pittsburg . They buried him by the side of the best sheep-grazing country

on the earth, and yet the wool in the coffin bands and the coffin bands themselves were brought from the North. The South didn't furnish a thing on earth for that funeral but the corpse and the hole in the ground. There they put him away and the clods rattled down on his coffin, and they buried him in a New York coat and a Boston pair of shoes and a pair of breeches from Chicago and a shirt from Cincinnati, leaving him nothing to carry into the next world with him to remind him of the country in which he lived, and for which he fought for four years, but the chill of blood in his veins and the marrow in his bones.

Now w'

e have improved on that. We have got the biggest marble-cutting establishment on earth within a

hundred yards of that grave. We have got a half-dozen woolen mills right around it, and iron mines, and iron furnaces, and iron factories. We are coming to meet you. We are going to take a noble revenge, as my friend, Mr. Carnegie, said last night, by invading every inch of your territory with iron, as you invaded ours twenty-nine years ago.



*To the New England Club in New York, 1886*

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### We have established thrift in city and country. We have fallen in love with work. We have restored comfort to homes from which culture and elegance never departed. We have let economy take root and spread among us as rank as the crabgrass which sprung from Sherman 's cavalry camps, until we are ready to lay odds on the Georgia Yankee as he manufactures relics of the battlefield in a one-story shanty and squeezes pure olive oil out of his cotton seed, against any down-easter that ever swapped wooden nutmegs for flannel sausage in the valleys of Vermont. Above all, we know that we have achieved in these "piping times of peace" a fuller independence for the South than that which our fathers sought to win iJ?. the forum by their eloquence or compel in the field by their swords.

It is a rare privilege , sir, to have had part, however humble, in this work. Never was nobler duty confided to human hands than the uplifting and upbuilding of the prostrate and bleeding South-misguided , perhaps, but beautiful in her suffering, and honest, brave and generous always. In the record of her social, industrial and political illustration we await with confidence the verdict of the world.

But what of the negro? Have we solved the problem he presents or progressed in honor and equity toward solution? Let the record speak to the point. No section shows a more prosperous laboring population than the negroes of the South, none in fuller sympathy with the employing and land-owning class. He shares our school fund, has the fullest protection of our laws and the friendship of our people. Self-interest, as well as honor, demand that he should have this. Our future, our very existence depend upon our working out this problem in full and exact justice. We understand that when Lincoln signed the emancipation proclamation, your victory was assured, for he then committed you to the cause of human

liberty, against which the arms of man cannot prevail-while those of our statesmen who trusted to make slavery the corner-stone of the Confederacy doomed us to defeat as far as they could, committing us to a cause·that reason could not defend or the sword maintain in sight of advancing civilization.



Had Mr. Toombs said, which he did not say, "that he would call the roll of his slaves at the foot of Bunker Hill," he would have been foolish, for he might have known that whenever slavery became entangled in war it must perish, and that the chattel in human flesh ended forever in New England when your fathers-not to be blamed for parting with what didn't pay-sold their slaves to our fathers-not to be praised for knowing a paying thing when they saw it. The relations of the southern people with the negro\_ are close and cordial. We remember with what fidelity for four years he guarded our defenseless women and children, whose husbands and fathers were fighting against his freedom. To his eternal credit be it said that whenever he struck a blow for his own liberty he fought in open battle, and when at last he raised his black and humble hands that the shackles might be struck off, those hands were innocent of wrong against his helpless charges, and worthy to be taken in loving grasp by every man who honors loyalty and devotion . Ruffians have maltreated him, rascals have misled him, philanthropists established

a bank for him, but the South, with the North, protests against injustice to this simple and sincere people. To liberty and enfranchisement is as far as law can carry the negro. The rest must be left to conscience and c9mmon sense. It must be left to those among whom his lot is cast, with whom he is indissolubly connected, and whose prosperity depends upon their possessing his intelligent sympathy and confidence. Faith has been kept with him, in spite of calumnious assertions to the contrary by those who assume to speak for us or by frank opponents. Faith will be kept with him in the future, if the South holds her



reason and integrity.

But have we kept faith with you? In the fullest sense, yes. When Lee surrendered--!don't say when Johnson surrendered, because I understand he still alludes to the time when he met General Sherman last as thetime when he determined to abandon any further prosecution of the strugglwhen Lee surrendered, I say, and Johnson quit, the South became, and has since been, loyal to this Union. We fought hard enough to know that we were whipped, and in perfect frankness accept as final the arbitrament of the sword to which we had appealed. The South found her jewel in the toad's head of defeat. The shackles that had held her in narrow limitations fell forever when the shackles of the negro

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### slave were broken. Under the old regime the negroes were slaves to the South; the South was a slave to the system. The old plantation, with its simple police regulations and feudal habit, was the only type . possible under slavery. Thus was gathered in the hands of a splendid and chivalric oligarchy the substance that should have been diffused among the people, as the rich blood, under certain artificial conditions, is gathered at the heart, filling that with affluent rapture but leaving the body chill and colorless.



The old South rested everything on slavery and agriculture, unconscious that these could neither give nor maintain healthy growth. The new South presents a perfect democracy, the oligarchs leading in the popular movement-a social system compact and closely knitted, less splendid on the surface, but stronger at the core-a hundred farms for every plantation, fifty homes for every palace-and a diversified industry that meets the complex need of this complex age.

The new South is enamored of her new work. Her soul is stirred with the breath of a new life. The light of a grander day is falling fair on her face. She is thrilling with the consciousness of growing power and prosperity. As she stands upright, full-statured and equal among the people of the earth, breathing the keen air and looking out upon the expanded horizon, she understands that her emancipation came because through the inscrutable wisdom of God her honest purpose was crossed, and her brave armies were beaten.



Source: Joel Chandler Harris, *Life of Henry W. Grady* (Cassell Publishing Company, 1890). Reprinted in Paul D. Escott and David R. Goldfield, *Major Problems in the History of the American South,* Vol. II,

### *The New South* (Lexington, Mass.: D.C. Heath and Company, 1990), 71-73.

See Also:"Almost Broken Spirits": Farmers in the New South The South's Recovery: Who Paid the Price of Success?

One African-American Dreams About Rebuilding the South



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[[Chapter 6]] THE LURE OF THE MATERIAL: BEAUTY SPEAKS FOR ITSELF

Theodore Dreiser, S ister Carrie [[Chapter 8]]

Chapter VII

THE LURE OF THE MATERIAL--BEAVTY SPEAKS FOR ITSELF

The true meaning of money yet remains to be popularly explained and comprehended. When each individual realises for himself that this thing primarily stands for and should only be accepted as a moral due--that it should be paid out as honestly stored energy, and not as a usurped privilege--many of our social, religious, and political troubles will have permanently passed. As for Carrie, her understanding of the moral significance of money was the popular understanding, nothing more. The old definition: "Money: something everybody else has and Imust get," would have expressed her understanding of it thoroughly. Some of it she now held in her hand-­ two soft, green ten-dollar bills--and she felt that she was immensely better off for the having of them. It was something that was

power in itself. One of her order of mind would have been content to be cast away upon a desert island with a bundle of money, and only the long strain of starvation would have taught her that in some cases it could have no value. Even then she would have had no conception of the relative value of the thing; her one thought would, undoubtedly, have concerned the pity of having so much power and the inability to use it.

The poor girl thrilled as she walked away from Drouet. She felt ashamed in part because she had been weak enough to take it, but her need .w,as so dire, she was still glad. Now she would have a nice new jacket! Now she would buy a nice pair of pretty button shoes. She would get stockings, too, and a skirt, and, and-- until already, as in the matter of her prospective salary, she had got beyond, in her desires, twice the purchasing power of her bills.

She conceived a true estimate of Drouet. To her, and indeed to all the world, he was a nice, good-hearted man. There was nothing evil in the fellow. He gave her the money out of a good heart--out of a realisation of her want. He would not have given the same amount to a poor young man, but we must not forget that a poor young man could not, in the nature of things, have appealed to him like a poor young girl. Femininity affected his feelings. He was the creature of an inborn desire. Yet no beggar could have caught his eye and said, "My God, mister, I'm starving," but he would gladly have handed out what was considered the proper portion to give beggars and thought no more about it. There would have been no speculation, no philosophising. He had no mental process in him worthy the dignity ' of either of those terms. In his good clothes and fine health, he was a merry, unthinking moth of the lamp. Deprived of his position, and struck by a few of the involved and baffling forces which sometimes play upon man, he would have been as helpless as Carries-as helpless, as non-understanding, as pitiable, if you will, as she.

Now, in regard to his pursuit of women, he meant them no harm, because he did not conceive of the relation which he hoped to hold with them as being harmful. He loved to make advances to women, to have them succumb to his charms, not because he was a cold­ blooded, dark , scheming villain, but because his inborn desire urged him to that as a chief delight. He was vain, he was boastful, he was as·deluded by fine clothes as any silly-headed girl. A truly deep-dyed villain could have hornswaggled him as readily as he could have flattered a pretty shop-girl. His fine success as a salesman lay in his geniality and the thoroughly reputable standing of his house. He bobbed about among men, a veritable bundle of enthusiasm--no power worthy the name of intellect, no thoughts worthy the adjective noble, no feelings long continued in one strain. A Madame Sappho would have called him a pig; a Shakespeare would have said "my merry child"; old, drinking Caryoe thought him a clever, successful businessman. n short, he was as good as his intellect conceived.



The best proof that there was something open and commendable about the man was the fact that Carrie took the money. No deep, sinister soul with ulterior motives could have given her fifteen cents under the guise of friendship. The unintellectual are not so helpless. Nature has taught the beasts of the field to fly when some unheralded danger threatens. She has put into the small, unwise head of the chipmunk the untutored fear of poisons. "He keepeth His creatures whole," was not written of beasts alone. Carrie was unwise, and, therefore , like the sheep in its unwisdom, strong in feeling. The instinct of self-protection, strong in all such natures, was roused but feebly, if at all, by the overtures of Drouet.

When Carrie had gone, he felicitated himself upon her good opinion. By George, it was a shame young girls had to be knocked around like tht. Cold weather coming on and no clothes. Tough. He would go around to Fitzgerald and May's and get a cigar.It made him feel light of foot as he thought about her.

Carrie "reached home in high good spirits, which she could scarcely conceal. The possession of the money involved a number of points which perplexed her seriously. How should she buy any clothes when Minnie knew that she had no money? She had no sooner entered the flat than this point was settled for her.It could not be done. She could think of no way of explaining.

"How did you come out?" asked Minnie, referring to the day.

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Carrie had none of the small deception which could feel one thing and say something directly opposed. She would prevaricate, but it would be in the line of her feelings at least. So instead of complaining when she felt so good, she said:

"I have the promise of something." "Where?"

"At the Boston Store."

* s it sure promised?" questioned Minnie.

"Well, 'm to find out to-morrow," returned Carrie disliking to draw out a lie any longer than was necessary.

Minnie felt the atmosphere of good feeling which Carrie brought with her. She felt now was the time to express to Carrie the state of Hanson's feeling about her entire Chicago venture.

"If you shouldn't get it--" she paused, troubled for an easy way. "If Idon't get something pretty soon, Ithink I'll go home." Minnie saw her chance.

"Sven thinks it might be best for the winter, anyhow."

The situation flashed on Carrie at once. They were unwilling to keep her any longer, out of work. She did not blame Minnie, she did not blame Hanson very much. Now, as she sat there digesting the remark, she was glad she had Drouet's money.

"Yes," she said after a few moments, "I thought of doing that."

She did not explain that the thought, however, had aroused all the antagonism of her nature. Columbia City, what was there for her? She knew its dull, little round by heart. Here was the great, mysterious city which was still a magnet for her. What she had seen only suggested its possibilities. Now to turn back on it and live the little old life out there--she almost exclaimed against the thought.

She had reached home early and went in the front room to think. What could she do? She could not buy new shoes and wear them here. She would need to save part of the twenty to pay her fare home. She did not want to borrow of Minnie for that. And yet, how could she expla in where she even got that money?If she could only get enough to let her out easy .

She went over the tangle again and again. Here, in the morning, Drouet would expect to see her in a new jacket, and that couldn't be. The Hansons expected her to go home, and she wanted to get away, and yet she did not want to go home. In the light of the way they would 1.ook on her getting money without work, the tak ing of it now seemed dreadful. She began to be ashamed. The whole situation depressed her. It was all so clear when she was with Drouet. Now it was all so tangled, so hopeless--much worse than it was before, because she had the semblance of aid in her hand which she could not use.

Her spirits sank so that at supper Minnie felt that she must have had another hard day. Carrie finally decided that she would give the money back. It was wrong to take it. She would go down in the morning and hunt for work. At noon she would meet Drouet as agreed and tell him. At this decision her heart sank, until she was the old Carrie of distress.

Curiously, she could not hold the money in her hand without feeling some relief. Even after all her depressing conclusions, she could sweep away all thought about the matter and then the twenty dollars seemed a wonderful and delightful thing . Ah, money, money, money! What a thing it was to have. How plenty of it would clear away all these troubles.

In the morning she got up and started out a little early. Her decision to hunt for work was moderately strong, but the money in her pocket, after all her troubling over it, made the work question the least shade less terrible. She walked into the wholesale district, but as the thought of applying ca me with each passing concern, her heart shrank. What a coward she was, she thought to herself. Yet she had applied so often. t would be the same old story . She walked on and on, and finally did go into one place,with the old result. She came out feeling that luck was against her.It was no use.

Without much thinking, she reached Dearborn Street. Here was the great Fair store with its multitude of delivery wagons about its long window display, its crowd of shoppers. It readily changed her thoughts, she who was so weary of them. It was here that she had intended to come and get her new things. Now for relief from distress; she thought she would go in and see. She would look at the jackets.

