

# Capital and Labor in the Age of Enterprise

## 1877–1900

### Teaching Resources

#### Chapter Instructional Objectives

After you have taught this chapter, your students should be able to answer the following questions:

1. What factors led to the economic success of industrial capitalism in America after 1877?
2. How were business practices organized and new technologies harnessed in order to maximize profits in American industry?
3. What were the working conditions of American industrial laborers?
4. How and why did American workers seek to improve their working conditions in the late nineteenth century?

#### Chapter Annotated Outline

##### I. Industrial Capitalism Triumphant

###### A. The Age of Steel

1. Early factories produced consumer goods—goods that replaced articles made at home or by individual artisans.
2. Gradually, capital goods—goods that added to the productive capacity of the economy—began to drive America’s industrial economy.
3. Central to the capital-goods sector was a technological revolution in steel making.
4. In 1856 British inventor Henry Bessemer designed the Bessemer converter, a furnace that refined raw pig iron into steel, which is harder and more durable than wrought iron.
5. Andrew Carnegie was the first to fully exploit Bessemer’s invention; in 1872 he

erected a massive steel mill that used the Bessemer converter. The Edgar Thompson Works of Pittsburgh became a model for the modern steel industry.

6. The technological breakthrough in steel spurred the intensive mining of some of the country’s rich mineral resources: iron ore and coal.
  7. The nation’s energy revolution was completed with the coupling of the steam turbine with the electric generator; after 1900 American factories began a conversion to electric power.
- ##### B. The Railroad Boom
1. Americans were impatient for year-round, on-time transportation service that canal barges and riverboats could not provide; the arrival of locomotives from Britain in the 1830s was the solution.
  2. The United States chose to pay for its railroads by free enterprise, but the government played a big role, helping to underwrite the cost of railroad construction with land grants and financial aid.
  3. The most important boost that government gave the railroads was a legal form of organization—the corporation with limited liability.
  4. Railroad building generally was handed over to construction companies, which were primarily financial structures and oftentimes corrupt. The companies would often hire contractors and suppliers and persuade them to accept the bonds as payment, and, when that failed, wheel and deal to raise cash by selling or borrowing on the bonds.
  5. The most successful railroad promoters were those with access to capital; John

Murray Forbes, Cornelius Vanderbilt, and James J. Hill were the most famous.

6. Despite its fierce competition and sometimes sordid ways, railroad development in the United States resulted in a rail network bigger than the rest of the world combined; by 1900 virtually no corner of the country lacked rail service.
  7. Along with this prodigious growth came increasing efficiency—in 1883, the railroads divided the country into the four standard time zones to manage scheduling, and, by the end of the 1880s, the track gauge was standardized.
  8. The inventor George Westinghouse perfected the automatic