There is nothing in this world more delightful than that middle state in which we mentally balance at times, possessed of the means, lured by desire, and yet deterred by conscience or want of decision. When Carrie began wandering around the store amid the fine displays she was in this mood. Her original experience in this same place had given her a high opinion of its merits. Now she paused at each individual bit of finery, where before she had hurried on. Her woman's heart was warm with desire for them. How would she look in this, how charming that would make her! She came upon the corset counter and paused in rich reverie as she noted the dainty concoctions of colour and lace there displayed. If she would only make up her mind, she could have one of those now. She lingered in the jewelry department. She sa w the earrings, the bracelets, the pins, the chains. What would she not have given if she could have

had them all! She would look fine too, if only she had some of these things .

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The jac;:kets were the greatest attraction. When she entered the store, she already had her heart fixed upon the peculiar little tan jacket with large mother-of-pearl buttons which was all the rage that fall. Still she delighted to convince herself that there was nothing she would like better. She went about among the glass cases and racks where these things were displayed, and satisfied herself that the one she thought of was the proper one. All the time she wavered in mind, now persuading herself that she could buy it right away if she chose, now recalling to herself the actual condition. At last the noon hour was dangerously near, and she had done nothing. She must go now and return the money.

Drouet was on the corner when she came up.

"Hello," he said, "where is the jacket and"--looking down--"the shoes?"

Carrie had thought to lead up to her decision in some intelligent way, but this swept the whole fore-schemed situation by the board. "I came to tell you that--that Ican't take the money."

"Oh, that's it, is it?" he returned. "Well, you come on with me. Let's go over here to Partridge's."

Carrie walked with him. Behold, the whole fabric of doubt and impossibility had slipped from her mind. She could not get at the points that were so serious, the things she was going to make plain to him.

"Have you had lunch yet? Of course you haven't. Let's go in here," and Drouet turned into one of the very nicely furnished restaurants off State Street, in Monroe.

"I mustn't take the money," said Carrie, aer they were settled in a cosey corner, and Drouet had ordered the lunch. "I can't wear those things out there. They--they wouldn't know where Igot them."

"What do you want to do," he smiled, "go without them?" "I think I'll go home," she said, wearily .

"Oh, come," he said, "you've been thinking it over too long. 'll tell you what you do. You say you can't wear them out there. Why don't you rent a furnished room and leave them in that for a week?"

Carrie shook her head. Like all women, she was there to object and be convinced. It was for him to brush the doubts away and clear the path if he could.

"Why are you going home?" he asked. "Oh,·Ican't get anything here."

They on't keep you?" he remarked, intuitively. "They can't," said Carrie.

"I'll tell you what you do," he said. "You come with me.I'll take care of you."

Carrie heard this passively. The peculiar state which she was in made it sound like the welcome breath of an open door. Drouet seemed of her own spirit and pleasing. He was clean, handsome, well-dressed, and sympathetic. His voice was the voice of a friend.



"What can you do back at Columbia City?" he went on, rousing by the words in Carrie's mind a picture of the dull world she had left. "There isn't anything down there. Chicago's the place. You can get a nice room here and some clothes, and then you can do something."

Carrie looked out through the window into the busy street. There it was, the admirable, great city, so fine when you are not poor. An elegant co\_ach, with a prancing pair of bays, passed by, carrying in its upholstered depths a young lady.

"What will you have if you go back?" asked Drouet. There was no subtle undercurrent to the question. He imagined that she would have nothing at a ll of the things he thought worth while.

Carrie sat still, looking out. She was wondering what she could do. They would be expecting her to go home this week. Drouet turned to the subject of the clothes she was going to buy.

"Why riot get yourself a nice little jacket? You've got to have it. I'll loan you the money. You needn't worry about taking it. You can get yourself a nice room by yourself. Iwon't hurt you."

Carrie .:iaw the drift, but could not express her thoughts. She felt more than ever the helplessness of her case. "If Ic uld only get something to do," she said.

"Maybe you can," went on Drouet, "if you stay here. You can't if you go away. They won't let you stay out there. Now, why not let me

get you a nice room? Iwon't bother you--you needn't be afraid. Then, when you get fixed up, maybe you could get something."



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He looked at her pretty face and it vivified his mental resources. She was a sweet little mortal to him--there was no doubt of that. She seemed to have some power back of her actions. She was not like the common run of store-girls. She wasn't silly.

In reality, Carrie had more imagination than he--more taste. It was a finer mental strain in her that made possible her depression and loneliness. Her poor clothes were neat, and she held her head unconsciously in a dainty way.

"Do you think Icould get something?" she asked.

"Sure,'! he said, reaching over and filling her cup with tea. "I'll help you." She looked at him, and he laughed reassuringly.



"NowI'll tell you what we'll do. We'll go over here to Partridge's and you pick out what you want. Then we'll look around for a room for you. You can leave the things there. Then we'll go to the show to-night."

Carrie shook her head.

"Well, you can go out to the flat then, that's all right. You don't need to stay in the room. Just take it and leave your things there." She hung in doubt about this until the dinner was over.

"Let's go over and look at the jackets," he said.

Together they went. In the store they found that shine and rustle of new things which immediately laid hold of Carrie's heart. Under the influence of a good dinner and Drouet's radiating presence, the scheme proposed seemed feasible. She looked about and picked a jacket .like the one which she had admired at The Fair. When she got it in her hand it seemed so much nicer. The saleswoman helped her on with it, and, by accident, it fitted perfectly. Drouet's face lightened as he saw the improvement. She looked quite smart.

"That's the thing," he said.

Carrie urned before the glass. She could not help feeling pleased as she looked at herself. A warm glow crept into her cheeks. "That's the thing," sa id Drouet. "Now pay for it."



"It's nine dollars," sa id Carrie.

"That's all right--take it," said Drouet.

She reached in her purse and took out one of the bills. The woman asked if she would wear the coat and went off. In a few minutes she was back and the purchase was closed.

From P.artridge's they went to a shoe store, where Carrie was fitted for shoes. Drouet stood by, and when he saw how nice they looked:said, "Wear them." Carrie shook her head, however . She was thinking of returning to the flat. He bought her a purse for one thing, and a pair of g loves for another, and let her buy the stockings.

"To-morrow," he said, "you come down here and buy yourself a skirt."

In all of Carrie's actions there was a touch of misgiving. The deeper she sank into the entanglement, the more she imagined that the thing hung upon the few remaining things she had not done. Since she had not done these, there was a way out.

Drouet knew a place in Wabash Avenue where there were rooms. He showed Carrie the outside of these, and said: "Now, you're my sister." He carried the arrangement off with an easy hand when it came to the selection, looking around, criticising, opining. "Her trunk will be here in a day or so," he observed to the landlady, who was very pleased.

When they were alone, Drouet did not change in the least. He talked in the same general way as if they were out in the street. Carrie left her things.

"Now," said Drouet, "why don't you move to-night?" "Oh, Ican't," said Carrie.

"Why not?"

"I don't want to leave them so."

He took that up as they walked along the avenue.It was a warm afternoon. The sun had come out and the wind had died down. As he talked '.with Carrie, he secured an accurate detail of the atmosphere of the flat.

"Come out of it," he said, "they won't care.I'll help you get along."

She listened until her misgivings vanished. He would show her about a little and then help her get something. He really imagined that he would. He would be out on the road and she could be working.

"Now, I'll tell you what you do," he said, "you go out there and get whatever you want and come away."



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She thought a long time about this. Finally she agreed. He would come out as far as Peoria Street and wait for her. She was to meet him at half-past eight. At half-past five she reached home, and at six her determination was hardened.

"So you didn't get it?" said Minnie, referring to Carrie's story of the Boston Store. Carrie looked at her out of the corner of her eye. "No," she answered.

"I don't think you'd better try any more this fall," said Minnie. Carrie said nothing.

When Hanson came home he wore the same inscrutable demeanour. He washed in silence and went *off* to read his paper. At dinner Carrie felt a litde nervous. The strain of her own plans were considerable, and the feeling that she was not welcome here was strong.

"Didn't find anything, eh?" said Hanson.

He turned to his eating again, the thought that it was a burden to have her here dwelling in his mind. She would have to go home, that was all. Once she was away, there would be no more coming back in the spring.

Carrie was afraid of what she was going to do, but she was relieved to know that this condition was ending. They would not care. Hanson particularly would be glad when she went. He would not care what became of her.

After dinner she went into the bathroom, where they could not disturb her, and wrote a little note.

"Good-bye, Minnie," it read. "I'm not going home. I'm going to stay in Chicago a little while and look for work. Don't worry.I'll be all right." ·

In the front room Hanson was reading his paper. As usual, she helped Minnie clear away the dishes and straighten up. Then she said: "I guess I'll stand down at the door a little while." She could sca rcely prevent her voice from trembling.



Minnie remembered Hanson's remonstrance.

"Sven doesn't think it looks good to stand down there," she said. "Doesn't he?" said Carrie. "I won't do it any more after this."

She put on her hat and fidgeted around the table in the little bedr.oom, wondering where to slip the note. Finally she put it under Minnie's hair-brush.

When she had closed the hall-door, she paused a moment and wondered what they would think. Some thought of the queerness of her deed affected her. She went slowly down the stairs. She looked back up the lighted step, and then affected to stroll up the street.

When she reached the corner she quickened her pace.

As she was hurrying away, Hanson came back to his wife. "Is Carrie down at the door again?" he asked.

"Yes," said Minnie; "she said she wasn't going to do it any more."

He went over to the baby where it was playing on the floor and began to poke his finger at it. Drouet was on the corner waiting, in good spirits.

"Hello, Carrie," he said, as a sprightly figure of a girl drew near him. "Got here safe, did you? Well, we'll take a car."









***A Century of Dishonor***

**Helen Hunt Jackson**

***ti-***

**OVERVIEiW**

After living in the West for 20 years, Helen Hunt Jackson became interested in the government 's treatment of Native Americans. After completing extensive research, she wrote *A Century of Dishonor* in 1881, and sent a copy to every member of Congress. An excerpt follows.

**,GUIDED READING**

*As* you read, consider the following questions:

* + How were Native Americans affected by the United States denying them citizenship?
* How were they affected by the United States denying them ownership of property?

###### here is not among these three hundred bands of Indians [in the United States] one which has not suffered cruelly at the hands either of the

T

Government or of white settlers. The poorer, the more insignificant, the more helpless the band, the more certain the cruelty and outrage to which they have been subjected. This is especially true of the bands on the Pacific slopes. These Indians found themselves of a sudden surrounded by and caught up in the great influx of gold-seeking settlers, as helpless creatures on a shore are caught up in a tidal wave. There was not time for the Government to make treaties; not even time for communities to make laws. The tale of the wrongs, the oppressions, the murders of the Pacific-slope Indians in the last thirty years would be a volume by itself, and is coo monstrous to be believed.

It makes little difference, however, where one opens the record of the history of the Indians; every page and every year has its dark stain. The story of one tribe is the story of all, varied only by differences of time and place; but neither time nor place makes any difference in the main facts. Colorado is as greedy and unjust in 1880 as was Georgia in 1830, and Ohio in 1795; and the United States Government breaks promises now as deftly as then, and with added ingenuity from long practice. . . .



In 1869 President Grant appointed a commission of nine men, representing the influence and philanthropy of six leading States, to visit the different Indian reservations, and to "examine all matters appertaining to Indian affairs."

In the report of this commission are such paragraphs as the following: "To assert that 'the Indian will not work' is as true as it would be to say that the white man will not work.

'Why should the Indian be expected co plant corn, fence lands, build houses, or do anything but get food from day to day, when experience has

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taught him that the product of his labor will be seized by the white man to­ morrow? The most industrious white man would become a drone under similar circumstances. Nevertheless, many of the Indians" (the commissioners might more forcibly have said 130,000 of the Indians) "are already at work, and furnish ample refutation of the assertion that 'the Indian will not work.' There is no escape from the inexorable logic of facts.

"The history of the Government connections with the Indians is a shameful record of broken treaties and unfulfilled promises. The history of the border, white man's connection with the Indians is a sickening record of murder, outrage, robbery, and wrongs committed by the former, as the rule, and occasional savage outbreaks and unspeakably barbarous deeds of

retaliation by the latter, as the exception.

"Taught by the Government that they had rights entitled to respect, when those rights have been assailed by the rapacity of the white man, the arm which should have been raised to protect them has ever been ready to sustain the aggressor.

"The testimony of some of the highest military officers of the United

States is on record to the effect that, in our Indian wars, almost without exception, the first aggressions have been made by the white man, and the assertion is supported by every civilian of reputation who has studied the subject. In addition to the class of robbers and outlaws who find impunity in their nefarious pursuits on the frontiers, there is a large class of professedly reputable men who use every means in their power to bring on Indian wars for the sake of the profit to be realized from the presence of troops and the expenditures of Government funds in their midst. They proclaim death to the Indians at all times in words and publications, making no distinction between the innocent and the guilty. They irate the lowest class of men to the perpetration of the darkest deeds against their victims, and as judges and jurymen shield them from the justice due to their crimes. Every crime committed by a white man against an Indian is concealed or palliated. Every offence committed by an Indian against a white man is borne on the wings of the post or the telegraph to the remotest corner of the land, clothed with all the horrors which the reality or imagination can throw around it. Against such influences as these the people of the United States need to be warned."



To assume that it would be easy, or by any one sudden stroke of legislative policy possible, co undo the mischief and hurt of the long past, set the Indian policy of the country right for the future, and make the Indians at once safe and happy, is the blunder of a hasty and uninformed judgment. The notion which seems to be growing more prevalent , that simply to make all Indians at once citizens of the United States would be a sovereign and instantaneous panacea for all their ills and all the Government's perplexities, is a very inconsiderate one. To administer complete citizenship of a sudden, all round, to all Indians, barbarous and civilized alike, would be as grotesque a blunder as to dose them all round with any one medicine, irrespective of the symptoms



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###### and needs of their diseases. Itwould kill more than it would cure. Nevertheless, it is true, as was well stated by one of the superintendents of Indian Affai rs in 1857, that, "so long as they are not citizens of the United States, their rights of property must remain insecure against invasion. The doors of the federal tribunals being barred against them while wards and dependents, they can only partially exercise the rights of free government, or

give to those who make, execute, and construe the few laws they are allowed to enact, dignity sufficient to make them respectable. While they continue individually to gather the crumbs that fall from the table of the United States, idleness, improvidence, and indebtedness will be the rule, and industry, thrift, and freedom from debt the exception. The utter absence of individual title to particular lands deprives every one among them of the chief incentive to labor and exertion-the very mainspring on which the prosperity of a people depends."



All judicious plans and measures for their safety and salvation must

embody provisions for their becoming citizens as fast as they are fit, and must protect them till then in every right and particular in which our laws protect other "persons" who are not citizens.





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**John Muir**

**"The Hetch Hetchy Valley"**

**1908**

It is impossible to overestimate the value of wild mountains and mountain temples as places for people to grow in, recreation grounds for soul and body. They are the greatest of our natural resources, God's best gifts, but none, however high and holy, is beyond reach of the spoiler. In these ravaging money-mad days monopolizing San Francisco capitalists are

now doing their best to dest oy the Yosemite Park, the most wonderful of all our great mountain national parks. Beginning on the Tuolumne side, they are trying wi th a lot of sinful ingenuity to get the Government's permission to dam and destroy the Hctch- Hctchy Valley for a reservoir, simply that comparatively private gain may be made out of universal public loss, while of course the Sierra Club is doing all it can to save the valley. The Honorabl e Secretary of the Interior has not yet announced his decision in the case, but in all that has come and gone nothing discouraging is yet in sight on our side of the fight.

As long as the busy public in general knew little or nothing about the Hetch-Hetchy Valley, the few cunning drivers of the damming scheme, working in darkness like moles in a low-lying meadow, seemed confident of success; but when light was turned on and the truth became manifest that next to Yosemite, Hetch-Hetch y is the most wonderful and most important feature of the great park , that damming it would destroy it, render it inaccessible, and block the way through the wonderful Tuolumne Canon to the grand central campground in the upper Tuolumne Valley, thousands from near and far came to our help, -- mountaineers, nature-lovers, naturalists. Most of our thousand club members wrote to the President or Secretary protesting against the destructive reservoir scheme while other sources of city water as pure or purer than the Hetch-Hetchy were available; so also did the Oregon and Washington mountaineering clubs and the Appalachian of Boston and public­



spirited citizens everywhere. And the President, recognizing the need of beauty as well as bread and water in the life of the nation, far from favoring the destruction of any of our country's natural wond er parks and temples, is trying amid a host of other cares to save them all. Within a very short time he has saved the petrified forests of Arizona and the Grand Canon, and in our own State the jagged peaks of San Benito county known as "The Pinnacles," making them national monuments or

parks to be preserved for the people forever. None, therefore, need doubt that everything possible will be done to save Hetch-Hetchy .

After my first visit, in the autumn of 1 871 , I have always called it the Tuolumne Yosemite, for it is a wonderfully exact counterpart of the great Yosemite, not only in its crystal river and sublime rocks and waterfalls, but in the gardens, groves, and meadows of its flower park-like floor. The floor of Yosemite is about 4,000 feet above the sea, the Hetch -Hetchy floor about 3,700; the walls of both arc of gray granite, rise abruptly out of the flowery grass and groves are sculptured in the same style, and in botl1every rock is a glacial monum ent.



Standing boldly out from tl1e south wall is a strikingly picturesque rock called "Kolana" by ilie Indians, the outermost of a group 2300 feet high, corresponding with ilie Cailiedral Rocks of Yosemite boili in relative position and form. On ilie opposite side of ilie Valley, facing Kolana, there is a counterpart of ilie El Capitan of Yosemite rising sheer and plain to a

height of 1800 feet, and over its massive brow flows a stream which makes the most graceful fall I have ever seen. From the edge of ilie cliff it is perfectly free in ilie air for a iliousand feet, then break s up into a ragged sheet of cascades among ilie boulders of an earthguak e talus. It is in all its glory in June, when ilie snow is melting fast, but fades and vanishes toward ilie encl of summer. The only fall I know with which it may fairly be compared is the Yosemite Bridal Veil; but it excels even that favorite fall both in height and fineness of fairy-airy beauty and behavior. Lowlanders are apt to suppose that mountain streams in ilieir wild career over cliffs lose control of themselves and tumble in a noisy chaos of mist and spray. On the contrary, on no part of ilieir travels are they more harmonious and self-controlled. Imagine yourself in Hetch Hetchy on a sunny day in June, standing waist-deep in grass and flowers (as I have oftentimes stood), while the great pines sway dreamily with scarce perceptible motion. Looking northward across the Valley you see a plain, gray granite cliff rising abruptly out of the gardens and groves to a height of 1800 feet, and in front of it Tueeulala's silvery scarf burning wiili irised sun-fire in every fiber. In the first white outburst of ilie stream at the head of ilie fall iliere is abundance of visible energy , but it is speedily hushed and concealed in divine repose, and its tranquil progress to ilie base of the cliff is like that of downy feathers

in a still room . Now observe the fineness and marvelous distinctness of the various sun-illumined fabrics into which the water is woven; they sift and float from form to form down the face of that grand gray rock in so leisurely and unconfused a manner that you can examine their texture, and pattern s and tones of color as you would a piece of embroidery held in the hand. Near the head of the fall you see groups of booming, comet-like masses, their solid , white heads separate, their tails



like combed silk interlacing among delicate shadows, ever forming and dissolving, worn out by friction in their rush through the air. Most of these vanish a few hundred feet below the summit, changing to the varied forms of cloud-like drapery . Near the bottom the width of the fall has increased from about twenty-five to a hundred feet. Here it is composed of yet finer tissues, and is still without a trace of disorder -- air, water and sunlight woven into stuff that spirits might wear.

So fine a fall might well seem sufficient to glorify any valley; but here, as in Yosemite, Nature seems in nowise moderate, for a short distance to the eastward of Tueeulala booms and thunders the great Hetch Hetchy Fall , Wapama, so near that you

have both of them in full view from the same standpoint. It is the counterpart of the Yosemite Fall, but has a much greater volume of water, is about 1700 feetin height, and appears to be nearly vertical, though considerably inclined , and is dashed into huge outbounding bosses of foam on the projecting shelves and knobs of its jagged gorge. No two falls could be more unlike -- Tueeulala out in the open sunshine descendjng like thistledown; Wapama in a jagg ed, shadowy gorge roaring and plund ering, pounding its way with the weight and energy of an avalanche. Besides this glorious pair there is a broad , massive fall on the main river a short distance above the head of the Valley. Its position is something like that of the Vernal in Yosemite, and its roar as it plunges into a surging trout-pool may be heard a long way, though it is only about twenty feet high. There is al so a chain of magnificent cascades at the head of the valley on a stream that comes in from the northeast, mostly silvery plumes, like the one between the Vernal and Nevada falls of Yosemite, half-sliding,half-leaping on bare glacier polished granite, covered with crisp clashing spray into wish the sunbeams pour with glorious effect. And besides all these a few small streams come over the walls here and there, leaping from ledge to ledge with birdlike song and watering many a hidden cliff-garden and fernery, but they are too unshowy to be noticed in so grand a place.

The correspondence between the Hetch Hetchy walls in their trends, sculpture, physical structure, and general arrangement of the main rock-masses [and those of the Yosemite Valley) has excited the wondering admiration of every observer. We

have seen that the El Capitan and Cathedral rocks occupy the same relative positions In both valleys; so also do their

Yosemite Points and North Domes. Again that part of the Yosemite north wall immediately to the east of the Yosemite Fall has two horizontal benches timbered with golden-cup oak about 500 and 1500 feet above the floor . Two benches similarly situated and timbered occur on the same relative portion of the Hetch Hetchy north wall, to the east of Wapama Fall, and on no other. The Yosemite is bound ed at the head by the great Half Dome. Hetch Hetchy is bounded in the same way though its head rock is far less wonderfu l and sublime in form.

The floor of the Valley is about three and a half miles long and from a fourth to half a mile wide. The lower portion is mostly a l evel meadow about a mile long, with the trees restricted to the sides, and partially separated from the upper forested portion by a low bar of glaci er-polished granite across which the river breaks in rapids.

The principal trees are the yellow and sugar pines, Sabine pine, incense cedar, Douglas spruce, silver fir , the California and gold-cup oaks, balm of Gilead poplar, Nutta ll's flowering dogwood, alder, maple, laurel, tumion, etc. The most abundant and influential are the great yellow pines, the tallest over two hundred feet in height, and the oaks with massive rugged trunks four to six or seven feet in diameter, and broad arching heads, assembled in magnificent groves. The shrubs forming conspicuous flowery clumps and tangles are manzaruta, azalea, spiraea, brier-rose, ceanothus, calycanthus, philadelphus, wild cherry, etc.; with abundance of showy and fragrant herbaceous plants growing about them or out In the open in beds by themselves -- lilies, Mariposa tulips, brodiaeas, orchids -- several species of each,-- iris, spraguea, draperia, collomia, collinsia, castillcia , nemophila , larkspur, columbine, goldenrods, sunflowers, and mints of many species, honeysuckle, etc. etc. Many fine ferns dwell here also, especially the beautiful and interesting rock-ferns -- pellaea, and cheilanthes of several species -- fringing and rosetting dry rock-piles and ledges; woodwardia and asplenium on damp spots with fronds six or seven feet high; the delicate maidenhair in mossy nooks by the falls, and the sturdy, broad-shouldered pteris beneath the oaks and pines.



It appears therefore that Hetch-Hetchy Valley , far from being a plain, common, rock-bound meadow, as many who have not seen it seem to suppose, is a grand landscape garden, one of Nature' s rarest and most precious mountain mansions. As in



Yosemite, the sublime rocks of its walls seem to the nature-lover to glow with life, whether leaning back in repose or standing erect in thoughtful attitudes, giving welcome to storms and calms alike. And how softly these mountain rocks are adorned , and how fine and reassuring the company they keep --their brows in the sky, their feet set in groves and gay emerald meadows, a thousand flowers leaning confidingly against their adamantine bosses, while birds, bees, and butterflies help the river and waterfalls to stir all the air into music -- things frail and fleeting and types of permanence meeting here



and blending, as if into this glorious mountain temple Nature had gathered here choices treasures, whether great or small, to draw her lovers into close confiding communion with her.

Strange to say, this is the mountain temple that is now in danger of being dammed and made into a reservoir to help supply San Francisco with water and light. This use of the valley, so destructive and foreign to its proper park use, has long been planned and prayed for, and is still being prayed for by the San Francisco board of supervisors, not because water as pure and abundant cannot be got from adjacent sources outside the park - for it can, -- but seemingly only because of the comparative cheapness of the dam required.

Garden- and park-making goes on everywhere with civilization, for everybody needs beauty as well as bread, places to play in and pray in, where Nature may heal and cheer and give strength to body and soul. This natural beauty-hunger is displayed in poor folks' window-gardens made up of a few geranium slips in broken cups, as well as in the costly lily gardens of the rich, the thousand s of spacious city parks and botanical gardens, and in our magnificent National parks -- the Yellowstone, Yosemite, Sequoia, etc. -- Nature's own wonderlands, the admiration and joy of the world. Nevertheless, like everything else worth while, however sacred and precious and well-guarded, they have always been subject to attack, mostly by despoiling gainseekers, -- mischief-makers of every degree from Satan to supervisors, lumbermen, cattlemen, farmers, etc., eagerly trying to make everything dollarable, often thinly disguised in smiling philanthropy, calling pocket-filling plunder



"Utilization of beneficent natural resources, that man and beast may be fed and the dear Nation grow great." Thus long ago a l ot of enterprising merchants made part of the Jerusalem temple into a place of busin ess instead of a place of prayer,

changing money, buying and selling cattle and sheep and doves. And earlier still, the Lord's garden in Eden, and the first forest reservation, including only one tree, was spoiled . And so to some extent have all our reservations and parks . Ever since the establishment of the Yosemite National Park by act of Congress, October 8, 1890, constant strife has been going on around its borders and I suppose this will go on as part of the universal battle between right and wrong, however its boundaries may be shorn or its wild beauty destroyed. The first application to the Government by the San Francisco Supervisors for the use of Lake Eleanor and the Hetch Hetchy Valley was made in 1903, and denied December 22nd of that year by the Secretary of the Interior. In his report on this case he well says: "Presumably the Yosemite National Park was created such by law because of the natural objects, of varying degrees of scenic importance, located within its boundaries, inclusive alike of its beautiful small lakes, like Eleanor, and its majestic wonders, like Hetch-Hetchy and Yosemite Valley. It is the aggregation of such natural scenic features that makes the Yosemite Park a wonderland which the Congress of the

Uni ted States sought by law to preserve for all coming time as nearly as practicable in the condition fashioned by the hand of the Creator -- a worthy object of national pride and a source of healthful pleasure and rest for the thousands of people who may annually sojourn there during the heated months."

The most delightful and wonderful campground s in the Park are the three great valleys -- Yosemite, Hetch-Hetchy, and Upper Tuolumne; and they are also the most important places with reference to their positions relative to the other great features -- the Merced and Tuolumne Canons, and the High Sierra peaks and glaciers, etc., at the head of the rivers. The main part of the Tuolumne Valley is a beautiful spacious flowery lawn four or five miles long, surrounded by magnificent snowy mountains. It is about 8500 feet above the sea , and forms the grand central High Sierra camp ground from which excursions are made to the noble mountains, domes, glaciers, etc.; across the Range to the Mono Lake and volcanoes and down the Tuolumne Canon to Hetch Hetchy. But should Hetch Hctchy be submerged, as pro-posed, not only would it be made utterly inaccessible, but the sublime canon way to the heart of the High Sierra would be hopelessly blocked. None, as far as I have learned, of all the thousands who have seen the park is in favor of this destructive water scheme.

My last visit to the Valley was made in the autumn of last year [ 1907), with William Keith, the artist. The leaf-colors were then ripe, and the great godlike rocks in repose seemed to glow with life. The artist, under their spell, wandered day after day along the beautiful river and through the groves and gardens, studying the wonderful scenery; and, after making about forty sketches, declared with enthusiasm that in picturesque beauty and charm Hetch Hetchy surpassed even Yosemite.

That any one would try to destroy such a place seemed impossible; but sad experience shows that there are people good enough and bad enough for anything. The proponents of the dam scheme bring forward a lot of bad arguments to prove that the only righteous thing for Hetch-Hetchy is its destruction . These arguments are curiously like those of the devil devised for the destruction of the first gard en -- so much of the very best Eden fruit going to waste; so much of the best Tuolumne water. Very few of their statements are even partly true, and all are misleading. Thus, Hetch Hetchy , they say, is a "low­ lying meadow. "



On the contrary, it is a high-lying natural landscape garden. "It is a common minor feature, like thousands of others."

On the contrary, it is a very uncommon feature; after Yosemite, the rarest and in many ways the most important in the park.



"Damming and submerging it 175 feet deep would enhance its beauty by forming a crystal-clear lake."

Landscape gardens, places of recreation and worship, are never made beautiful by destroying and burying them. The beautiful lake, forsooth, should be only an eyesore, a dismal blot on the landscape, like many others to be seen in the Sierra. For, instead of keeping it at the same level all the year, allowing Nature to make new shores, it would, of course, be full only a month or two in the spring, when the snow is melting fast; then it would be gradually drained, exposing the slimy sides of the basin and shallower parts of the bottom, with the gathered drift and waste, death and decay of the upper basins, caught here instead of being swept on to decent natural burial along the banks of the river or in the sea . Thus the Hetch

Hetchy dam-lake would be only a rough imitation of a natural lake for a few of the spring months, an open mountain sepulcher for the others.

"Hetch Hetchy water is the purest, wholly unpolluted, and forever unpollutable."

On the contrary, excepting that of the Merced below Yosemite, it is less pure than that of most of the other Sierra streams, because of the sewerage of camp grounds draining into it, especially of the Big Tuolumne Meadows campgrounds, where hundred s of tourists and mountaineers, with their animals, are encamped for months every summer, soon to be followed by thousands of travelers from all the world .

These temple destroyers, devotees of ravaging commercialism, seem to have a perfect contempt for Nature, and, instead of lifting their eyes to the mountains, lift them to dams and town skyscrapers.

Dam Hetch-Hetchy! As well dam for water-tanks the people's cathedrals and churches, for no holier temple has ever been consecrated by the heart of man.

#### Ida B. Wells "Lynch Law in America"



**1900**

OUR country's national crime is *vnching.* It is not the creature of an hour, the sudden outburst of uncontrolled fury, or the unspeakab le brutality of an insane mob . It represents the cool, calculating deliberation of intelhgent people who openly avow that there is an

"unwritten law" that justifies them in putting human beings to death without complaint under oath, without trial by jury, without opportunity to make defense, and without right of appeal. The "unwritten law" first found excuse with the rough, rugged, and

determined man who left the civilized centers of eastern States to seek for quick returns in the gold-fields of the far West. Following in

uncertain pursuit of continually eluding fortune, they dared the savagery of the Indians, the hardships of mountain travel, and the constant terror of border State outlaws. Naturally, they felt slight toleration for traitors in their own ranks. It was enough to fight the enemies

from without; woe to the foe within! Far removed from and entirely without protection of the courts of civilized life, these fortune­ seekers m ade laws to meet their varying emergencies. The thief who stole a horse, the bully who "jumped" a claim, was a common enemy. If caught he was promptly tried, and if found guilty was hanged to the tree under which the court convened.



Those were busy days of busy men . They had no time to give the prison er a bill of exception or stay of execution. The only way a man had to secure a stay of execution was to behave himself. Judge Lynch was original in methods but exceedingly effective in procedure. He made the charge, impaneled the juror s, and directed the execution. When the court adjourned, the prisoner was dead. Thus lynch law held

sway in the far West until civilization spread into the Territories and the orderly processes of law took its place. The emergency no longer existing, lynching gradually disappeared from the West.

But the spirit of mob procedure seem ed to have fastened itself upon the lawless classes, and the grim process that at first was invoked to declare justice was made the excuse to wreak vengeance and cover crime. It next appeared in the South, where centuries of Anglo-Saxon civilization had made effective all the safeguards of court procedure. No emergency called for lynch law. It asserted its sway in defiance of law and in favor of anarchy. There it has flourished ever since, marking the thirty years of its existence with the inhuman butchery of



more than ten thousand men, women, and children by shooting, drowning, hanging, and burning them alive . Not only this, but so potent is the force of example that the lynching mania has spread throughout the North and middle West. It is now no uncommon thing to read of lynchings north of Mason and Dixon 's line, and those most responsible for this fashion gleefully point to these instances and assert that the North is no better than the South.

This is the work of the "unwritten law" about which so much is said, and in whose behest butchery is made a pastime and national savagery condoned . The first statute of this "unwritten law" was written in the blood of thousands of brave men who thought that a government that was good enough to create a citizenship was strong enough to protect it. Under the authority of a national law that gave every citizen the right to vote, the newly-made citizens chose to exercise their suffrage . But the reign of the national law was short-lived and illusionary. Hardly had the sen tences dried upon the statute-books before one Southern State after another raised the cry against "negro domination " and proclaimed there was an "unwritten law" that justified any means to resist it.



The method then inaugurated was the outrages by the "red-shirt" bands of Louisiana, South Carohna, and other Southern States, which were succeeded by the Ku-Klux Klans. These advocates of the "unwritten law" boldly avowed their purpose to intimidate, suppress, and nullify the negro's right to vote . In support of its plans the Ku-Klux Klans, the "red-shirt" and similar organizations proceeded to beat, exile, and kill negroes until the purpose of their organization was accomplished and the supremacy of the "unwritten law" was effected. Thu s lynchings began in the South, rapidly spreading into the various States until the national law was nullified and the reign of the "unwritten law" was supreme. Men were taken from their homes by "red-shirt" bands and stripped, beaten, and exiled; others were assassinated when their political prominence made them obnoxious to their political opponents; while the Ku-Klux barbarism of election days, reveling in the butchery of thousands of colored voters, furnished records in Congressional investigations that are a disgrace to civilization.

The alleged menace of universal suffrage having been avoided by the absolute suppression of the negro vote, the spirit of mob murder should have been satisfied and the butchery of negroes should have ceased. But men , women, and children were the victims of murder by individuals and murder by mobs, ju st as they had been when killed at the demands of the "unwritten law" to prevent "negro domination." Negroes were killed for disputing over terms of contracts with their employers. If a few barns were burned some colored man was killed to stop it . If a colored man resented the imposition of a white man and the two came to blows, the colored man had to die, either at the hands of the white man then and there or later at the hands of a mob that speedily gathered. Ifhe showed a spirit of courageous manhood

he was hanged for his pains, and the killing was ju stified by the declaration that he was a "saucy nigger." Colored women have been murdered becau se they refused to tell the m obs where relatives could be found for "lynching bees." Boys of fourteen years have been lynched by white representatives of American civilization. In fact, for all kinds of offenses--and , for no offenses--from murders to

misdemeanors, men and women are put to death without judge or jury; so that, although the political excuse was no longer necessary, the whol esale murder of human beings went on ju st the same. A new name was given to the killings and a new excuse was invented for so doing.

Agai n the aid of the "unwritten law" is invoked, and again it comes to the rescue. During the last ten years a new statute has been added to the "unwritten law." This statute procla ims that for certain crimes or alleged crimes no negro shall be allowed a trial; that no white

woman shall be compelled to charge an assault under oath or to submit any such charge to the investigation of a court oflaw. The result is that many men have been put to death whose innocence was afterward established; and to- day, under this reign of the "unwritten law,"

no colored man, no matter what his reputation, is safe from lynching if a white woman, no matter what her standing or motive, cares to charge him with insult or assault.

It is considered a sufficient excuse and reasonable ju stification to put a prisoner to death under this "unwritten law" for the frequently repeated charge that these lynching horrors are necessary to prevent crimes against wom en. The sentiment of the country has been appealed to, in describing the isolated condition of white families in thickly populated negro districts; and the charge is made that these

homes are in as great danger as if they were surrounded by wild beasts. And the world has accepted this theory without let or hindrance. In many cases there has been open expression that the fate m eted out to the victim was only what he deserved. In many other instances there has been a silence that says more forcibly than word s can proclaim it that it is right and proper that a human being should be seized by a mob and burn ed to death upon the unsworn and the uncorroborated charge of his accuser. No matter that our laws presume every man innocen t until he is proved gui lty; no matter that it leaves a certain class of individuals compl etely at the mercy of another class; no matter that it encourages those criminally disposed to blacken their faces and commit any crime in the calendar so long as they can throw suspicion on some negro, as is frequently done, and then lead a mob to take his life; no matter that mobs make a farce of the law and a

m ockery of ju stice; no matter that hundreds of boys are being hardened in crime and schooled in vice by the repetition of such scenes before their eyes--if a white woman declares herself insulted or assaulted , some life must pay the penalty, with all the horrors of the Spani sh Inquisition and all the barbarism of the Middle Ages. The world looks on and says it is well .

Not only are two hundr ed men and wom en put to death annually, on the average, in this country by mobs, but these lives are taken with the greatest publicity . In many instances the leading citizens aid and abet by their presence when they do not participate, and the leading journ als inflame the public mind to the lynching point with scare-head articles and offers of rewards. When ever a burning is advertised to take place, the railroads run excursions, photograph s are taken , and the same jubilee is indulged in that characterized the public hangin gs of one hundred years ago. There is, however, this difference: in those old days the multitude that stood by was permitted only to guy or

je er. The nineteenth century lynching m ob cuts off ears, toes, and fingers, strips off flesh, and distributes portions of the body as souvenirs among the crowd . If the leaders of the mob are so minded, coal-oil is poured over the body and the victim is then roasted to death. This has been done in Texarkana and Paris, Tex., in Bardswell, Ky., and in Newman , Ga. In Paris the officers of the law delivered the prisoner to the mob. The m ayor gave the school children a holiday and the railroads ran excursion trains so that the people might see a human

being burned to death. In Texarkana, the year before, m en and boys amused themselves by cutting off strips of flesh and thrusting knives into their helpless victim . At Newma n , Ga. , of the present year, the mob tried every conceivable torture to compel the victim to cry out and confess, before they set fire to the faggots that burned him. But their trouble was all in vain--he never uttered a cry, and they could not make him confess.

This condition of affairs were brutal enough and horrible enough if it were true that lynchings occurred only because of the commission of crimes against womcn--as is constantly declared by ministers, editors, lawyers, teachers, statesmen, and even by women themselves. It has been to the interest of those who did the lynching to blacken the good name of the helpless and defenseless victims of their hate. For this reason they publish at every possible opportunity this excuse for lynching, hoping thereby not only to palliate their own crime but at the same time to prove the n egro a m oral monster and unworthy of the respect and sympathy of the civilized world. But this alleged

reason adds to the deliberate injustice of the mob's work . Instead oflynchings being caused by assaults upon women, the statistics show that not one- third of the victims of lynchings are even charged with such crimes. The Chicago *Tribune,* which publishes annually lynching statistics, is authority for the following:

In 1892 , when lynching reached high-wat er mark, there were 241 persons lynched. The entire number is divided among the following States:

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Alabam a . ........ | 22 | Montana . ......... | 4 |
| Arkan sas... . .... | 25 | New York ......... | I |
| California.. .... | 3 | North Carolina... | 5 |
| Florida ......... | 1 1 | North Dakota ..... |  |

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Georgia ......... | 17 | Ohio ............. | 3 |
| Idaho..... ...... | 8 | South Carolina... | 5 |
| Illinois... ..... |  | Tennessee.... .... | 28 |
| Kansas.......... | 3 | Texas............ | 1 5 |
| Kentucky ........ | 9 | Virginia......... | 7 |
| Louisiana....... | 29 | West Virginia .... | 5 |
| Maryland........ | I | Wyoming.......... | 9 |
| Mississippi . .... | 16 | Arizona Ter ...... | 3 |
| Missouri. ... . ... | 6 | Oklahoma......... | 2 |

Of this number , 160 were of negro descent. Four of them were lynched in New York, Ohio, and Kansas; the remainder were murder ed in the South . Five of this number were females. The charges for which they were lyn ched cover a wide range. They are as follows:



Rape........ .......... 46 Attempted rape...... 11

Murder.... ............ 58 Suspected robbery.. . 4

Rioting.. ............. 3 Larceny.. ........... l

Race Prejudi ce. ....... 6 Self-defense ..... ...

No cause given ... ..... 4 Insulting women .. .. 2

Incendiarism . . .... .... 6 Desperadoes......... 6

Robbery... . . .......... 6 Fraud ............ ... I

Assault and battery.. . Attempted murd er.... 2



No offense stated, boy and girl. 2

In the case of the boy and girl above referred to, their father, named Hastings, was accused of the murder of a white man . His fourteen­ year-old daughter and sLxteen-year-old son were hanged and their bodies filled with bullets; then the father was also lynched. This occurred in November, 1892 , at Jonesville, La.

Indeed, the record for the last twenty years shows exactly the same or a smaller proportion who have been charged with this horrible crime. Quite a number of the on e-third alleged cases of assault that have been personally investigated by the writer have shown that there was no foundation in fact for the charges; yet the claim is not made that there were no real culprits among them . The negro has been too long associated with the white m an not to have copied his vices as well as his virtues . But the negro resents and utterly repudiates the efforts to blacken his good name by asserting that assaults upon women are peculiar to his race. The negro has suffered far more from the commission of this crime against the women of his race by white men than the white race has ever suffered through *his* crimes. Very scant notice is taken of the matter when this is the condition of affairs. ,vhat becomes a crime deserving capital punishment when the tables are turned is a matter of small moment when the negro woman is the accusing par ty.

But since the world has accepted this false and unjust statement, and the burden of proof has been placed upon the negro to vindicate his race, he is taking steps to do so. The Anti-Lyn ching Bureau of the National Afro-Am erican Council is arranging to have every lynching investigated and publi sh the facts to the world, as has been done in the case of Sam Hose, who was burned alive last April at Newman , Ga . The detective's report showed that Hose killed Cran ford, his employer, in self-defense, and that, while a mob was organizing to hunt



Hose to punish him for killing a white man, n ot till twenty- four hours after the murder was the charge of rape, embellished with

psychological and physical impossibilities, circulated. That gave an impetus to the hunt, and the Atlanta *Constitution's* reward of $500 keyed the m ob to the necessary burning and roasting pitch. Of five hundred newspaper clippings of that horrible affair, nine-tenths of

them assumed Hose's guilt--simply because his murderers said so, and because it is the fashion to believe the negro peculiarly addicted to this species of crim e. A ll the negro asks is justice--a fair and impartial trial in the courts of the country. That given, he will abide the

resul t.

But this question affects the entire American nation, and from several points of view: First, on the ground of consistency. Our watchword has been "the land of the free and the hom e of the brave." Brave m en do not gather by thousands to torture and murder a single individual, so gagged and bound he cannot make even feeble resistance or defen se. Neither do brave men or women stand by and see such things done without compunction of conscience, nor read of them without protest. Our nation has been active and outspoken in its endeavors to right the wrongs of the Armenian Christian, the Russian Jew , the Irish Home Ruler, the native women of India, the Siberian exile, and the Cuban patriot. Surely it should be the nation's duty to correct its own evils!

Second, on the ground of economy . To those who fail to be convinced from any other point of view touching this momentous question, a consideration of the economic phase might not be amiss. It is generally known that mobs in Louisiana, Colorado, Wyoming, and other States have lynched subjects of other coun tries. When their different governments demanded satisfaction, our country was forced to confess her inability to protect said subjects in the several States becau se of our State-rights doctrines, or in turn demand punishment of

the lynchers. This confession, while humiliating in the extreme, was not satisfactory; and, while the United States cannot protect, she can pay. This she has done, and it is certain will have to do again in the case of the recent lynching of Italians in Louisiana. The United States already has paid in indemnities for lyn ching nearly a half million dollars, as follows:



|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| Paid China for Rock Springs (Wyo.) massacre .... ....... | $ 147,748.74 |
| Paid China for outrages on Pacific Coast.............. | 276,619.75 |
| Paid Italy for massacre of Italian prisoners at |  |
| New Orleans ......................... .. | 24,330.90 |
| Paid Italy for lynchings at Walsenburg, Col ............  Paid Great Britain for outrages on James Bain and Frederick Dawson ................... | 10,000.00  2,800.00 |

Third, for the honor of Angl o-Saxon civilization . No scoffer at our boasted American civilization could say anything more harsh of it than does the American white man himself who says he is unable to protect the honor of his wom en without resort to such brutal, inhuman , and degrading exhibition s as characterize "lyn ching bees." The cannibals of the South Sea Islands roast human beings alive to satisfy

hunger. The red Indian of the Western plains tied his prison er to the stake, tortur ed him, and danced in fiendish glee while his victim

writhed in the flames. His savage, untutored mind suggested no better way than that of wreaking vengeance upon those who had wronged him . These people knew nothing about Christianity and did not profess to follow its teachings; but such primary laws as they had they lived up to. No nation , savage or civilized, save only the United States of America, has confessed its inability to protect its women save by hanging, shooting, and burning alleged offenders.

Finally, for love of coun try. No American travels abroad without blushing for shame for his country on this subject. And whatever the excuse that passes current in the United States, it avails nothing abroad. With all the powers of government in control; with all laws made by white men , administered by white judg es, juror s, prosecuting attorneys, and sheriffs; with every office of the executiv e department

filled by white m en--n o excuse can be offered for exchanging the orderly administration of ju stice for barbarous lynchings and "unwritten laws." Our country should be placed speedily above the plane of confessing herself a failure at self-government . This cannot be until Americans of every section , of broadest patriotism and best and wisest citizenship, not only see the defect in our country's armor but take the necessary steps to remedy it. Although lynchings have steadily increased in number and barbarity during the last twenty years, there



has been no singl e effort put forth by the many moral and philanthropi c forces of the country to put a stop to this wholesale slaughter. Indeed, the silence and seeming condonation grow more marked as the years go by .

A few months ago the conscience of this country was shocked because, after a two-weeks trial, a French judicial tribunal pronounced Captain Dreyfus guilty. And yet, in our own land and under our own flag, the writer can give day and detail of one thousand men, women, and children who during the last six years were put to death without trial before any tribunal on earth. Humiliating indeed, but altogether unanswerable, was the reply of the French press to our protest: "Stop your lynchings at home before you send your protests abroad."

Ida B . Wells-Barnett, "Lynch Law in America," The Arena 23. 1 Uanuary 1 900): 1 5-24.



**YES Howard Zinn**



**Robber Barons and Rebels**

In the year 1877, the signals were given for the rest of the century: the blacks would be put back; the strikes of white workers would not be tolerated; the industrial and political elites of North and South would take hold of the coun­ try and organize the greatest march of economic growth in human history. They would do it with the aid of, and at the expense of, black labor, white labor, Chinese labor, European immigrant labor, female labor, rewarding them differently by race, sex, national origin, and social class, in such a way as to create separate levels of oppression-a skillful terracing to stabilize the pyra­ mid of wealth.

Between the Civil War and 1900, steam and electricity replaced human muscle, iron replaced wood, and steel replaced iron (before the Bessemer proc­ ess, iron was hardened into steel at the rate of 3 to 5 tons a day; now the same amount could be processed in 15 minutes) . Machines could now drive steel tools. Oil could lubricate machines and light homes, streets, factories. People and goods could move by railroad, propelled by steam along steel rails; by 1900 there were 193,000 miles of railroad. The telephone, the typewriter, and the adding machine speeded up the work of business.

Machines changed farming. Before the Civil War it took 61 hours of labor to produce an acre of wheat. By 1900, it took 3 hours, 19 minutes. Manufac­ tured ice enabled the transport of food over long distances, and the industry of meatpacking was born.

Steam drove textile mill spindles; it drove sewing machines. It came from coal. Pneumatic drills now drilled deeper .into the earth for coal. In 1860, 14 million tons of coal were mined; by 1884 it was 100 million tons. More coal meant more steel, because coal furnaces converted iron into steel; by 1880 a million tons of steel were being produced ; by 1910, 25 million tons. By now electricity was beginning to replace steam. Electrical wire needed copper, of which 30,000 tons were produced in 1880; 500,000 tons by 1910.

To accomplish all this required ingenious inventors of new processes and new machines, clever organizers and administrators of the new corporations, a country rich with land and minerals, and a huge supply of human beings to do the back-breaking, unhealthful, and dangerous work. Immigrants would come from Europe and China, to make the new labor force. Farmers unable to buy the new machinery or pay the new railroad rates would move to the cities.



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56 ISSUE 3 / Were the Nineteenth-Century Entrepreneurs . . . ?

Between 1860 and 1914, New York grew from 850,000 to 4 million, Chicago from 110,000 to 2 million, Philadelphia from 650,000 to 12/ million.

In some cases the inventor himself became the organizer of businesses­ like Thomas Edison, inventor of electrical devices. In other cases, the busi­ nessman compiled other people's inventions, like Gustavus Swift, a Chicago butcher who put together the ice-cooled railway car with the ice- cooled ware­ house to make the first national meatpacking company in 1885. James Duke used a new cigarette-rolling machine that could roll, paste, and cut tubes of tobacco into 100,000 cigarettes a day; in 1890 he combined the four biggest cigarette producers to form the American Tobacco Company.

While some multimillionaires started in poverty, most did not. A study of the origins of 303 textile, railroad, and steel executives of the 1870s showed that 90 percent came from middle- or upper-class families. The Horatio Alger stories of "rags to riches" were true for a few men, but mostly a myth, and a useful myth for control.

Most of the fortune building was done legally, with the collaboration of the government and the courts. Sometimes the collaboration had to be paid for. Thomas Edison promised New Jersey politicians $1,000 each in return for favorable legislation. Daniel Drew and Jay Gould spent $1 million to bribe the New York legislature to legalize their issue of $8 million in "watered stock" (stock not representing real value) on the Erie Railroad.

The first transcontinental railroad was built with blood, sweat, politics and thievery, out of the meeting of the Union Pacific and Central Pacific railroads. The Central Pacific started on the West Coast going east; it spent

$200,000 in Washington on bribes to get 9 million acres of free land and

$24 million in bonds, and paid $79 .million, an overpayment of $36 million, to a construction company which really was its own. The construction was done by three thousand Irish and ten thousand Chinese, over a period of four years, working for one or two dollars a day.



The Union Pacific started in Nebraska going west. It had been given 12 million acres of free land and $27 million in government bonds. It created the Credit Mobilier company and gave them $94 million for construction when the actual cost was $44 million . Shares were sold cheaply to Congressmen to prevent investigation. This was at the suggestion of Massachusetts Congress­ man Oakes Ames, a shovel manufacturer and director of Credit Mobilier, who said: "There is no difficulty in getting men to look after their own property." The Union Pacific used twenty thousand workers-war veterans and Irish immi­ grants, who laid 5 miles of track a day and died by the hundreds in the heat, the cold, and the battles with Indians opposing the invasion of their territory.



Both railroads used longer, twisting routes to get subsidies from towns they went through. In 1869, amid music and speeches, the two crooked lines met in Utah.

The wild fraud on the railroads led to more control of railroad finances by bankers, who wanted more stability-profit by law rather than by theft. By the 1890s, most of the country's railway mileage was concentrated in six huge systems. Four of these were completely or partially controlled by the House of Morgan, and two others by the bankers Kuhn, Loeb, and Company.

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J. P. Morgan had started before the war, as the son of a banker who began selling stocks for the railroads for good commissions. During the Civil War he bought five thousand rifles for $3.50 each from an army arsenal, and sold them to a general in the field for $22 each. The rifles were defective and would shoot off the thumbs of the soldiers using them. A congressional committee noted this in the small print of an obscure report, but a federal judge upheld the deal as the fulfillment of a valid legal contract.

Morgan had escaped military service in the Civil War by paying $300 to a substitute. So did John D. Rockefeller, Andrew Carnegie, Philip Armour, Jay Gould, and James Mellon. Mellon's father had written to him that "a man may be a patriot without risking his own life or sacrificing his health. There are plenty of lives less valuable."

It was the firm of Drexel, Morgan and Company that was given a U.S. government contract to float a bond issue of $260 million. The government could have sold the bonds directly; it chose to pay the bankers $5 million in commission.

On January 2, 1889, as Gustavus Myers reports:

. . . a circular marked "Private and Confidential" was issued by the three banking houses of Drexel, Morgan & Company, Brown Brothers & Company, and Kidder, Peabody & Company. The most painstaking care was exercised that this document should not find its way into the press or otherwise become public. . . . Why this fear? Because the circu­ lar was an invitation . . . to the great railroad magnates to assemble at Morgan's house, No. 219 Madison Avenue, there to form, in the phrase of the day, an iron-clad combination . . . a compact which would efface competition among certain railroads, and unite those interests in an agreement by which the people of the United States would be bled even more effectively than before.

There was a human cost to this exciting story of financial ingenuity. That year, 1889, records of the Interstate Commerce Commission showed that 22,000 railroad workers were killed or injured .



In 1895 the gold reserve of the United States was depleted, while twenty-six New York City banks had $129 million in gold in their vaults. A syndicate of bankers headed by J. P. Morgan & Company, August Belmont & Company, the National City Bank, and others offered to give the govern­ ment gold in exchange for bonds. President Grover Cleveland agreed. The bankers immediately resold the bonds at higher prices, making $18 million profit.

A journalist wrote: "If a man wants to buy beef, he must go to the butcher. . . . If Mr. Cleveland wants much gold, he must go to the big banker."

While making his fortune, Morgan brought rationality and organization to the national economy. He kept the system stable. He said: "We do not want financial convulsions and have one thing one day and another thing another day." He linked railroads to one another, all of them to banks, banks to insur­ ance companies. By 1900, he controlled 100,000 miles of railroad, half the country's mileage .

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Three insurance companies dominated by the Morgan group had a bil­ lion dollars in assets. They had $50 million a year to invest-money given by ordinary people for their insurance policies. Louis Brandeis, describing this in his book *Other People's Money* (before he became a Supreme Court justice), wrote: "They control the people through the people's own money."

John D. Rockefeller started as a bookkeeper in Cleveland, became a mer­ chant, accumulated money, and decided that, in the new industry of oil, who controlled the oil refineries controlled the industry. He bought his first oil refin­ ery in 1862, and by 1870 set up Standard Oil Company of Ohio, made secret agreements with railroads to ship his oil with them if they gave him rebates­ discounts-on their prices, and thus drove competitors out of business.

One independent refiner said: "If we did not sell out. . . we would be crushed out. . . . There was only one buyer on the market and we had to sell at their terms." Memos like this one passed among Standard Oil officials: "Wilkerson & Co. received car of oil Monday 13th. . . . Please turn another screw." A rival refinery in Buffalo was rocked by a small explosion arranged by Standard Oil officials with the refinery's chief mechanic.

The Standard Oil Company, by 1899, was a holding company which con­ trolled the stock of many other companies. The capital was $110 million, the profit was $45 million a year, and John D. Rockefeller's fortune was estimated at $200 million. Before long he would move into iron, copper, coal, shipping, and banking (Chase Manhattan Bank). Profits would be $81 million a year, and the Rockefeller fortune would total two billion dollars.

Andrew Carnegie was a telegraph clerk at seventeen, then secretary to the head of the Pennsylvania Railroad, then a broker in Wall Street selling railroad bonds for huge commissions, and as soon a millionaire. He went to London in 1872, saw the new Bessemer method of producing steel, and returned to the United States to build a million-dollar steel plant. Foreign competition was kept out by a high tariff conveniently set by Congress, and by 1880 Carnegie was producing 10,000 tons of steel a month, making $1*Yz* million a year in profit. By 1900 he was making $40 million a year, and that year, at a dinner party, he agreed to sell his steel company to J. P. Morgan. He scribbled the price on a note: $492,000,000 .

Morgan then formed the U.S. Steel Corporation, combining Carnegie's corporation with others. He sold stocks and bonds for $1,300,000,000 (about 400 million more than the combined worth of the companies) and took a fee of 150 million for arranging the consolidation. How could dividends be paid to all those stockholders and bondholders? By making sure Congress passed tariffs keeping out foreign steel; by closing off competition and maintaining the price at $28 a ton; and by working 200,000 men twelve hours a day for wages that barely kept their families alive.

And so it went, in industry after industry-shrewd, efficient businessmen

building empires, choking out competition, maintaining high prices, keeping wages low, using government subsidies. These industries were the first benefi­ ciaries of the "welfare state." By the turn of the century, American Telephone and telegraph had a monopoly of the nation's telephone system, International Harvester made 85 percent of all farm machinery, and in every other industry

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resources became concentrated, controlled. The banks had interests in so many of these monopolies as to create an interlocking network of powerful corporation directors, each of whom sat on the boards of many other corporations. Accord­ ing to a Senate report of the early twentieth century, Morgan at his peak sat on the board of forty-eight corporations; Rockefeller, thirty-seven corporations.

Meanwhile, the government of the United States was behaving almost exactly as Karl Marx described a capitalist state: pretending neutrality to main­ tain order, but serving the interests of the rich. Not that the rich agreed among themselves; they had disputes over policies. But the purpose of the state was to settle upper-class disputes peacefully, control lower-class rebellion, and adopt policies that would further the long-range stability of the system. The arrange­ ment between Democrats and Republicans to elect Rutherford Hayes in 1877 set the tone. Whether Democrats or Republicans won, national policy would not change in any important way.

When Grover Cleveland, a Democrat, ran for President in 1884, the gen­ eral impression in the country was that he opposed the power of monopolies and corporations, and that the Republican party, whose candidate was James Blaine, stood for the wealthy. But when Cleveland defeated Blaine, Jay Gould wired him: "I feel . . . that the vast business interests of the country will be entirely safe in your hands. 11 And he was right.



One of Cleveland's chief advisers was William Whitney, a millionaire and corporation lawyer, who married into the Standard Oil fortune and was appointed Secretary of the Navy by Cleveland. He immediately set about to create a "steel navy," buying the steel at artificially high prices from Carnegie's plants. Cleveland himself assured industrialists that his election should not frighten them: "No harm shall come to any business interest as the result of administrative policy so long as I am President . . . a transfer of executive con­ trol from one party to another does not mean any serious disturbance of exist­ ing conditions. 11

The presidential election itself had avoided real issues; there was no clear understanding of which interests would gain and which would lose if certain policies were adopted. It took the usual form of election campaigns, conceal­ ing the basic similarity of the parties by dwelling on personalities, gossip, trivi­ alities. Henry Adams, an astute literary commentator on that era, wrote to a friend about the election:



We are here plunged in politics funnier than words can express. Very great issues are involved. . . . But the amusing thing is that no one talks about real interests. By common consent they agree to let these alone. We are afraid to discuss them. Instead of this the press is engaged in a most amusing dispute whether Mr. Cleveland had an illegitimate child and did or did not live with more than one mistress.

In 1887, with a huge surplus in the treasury, Cleveland vetoed a bill appropriating $100,000 to give relief to Texas farmers to help them buy seed grain during a drought. He said: "Federal aid in such cases . . . encourages the expectation of paternal care on the part of the government and weakens the

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sturdiness of our national character." But that same year, Cleveland used his gold surplus to pay off wealthy bondholders at $28 above the $100 value of each bond-a gift of $45 million.

The chief reform of the Cleveland administration gives away the secret

of reform legislation in America. The Interstate Commerce Act of 1887 was supposed to regulate the railroads on behalf of the consumers. But Richard Olney, a lawyer for the Boston & Maine and other railroads, and soon to be Cleveland's Attorney General, told railroad officials who complained about the Interstate Commerce Commission that it would not be wise to abolish the Commission "from a railroad point of view." He explained:



The Commission . . . is or can be made, of great use to the railroads. It satisfies the popular clamor for a government supervision of rail­ roads, at the same time that that supervision is almost entirely nomi­ nal. . . . The part of wisdom is not to destroy the Commission, but to utilize it.

Cleveland himself, in his 1887 State of the Union message, had made a similar point, adding a warning: "Opportunity for safe, careful, and deliberate reform is now offered; and none of us should be unmindful of a time when an abused and irritated people . . . may insist upon a radical and sweeping rectifi­ cation of their wrongs."

Republican Benjamin Harrison, who succeeded Cleveland as President

from 1889 to 1893, was described by Matthew Josephson, in his colorful study of the post-Civil War years, *The Politicos:* "Benjamin Harrison had the exclusive distinction of having served the rajlway corporations in the dual capacity of lawyer and soldier. He prosecuted the strikers [of 1877] in the federal courts

. . . and he also organized and commanded a company of soldiers during the strike. . . ."

Harrison's term also saw a gesture toward reform. The Sherman Anti­

Trust Act, passed in 1890, called itself "An Act to protect trade and commerce against unlawful restraints" and made it illegal to form a "combination or conspiracy" to restrain trade in interstate or foreign commerce. Senator John Sherman, author of the Act, explained the need to conciliate the critics of monopoly : "They had monopolies . . . of old, but never before such giants as in our day. You must heed their appeal or be ready for the socialist, the com­ munist, the nihilist. Society is now disturbed by forces never felt before. . . ."

When Cleveland was elected President again in 1892, Andrew Carnegie, in Europe, received a letter from the manager of his steel plants, Henry Clay Frick: "I am very sorry for President Harrison, but I cannot see that our inter­ ests are going to be affected one way or the other by the change in administra­ tion." Cleveland, facing the agitation in the country caused by the panic and depression of 1893, used troops to break up "Coxey's Army," a demonstration of unemployed men who had come to Washington, and again to break up the national strike on the railroads the following year.

Meanwhile, the Supreme Court, despite its look of somber, black-robed fairness, was doing its bit for the ruling elite. How could it be independent,

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with its members chosen by the President and ratified by the Senate? How  could it be neutral between rich and poor when its members were often former

wealthy lawyers, and almost always came from the upper class? Early in the nineteenth century the Court laid the legal basis for a nationally regulated economy by establishing federal control over interstate commerce, and the legal basis for corporate capitalism by making the contract sacred.



In 1895 the Court interpreted the Sherman Act so as to make it harmless. It said a monopoly of sugar refining was a monopoly in manufacturing, not commerce, and so could not be regulated by Congress through the Sherman Act *(U.S. v. E.* C. *Knight Co.).* The Court also said the Sherman Act could be used against interstate strikes (the railway strike of 1894) because they were in restraint of trade. It also declared unconstitutional a small attempt by Con­ gress to tax high incomes at a higher rate *(Pollock v. Farmers' Loan* & *Trust Com­ pany).* In later years it would refuse to break up the Standard Oil and American Tobacco monopolies, saying the Sherman Act barred only "unreasonable" combinations in restraint of trade.



A New York banker toasted the Supreme Court in 1895:"I give you, gentle­ men, the Supreme Court of the United States-guardian of the dollar, defender of private property, enemy of spoliation, •sheet anchor of the Republic."

Very soon after the Fourteenth Amendment became law, the Supreme Court began to demolish it as a protection for blacks, and to develop it as a protection for corporations. However, in 1877, a Supreme Court decision *(Munn v. Illinois)* approved state laws regulating the prices charged to farmers for.the use of grain elevators. The grain elevator company argued it was a per­ son being deprived of property, thus violating the Fourteenth Amendment's declaration "nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property without due process of Jaw." The Supreme Court disagreed, saying that grain elevators were not simply private property but were invested with "a public interest" and so could be regulated.



One year after that decision, the American Bar Association , organized by lawyers accustomed to serving the wealthy, began a national campaign of educa­ tion to reverse the Court decision. Its presidents said, at different times: "If trusts are a defensive weapon of property interests against the communistic trend, they are desirable." And: "Monopoly is often a necessity and an advantage."

By 1886, they succeeded. State legislatures, under the pressure of aroused farmers, had passed laws to regulate the rates charged farmers by the railroads. The Supreme Court that year *(Wabash v. Illinois)* said states could not do this, that this was an intrusion on federal power. That year alone, the Court did away with 230 state laws that had been passed to regulate corporations.



By this time the Supreme Court had accepted the argument that corpora­ tions were "persons" and their money was property protected by the due pro­ cess clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. Supposedly, the Amendment had been passed to protect Negro rights, but of the Fourteenth Amendment cases brought before the Supreme Court between 1890 and 1910, nineteen dealt with the Negro, 288 dealt with corporations.

The justices of the Supreme Court were not simply interpreters of the Constitution. They were men of certain backgrounds, of certain interests. One

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of them Oustice Samuel Miller) had said in 1875: "It is vain to contend with Judges who have been at the bar the advocates for forty years of railroad com­ panies, and all forms of associated capital. . . ." In 1893, Supreme Court Justice

David J. Brewer, addressing the New York State Bar Association, said:

It is the unvarying law that the wealth of the community will be in the hands of the few. . . .The great majority of men are unwilling to endure that long self-denial and saving which makes accumulations possi­ ble . . . and hence it always has been, and until human nature is remod­ eled always will be true, that the wealth of a nation is in the hands of a few, while the many subsist upon the proceeds of their daily toil.

This was not just a whim of the 1880s and 1890s-it went back to the Founding Fathers, who had learned their law in the era of *Blackstone 's Com­ mentaries,* which said: "So great is the regard of the law for private property, that it will not authorize the least violation of it; no, not even for the common good of the whole community."

Control in modern times requires more than force, more than law. It requires that a population dangerously concentrated in cities and factories, whose lives are filled with cause for rebellion, be taught that all is right as it is. And so, the schools, the churches, the popular literature taught that to be rich was a sign of superiority, to be poor a sign of personal failure, and that the only way upward for a poor person was to climb into the ranks of the rich by extraordinary effort and extraordinary luck.



In those years after the Civil War, a man named Russell Conwell, a gradu­ ate of Yale Law School, a minister, qnd author of best-selling books, gave the same lecture, "Acres of Diamonds," more than five thousand times to audi­ ences across the country, reaching several million people in all. His message was that anyone could get rich if he tried hard enough, that everywhere, if people looked closely enough, were "acres of diamonds." A sampling:

I say that you ought to get rich, and it is your duty to get rich. . . . The men who get rich may be the most honest men you find in the com­ munity. Let me say here clearly . . . ninety-eight out of one hundred of the rich men of America are honest. That is why they are rich . That is why they are trusted with money. That is why they carry on great enterprises and find plenty of people to work with them. lt is because they are honest men. . . .

I sympathize with the poor, but the number of poor who are to be sympathized with is very small. To sympathize with a man whom God has punished for his sins . . . is to do wrong . . . let us remember there is not a poor person in the United States who was not made poor by his own shortcomings. . . .

Conwell was a founder of Temple University. Rockefeller was a donor to colleges all over the country and helped found the University of Chicago. Huntington, of the Central Pacific, gave money to two Negro colleges, Hampton Institute and Tuskegee Institute. Carnegie gave money to colleges

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and to libraries. Johns Hopkins was founded by a millionaire merchant, and millionaires Cornelius Vanderbilt, Ezra Cornell, James Duke, and Leland Stan­ ford created universities in their own names.

The rich, giving part of their enormous earnings in this way, became known as philanthropists. These educational institutions did not encourage dissent; they trained the middlemen in the American system-the teachers, doctors, lawyers, administrators, engineers, technicians, politicians-those who would be paid to keep the system going, to be loyal buffers against trouble.

In the meantime, the spread of public school education enabled the learning of writing, reading, and arithmetic for a whole generation of workers, skilled and semiskilled, who would be the literate or force of the new indus­ trial age. It was important that these people learn obedience to authority. A journalist observer of the schools in the 1890s wrote: "The unkindly spirit of the teacher is strikingly apparent; the pupils, being completely subjugated to her will, are silent and motionless, the spiritual atmosphere of the classroom is damp and chilly."

Back in 1859, the desire of mill owners in the town of Lowell that their

workers be educated was explained by the secretary of the Massachusetts Board of Education:

The owners of factories are more concerned than other classes and interests in the intelligence of their laborers. When the latter are well-educated and the former are disposed to deal justly, controver­ sies and strikes can never occur, nor can the minds of the masses be prejudiced by demagogues and controlled by temporary and factious considerations.

Joel Spring, in his book *Education and the Rise of the Corporate State,* says: "The development of a factory-like system in the nineteenth-century school­ room was not accidental."

This continued into the twentieth century, when William Bagley's *Class­*

*room Management* became a standard teacher training text, reprinted thirty times. Bagley said: "One who studies educational theory aright can see in the mechanical routine of the classroom the educative forces that are slowly trans­ forming the child from a little savage into a creature of law and order, fit for the life of civilized society."

It was in the middle and late nineteenth century that high schools devel­

oped as aids to the industrial system, that history was widely required in the curriculum to foster patriotism. Loyalty oaths, teacher certification , and the requirement of citizenship were introduced to control both the educational and the political quality of teachers. Also, in the latter part of the century, school officials-not teachers-were given control over textbooks. Laws passed by the states barred certain kinds of textbooks. Idaho and Montana, for instance, for­ bade textbooks propagating "political" doctrines, and the Dakota territory ruled that school libraries could not have "partisan political pamphlets or books."



Against this gigantic organization of knowledge and education for ortho­ doxy and obedience, there arose a literature of dissent and protest , which had

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to make its way from reader to reader against great obstacles. Henry George, a self-educated workingman from a poor Ph iladelphia family, who became a newspaperman and an economist, wrote a book that was published i n 1879 and sold millions of copies, not only in the United States, but all over the world. His book *Progress and Poverty* argued that the basis of wealth was land, that this was becoming monopolized, and that a single tax on land, abol­ ishing all others, would bri ng enough revenue to solve the problem of pov­ erty and equalize wealth in the nation . Readers may not have been persuaded of his solutions, but they could see i n their own lives the accuracy of his observations:



It is true that wealth has been greatly increased, and that the average of comfort, leisure and refinement has been raised; but these gains are not general. ln them the lowest class do not share. . . . This association of poverty with progress is the great enigma of our times. . . . There is a vague but general feeling of disappointment; an increased bitterness among the working classes; a widespread feeling of unrest and brood­ ing revolution. . . . The civilized world is trembling on the verge of a great movement. Either it must be a leap upward, which will open the way to advances yet undreamed of, or it must he a plunge downwa rd which will carry us back toward ba rbarism. . . .



A different kind of challenge to the economic and social system was given by Edward Bellamy, a lawyer and writer from western Massachusetts, who wrote, in simple, intrigui ng language, a novel called *Looking Backward,* in which the author fells asleep and wakes up in the year 2000, to find a socialistic society in which people work and live cooperatively. *Looking Back­ ward,* which described socialism vividly, lovingly, sold a million copies in a few years, and over a hundred groups were organized around the country to try to make the dream come true.



It seemed that despite the strenuous efforts of government, business, the church, the schools, to control their thinking, millions of Americans were ready to consider harsh criticism of the existing system, to contemplate other possible ways of living. They were helped in this by the great movements of workers and farmers that swept the country in the 1880s and 1890s. These movements went beyond the scattered strikes and tenants' struggles of the period 1830-1877. . . . They were nationwide movements, more threatening than before to the ruling elite, more dangerously suggestive. It was a time when revolutionary organizations existed in major American cities, and revo­ lutionary talk was in the air.



**John S. Gordon**

**NO**

**Was There Ever Such a Business!**



**The** industrial empires that were created by the robber barons appeared more and more threatening in their economic power as they merged into ever-larger companies. In the latter half of the 1890s, this trend toward consolidation accel­ erated. In 1897 there were 69 corporate mergers; in 1898 there were 303; the next year 1,208. Of the seventy-three "trusts" with capitalization of more than

$10 million in 1900, two-thirds had been created in the previous three years.

In 1901 J. P. Morgan created the largest company of all, U.S. Steel, merg­ ing Andrew Carnegie's empire with several other steel companies to form a new company capitalized at $1.4 billion. The revenues of the federal govern­ ment that year were a mere $586 million . The sheer size of the enterprise stunned the world. Even the *Wall Street }oumal* confessed to "uneasiness over the magnitude of the affair," and wondered if the new corporation would mark "the high tide of industrial capitalism." A joke made the rounds where a teacher asks a little boy about who made the world. "God made the world in 4004 B.c.," he replied, "and it was reorganized in 1901 by J. P. Morgan."

But when Theodore Roosevelt entered the White House in September 1901, the laiseez-faire attitude of the federal government began to change. In 1904 the government announced that it would sue under the Sherman Anti­ trust Act-long thought a dead letter-to break up a new Morgan consolida­ tion, the Northern Securities Corporation. Morgan hurried to Washington to get the matter straightened out.

"If we have done anything wrong," Morgan told the president, fully encapsulating his idea of how the commercial world should work, "send your man to my man and they can fix it up."

"That can't be done," Roosevelt replied.

"We don't want to fix it up," his attorney general, Philander Knox, explained. "We want to stop it."

From that point on, the federal government would be an active referee in the marketplace, trying-not always successfully, to be sure-to balance the needs of efficiency and economies of scale against the threat of overweening power in organizations that owed allegiance only to their stockholders, not to society as a whole.

In 1907 the federal government took on the biggest "trust" of all, Standard Oil. The case reached the Supreme Court in 1910 and was decided the following

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year, when the Court ruled unanimously that Standard Oil was a combination in restraint of trade. It ordered Standard Oil broken up into more than thirty separate companies.



The liberal wing of American politics hailed the decision, needless to say,

but in one of the great ironies of American economic history, the effect of the ruling on the greatest fortune in the world was only to increase it. In the two years after the breakup of Standard Oil, the stock in the successor companies doubled in value, making John D. Rockefeller twice as rich as he had been before.

Nothing so epitomized the economy of the late nineteenth-century West­ ern world as steel. Its production became the measure of a country's industrial power, and its uses were almost without limit. Its influence in other sectors of the economy, such as railroads and real estate, was immense. But steel was hardly an invention of the time. Indeed, it has been around for at least three thousand years. What was new was the cost of producing it.

Pig iron, the first step in iron and steel production, is converted into bar iron by remelting it and mixing it with ground limestone to remove still more impurities. Cast iron is then created by pouring this into molds, producing such items as frying pans, cookstoves, and construction members. Cast iron was widely used in urban construction in the antebellum period, but it had serious drawbacks. Extremely strong in compression, cast iron makes excellent columns. But, because it is very brittle, it is weak in tension, making it unsuit­ able for beams. For them, wrought iron was needed.

Wrought iron is made by melting pig iron and stirring it repeatedly until it achieves a pasty consistency and most of the impurities have been volatil­ ized. The laborers who worked thse furnaces were known as puddlers and were both highly skilled and highly paid. After the metal is removed from the puddling furnace, it is subjected to pressure and rolled and folded over and over-in effect, it is kneaded like bread dough-until it develops the fibrous quality that makes wrought iron much less brittle than cast iron and thus moderately strong in tension. Wrought iron is quite soft compared to cast iron but it is also ductile, able to be drawn out and hammered into various shapes, just as copper can be.



Wrought iron, of course, was much more expensive to produce than cast iron but could be used for making beams, bridges, ships, and, most important to the nineteenth-century economy after 1830, railroad rails. The Industrial Revolution simply could not have moved into high gear without large quanti­ ties of wrought iron.

Steel, which is iron alloyed with just the right amount of carbon under suitable conditions, has the good qualities of both cast and wrought iron. It is extremely strong and hard, like cast iron, while it is also malleable and with­ stands shock like wrought iron. And it is far stronger in tension than either, and thus makes a superb building material.

But until the mid-nineteenth century, the only way to make steel was in small batches from wrought iron, mixing the iron with carbon and heat­ ing it for a period of days. Thus its use was limited to very high-value items such as sword blades, razors, and tools, where its ability to withstand shock



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and take and hold a sharp edge ju stified its high cost. At mid-century, roughly 250,000 tons of steel were being made by the old methods in Europe, and only about 10,000 tons in the United States.

Then, in 1856, an Englishman named Henry Bessemer (later Sir Henry) invented the Bessemer converter, which allowed steel to be made directly and quickly from pig iron. As so often happens in the history of technologi­ cal development, the initial insight was the result of an accidental observa­ tion. Bessemer had developed a new type of artillery shell, but the cast-iron cannons of the day were not strong enough to handle it. He began experi­ menting in hopes of developing a stronger metal, and one day a gust of wind happened to hit some molten iron. The oxygen in the air, combining with the iron and carbon in the molten metal, raised the temperature of the metal and volatilized the impurities . Most of the carbon was driven off. What was left was steel.



Bessemer, realizing what had happened, immediately set about designing an industrial process that would duplicate what he had observed accidentally. His converter was a large vessel, about ten feet wide by twenty feet high, with trun­ nions so that its contents could be poured. It was made of steel and lined with firebrick. At the bottom, air could be blasted through holes in the firebrick into the "charge," as the mass of molten metal in the crucible was called, converting it to steel in a stupendous blast of flame and heat. With the Bessemer converte, ten to thirty tons of pig iron could be turned into steel every twelve to fifteen minutes in what is one of the most spectacular of all industrial processes.



The labor activist John A. Fitch wrote in 1910 that "there is a glamor about the making of steel. The very size of things-the immensity of the tools, the scale of production-grips the mind with an overwhelming sense of power. Blast furnaces, eighty, ninety, one hundred feet tall, gaunt and insatiable, are continually gaping to admit ton after ton of ore, fuel, and stone. Bessemer converters dazzle the eye with their leaping flames. Steel ingots at white heat, weighing thousand s of pounds, are carried from place to place and tossed about like toys. . . . [C)ranes pick up steel rails or fifty-foot girders as jauntily as if their tons were ounces. These are the things that cast a spell over the visitor in these workshops of Vulcan."



One of the visitors to Henry Bessemer's steelworks in Sheffield, England, in 1872, was a young Scottish immigrant to America, Andrew Carnegie. He was mightily impressed-so impressed, in fact, that in the next thirty years he would ride the growing demand for steel to one of the greatest American fortunes.

Carnegie had been born in Dunfermline, a few miles northwest and across the Firth of Forth from Edinburgh, in 1835. His father was a hand weaver who owned his own loom, on which he made intricately pattern ed damask cloth. Dunfermline was a center of the damask trade, and skilled weavers such as William Carnegie could make a good living at it.

But the Industrial Revolution destroyed William Carnegie's livelihood. By the 1840s power looms could produce cloth such as damask much more cheaply than handlooms. While there had been 84,560 handloom weavers in Scotland in 1840, there wou ld be only 25,000 ten years later. William Carnegie would not be one of them.

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The elder Carnegie sank into despair, and his far tougher-minded wife took charge of the crisis. She had gotten a letter from her sister, who had immigrated to America, settling in Pittsburgh. "This country's far better for the working man," her sister wrote, "than the old one, & there is room enough & to spare, notwithstanding the thousands that flock to her borders." ln 1847, when Andrew was twelve, the Carnegie family moved to Pittsburgh.

The Carnegies were in the first wave of one of the great movements of people in human history, known as the Atlantic migration. At first most of the immigrants came from the British Isles, especially Ireland after the onset of the Great Famine of the 1840s. Later Germany, Italy, and Eastern Europe provided immigrants in huge numbers, more than two million in 1900 alone.

In its size and significance the Atlantic migration was the equal of the bar­ barian movements in late classic times that helped bring the Roman Empire to an end. But while many of the barbarian tribes had been pushed by those behind them, the more than thirty million people who crossed the Atlantic to settle in America between 1820 and 1914 were largely pulled by the lure of economic opportunity.

Many, such as the land-starved Scandinavians who settled in the Upper

Middle West, moved to rural areas and established farms. But most, at least at first, settled in the country's burgeoning cities, in the fast-spreading districts that came to be called slums (a word that came into use, in both Britain and America, about 1825). For the first time in American history, a substantial por­ tion of the population was poor. But most of the new urban poor were not poor for long.

These slums, by modern standards, were terrible almost beyond imagina­

tion, with crime- and vermin-ridden, sunless apartments that often housed several people, sometimes several families, to a room and had only commu­ nal privies behind the buildings . In the 1900 census, when conditions in the slums had much improved from mid-century, one district in New York's Lower East Side had a population of more than fifty thousand but only about five hundred bathtubs.

Such housing, however, was no worse-and often better-than what the

impoverished immigrants lef t behind in Europe, and as Mrs. Carnegie's sister­ and millions like her-reported back home, the economic opportunities were far greater. The labor shortage so characteristic of the American economy since its earliest days had not abated. So the average stay for an immigrant family in the worst of the slums was less than fifteen years, before they were able to move to better housing in better neighborhoods and begin the climb into the American middle class.

The migration of people to the United States in search of economic

opportunity has never ceased, although legal limits were placed on it begin­ ning in the early 1920s. And this vast migration did far more than help provide the labor needed to power the American economy. It has given the United States the most ethnically diverse population of any country in the world. And because of that, it has provided the country with close personal connections with nearly every other country on the globe, an immense eco­ nomic and political advantage.

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The Carnegies moved into two rooms above a workshop that faced a muddy alleyway behind Mrs. Carnegie's sister's house in Allegheny City, a neighborhood of Pittsburgh. Mrs. Carnegie found work making shoes, and Mr. Carnegie worked in a cotton mill. Andrew got a job there as well, as a bob­ bin boy earning $1.20 a week for twelve-hour days, six days a week.

Needless to say, it didn't take the bright and ambitious Andrew Carnegie fifteen years to start up the ladder. By 1849 he had a job as a telegraph messen­ ger boy, earning $2.50 a week. This gave him many opportunities to become familiar with Pittsburgh and its business establishment, and Carnegie made the most of them. Soon he was an operator, working the telegraph himself and able to interpret it by ear, writing down the messages directly. His salary was up to $25 a month.



In 1853, in a classic example of Louis Pasteur's dictum that chance favors the prepared mind, Thomas A. Scott, general superintendent of the Pennsylvania Railroad, a frequent visitor to the telegraph office where Carnegie worked, needed a telegraph operator of his own to help with the system being installed by the railroad. He chose Carnegie, not yet eighteen years old. By the time Carnegie was thirty-three, in 1868, he had an annual income of $50,000, thanks to the tutelage of Thomas Scott and numerous shrewd investments in railway sleeping cars, oil, telegraph lines, and iron manufacturing. But after his visit to Bessemer's works in Sheffield, he decided to concentrate on steel.



It had been pure chance that had brought the Carnegie family to Pittsburgh, but its comparative advantages would make it the center of the American steel industry.

Set where the Allegheny and Monongahela rivers join to form the Ohio and provide easy transportation over a wide area, Pittsburgh had been

founded, as so many cities west of the mountains were, as a trading post. Shortly after the Revolution, Pittsburgh began to exploit the abundant nearby sources of both iron ore and coal and specialize in manufacturing. While the rest of the country still relied on wood, coal became the dominant fuel in Pitts­ burgh, powering factories that were turning out glass, iron, and other energy­ intensive products. As early as 1817, when the population was still only six thousand, there were 250 factories in operation, and the nascent city, with already typical American boosterism, was calling itself the "Birmingham of America." Because of the cheap coal, Pittsburgh exploited the steam engine long before it began to displace water power elsewhere, and most of its facto­ ries were steam-powered by 1830.

There was, however, a price to be paid for the cheap coal, which pro­ duces far more smoke than does wood. About 1820, when Pittsburgh was still a relatively small town, a visitor wrote that the smoke formed "a cloud which almost amounts to night and overspreads Pittsburgh with the appearance of gloom and melancholy." By the 1860s even Anthony Trollope, London-born and no stranger to coal smoke, was impressed with the pall. Looked down

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on from the sur rounding hills, Trollope reported, some of the tops of the churches could be seen, "But the city itself is buried in a dense cloud. I was never more in love with smoke and dirt than when I stood here and watched the darkness of night close in upon the floating soot which hovered over the house-tops of the city." As the Industrial Revolution gathered strength, other American cities became polluted with coal smoke and soot, but none so badly as Pittsburgh.

The most important coal beds in the Pittsburgh area were those surround­ ing the town of Connellsville, about thirty miles southeast of the city. What made Connellsville coal special was that it was nearly perfect for converting into coke. Indeed it is the best coking coal in the world. '

Coke is to coal exactly what charcoal is to wood: heated in the absence of air to drive off the impurities, it becomes pure carbon and burns at an even and easily adjusted temperature. And either charcoal or coke is indispensable to iron and steel production. As the iron industry in Pittsburgh grew, it turned more and more to coke, the production of which was far more easily industri­ alized than was charcoal.

By the time Andrew Carnegie was moving into steel, Henry Clay Frick, who had been born in West Overton, Pennsylvania, not far from Connellsville, in 1849, was moving into coke. Like Carnegie, Frick was a very hardheaded businessman and willing to take big risks for big rewards. And like Carnegie, he was a millionaire by the time he was thirty. Unlike Carnegie, however, he had little concern with public opinion or the great social issues of the day. Carnegie always wanted to be loved and admired by society at large. Frick was perfectly willing to settle for its respect. Unlike Carnegie, he rarely granted newspaper interviews and never wrote articles fpr publication.

By the 1880s the Carnegie Steel Company and the H. C. Frick Company dominated their respective industries, and Carnegie was by far Frick's big­ gest customer. In late 1881, while Frick was on his honeymoon in New York, Carnegie, who loved surprises, suddenly proposed a merger of their companies at a family lunch one day. Frick, who had no inkling the proposal was coming, was stunned. So was Carnegie's ever-vigilant mother, now in her seventies. The silence that ensued was finally broken by what is perhaps the most famous instance of maternal concern in American business history.

II Ah, Andra," said Mrs. Carnegie in her broad Scots accent, 11that's a very fine thing for Mr. Freek. But what do we get out of it?"

Needless to say, Carnegie had calculated closely what he would get out of it. First, the Carnegie Steel Company would get guaranteed supplies of coke at the best possible price; second, he would get the surpassing executive skills of Henry Clay Frick; and third, he would further the vertical integration of the steel industry in general and his company in particular.



Vertical integration simply means bringing under one corporation's con­ trol part or all of the stream of production from raw materials to distribution. It had been going on since the dawn of the Industrial Revolution (Francis Cabot Lowell had been the first to integrate spinning and weaving in a single building) but greatly accelerated in the last quarter of the nineteenth century as industrialists sought economies of scale as well as of speed to cut costs.

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Carnegie and Frick shared a simple management philosophy: (1) Inno­ vate constantly and invest heavily in the latest equipment and techniques to drive down operating costs. (2) Always be the low-cost producer so as to remain profitable in bad economic times. (3) Retain most of the profits in good times to take advantage of opportunities in bad times as less efficient competi­ tors fail.

One such opportunity arose in 1889, by which time Frick was chairman of the Carnegie steel companies (Carnegie himself never held an executive position in the companies he controlled, but as the holder of a comfort­ able majority of the stock, he was always the man in charge). That year Frick snapped up the troubled Duquesne Steel Works, paying for it with $1 million in Carnegie company bonds due to mature in five years. By the time the bonds were paid off, the plant had paid for itself five times over.

Much of the technological advances that Carnegie was so quick to use came from Europe's older and more established steel industries, ju st as, nearly a century earlier, the American cloth industry had piggybacked on Britain's technological lead. As one of Carnegie's principal lieutenants, Captain W. M. Jones, explained to the British Iron and Steel Institute as early as 1881, "While your metallurgists as well as those of Franoe and Germany, have been devoting their time and talents to the discovery of new processes, we have swallowed the information so generously tendered through the printed report s of the Insti­ tute, and we have selfishly devoted ourselves to beating you in output." · And beat them they did. In 1867 only 1,643 tons of Bessemer steel was produced in the United States. Thirty years later, in 1897, the tonnage pro­ duced was 7,156,957, more than Britain and Germany combined. By the turn of the century the Carnegie Steel Company alone would outproduce Britain. It would also be immensely profitable. In 1899 the Carnegie Steel Company, the low-cost producer in the prosperous and heavily protected American market, made $21 million in profit. The following year profits doubled. No wonder



Andrew Carnegie exclaimed at one point, "Was there ever such a business!"

And steel was also transforming the American urban landscape. When stone was the principal construction material of large buildings, they could not rise much above six stories, even after the elevator was perfected in the 1850s, because of the necessary thickness of the walls. It was church steeples that rose above their neighbors and punctuated the urban skyline. But as the price of steel declined steadily as the industry's efficiency rose-by the 1880s the far longer-lasting steel railroad rails cost less than the old wrought-iron rails-more and more buildings were built with steel skeletons and could soar to the sky. Between the 1880s and 1913 the record height for buildings was broken as often as every year as "skyscrapers" came to dominate American urban skylines in an awesome display of the power of steel. . . .



While the late-nineteenth-century American economy was increasingly built by and with steel, it was increasingly fueled by oil. In 1859, the year Edwin Drake drilled the fi rst well, American production amounted to only 2,000 barrels. Ten years later it was 4.25 million and by 1900, American pro­ duction would be nearly 60 million barrels. But while production rose steadily, the price of oil was chaotic, sinking as low as 10 cents a barrel-far below the

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cost of the barrel itself-and soaring as high as $13.75 during the 1860s. One reason for this was the vast nu mber of refineries then in existence. Cleveland alone had more than thirty, many of them nickel-and-dime, ramshackle operations.

Many people, while happy to exploit the new oil business, were unwill­

ing to make large financial commitments to it for fear that the oil would sud­ denly dry up. The field in northwestern Pennsylvania was very nearly the only one in the world until the 1870s, when the Baku field in what was then south­ ern Russia opened up. There would be no major new field in the United States until the fabulous Spindletop field in Texas was first tapped in 1902.

But a firm named Rockefeller, Flagler, and Andrews, formed to exploit the burgeoning market for petroleum products, especially kerosene, took the gamble of building top-quality refineries. Like Carnegie, it intended to exploit being the low-cost producer, with all the advantages of that position. The firm also began buying up other refineries as the opportunity presented itself.

The firm realized that there was no controlling the price of crude oil but that it could control, at least partly, another important input into the price of petroleum products: transportation. It began negotiating aggressively with the railroads to give the firm rebates in return for guaranteeing high levels of traf­ fic. It was this arrangement that often allowed the firm to undersell itscompeti­ tors and still make handsome profits, further strengthening the firm's already formidable competitive position.

In 1870 one of the partner s, Henry Flagler, convinced the others to change the firm from a partnership to a corporation, which would make it easier for the partners to continue to raise capital to finance their relentless expansion while retaining control. The new corporation, named Standard Oil, was capitalized at $1 million and owned at that time about 10 percent of the country's oil refining capacity. By 1880 it would control 80 percent of a much larger industry.

The expansion of Standard Oil became one of the iccmic stories of late­ nineteenth-century America, as its stockholders became rich beyond imagina­ tion and its influence in the American economy spread ever wider. Indeed, the media reaction to Standard Oil and John D. Rockefeller in the Gilded Age is strikingly similar to the reaction to the triumph of Microsoft and Bill Gates a hundred years later. It is perhaps a coincidence that Rockefeller and Gates were ju st about the same age, their early forties, when they became household names and the living symbols of a new and, to some, threatening economic structure.



The image of Standard Oil that remains even today in the American folk memory was the product of a number of writers and editorial cartoonists who often had a political agenda to advance first and foremost. The most brilliant of these was Ida Tarbell, whose *History of the Standard Oil Company,* first pub­ lished in *McClure 's* magazine in 1902, vividly depicted a company ruthlessly expanding over the corporate bodies of its competitors, whose assets it gob­ bled up as it went.

That is by no means a wholly false picture, but it is a somewhat mislead­ ing one. For one thing, as the grip of Standard Oil relentlessly tightened on the

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oil industry, prices for petroleum products *declined* steadily, dropping by two­ thirds over the course of the last three decades of the nineteenth century. It is simply a myth that monopolies will raise prices once they have the power to do so. Monopolies, like everyone else, want to maximize their profits, not their prices . Lower prices, which increase demand, and increased efficiency, which cuts costs, is usually the best way to achieve the highest possible profits. What makes monopolies (and most of them today are government agencies, from motor vehicle bureaus to public schools) so economically evil is the fact that, without competitive pressure, they become highly risk-aversiv e-and there­ fore shy away from innovation-and notably indifferent to their customers' convenience.

Further, Standard Oil used its position as the country's largest refiner not only to extract the largest rebates from the railroads but also to induce them to deny rebates to refiners that Standard Oil wanted to acquire. It even some­ times forced railroads to give it secret rebates not only on its own oil, but on that shipped by its competitors as well, essentially a tax on competing with Standard Oil. (This is about as close as the "robber barons" ever came to behav­ ing like, well, robber barons.) It thus effectively presented these refiners with Hobson's choice: they could agree to be ac:quired, at a price set by Standard Oil, or they could be driven into bankruptcy by high transportation costs.



The acquisition price set, however, was a fair one, arrived at by a formula developed by Henry Flagler, and consistently applied. Sometimes, especially if the owners of the refinery being acquired had executive talents that Standard wished to make use of, the price was a generous one. Further, the seller had the choice of receiving cash or Standard Oil stock. Those who chose the latter­ and there were hundreds-became millionaires as they rode the stock of the Standard Oil Company to capitalist glory. Those who took the cash often ended up whining to Ida Tarbell.

None of this, of course, was illegal, and that was the real problem. In the late nineteenth century people such as Rockefeller, Flagler, Carnegie, and

J. P. Morgan were creating at a breathtaking pace the modern corporate econ­

omy, and thus a wholly new economic universe. They were moving far faster than society could fashion, through the usually slow-moving political process, the rules needed to govern that new universe wisely and fairly. But that must always be the case in democratic capitalism, as individuals can always act far faster than can society as a whole. Until the rules were written-largely in the first decades of the twentieth century-it was a matter of (in the words of Sir Walter Scott)

*The good old rule, the simple pla11*

*That they should take who have the power And they should keep who can.*

Part of the problem is that there is a large, inherent inertia in any political system, and democracy is no exception. Politicians, after all, are in the reelec­ tion business, and it is often easier to do nothing than to offend one group or another. So while the American economy had changed profoundly since the

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mid-nineteenth century, the state incorporation laws, for instance, had not. As an Ohio corporation, Standard Oil was not allowed to own property in other states or to hold the stock of other corporations. As it quickly expanded throughout the Northeast, the country, and then across the globe, however, Standard Oil necessarily acquired property in other states and purchased other corporations.



The incorporation laws, largely written in an era before the railroads and

telegraph had made a national economy possible, were no longer adequate to meet the needs of the new economy. To get around the outdated law, Henry Flager, as secretary of Standard Oil, had himself appointed as trustee to hold the property or stock that Standard Oil itself could not legally own. By the end of the 1870s, however, Standard owned dozens of properties and companies in other states, each, in theory, held by a trustee who was in some cases Flagler and in other cases other people. It was a hopelessly unwieldy corporate structure.

In all probability, it was Flagler-a superb executive-who found the solu­ tion. Instead of each subsidiary company having a single trustee, with these trustees scattered throughout the Standard Oil empire, the same three men, all at the Cleveland headquarters, were appointed trustees for all the subsidiary companies. In theory, they controlled all of Standard Oil's assets outside Ohio. In fact, of course, they did exactly what they were told.

Thus was born the business trust, a form that was quickly imitated by other companies that were becoming national in scope.The "trusts"would be one of the great bogeymen of American politics for the next hundred years, but, ironically, the actual trust form of organization devised by Henry Flagler lasted only until 1889. That year New Jersey-seeking a source of new tax revenue-became the first state to m,odernize its incorporation laws and bring them into conformity with the new economic realities. New Jersey now per­ mitted holding companies and interstate activities, and companies flocked to incorporate there, as, later, they would flock to Delaware, to enjoy the ben­ efits of a corporation-friendly legal climate. Standard Oil of New Jersey quickly became the center of the Rockefeller interests, and the Standard Oil Trust, in the legal sense, disappeared .

With the growth of American industry, the nature of American foreign trade changed drastically. The United States remained, as it remains today, a formi­ dable exporter of agricultural and mineral products. Two new ones were even added in the post-Civil War era: petroleum and copper. But it also became a major exporter of manufactured goods that it had previously imported. In 1865 they had constituted only 22.78 percent of American exports. By the turn of the twentieth century they were 31.65 percent of a vastly larger trade.The percentage of world trade, meanwhile, that was American in origin doubled in these years to about 12 percent of total trade.

Nowhere was this more noticeable than in iron and steel products, the cutting edge of late-nineteenth-century technology. Before the Civil War the United States exported only $6 million worth of iron and steel manufactures

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a year. In 1900 it exported $121,914,000 worth of locomotives, engines, rails, electrical machinery, wire, pipes, metalworking machinery, boilers, and other goods. Even sewing machines and typewriters were being exported in quantity. . . .

This country has never developed an aristocracy, because the concept of primogeniture , with the eldest son inheriting the bulk of the fortune, never took hold. Thus great fortunes have always been quickly dispersed among heirs in only a few generations. The American super rich are therefore always nouveau riche and often act accordingly, giving new meaning in each genera­ tion to the phrase *conspicuous consumption.* In the Gilded Age, they married European titles, built vast summer cottages and winter retreats that cost mil­ lions but were occupied only a few weeks a year. . . .





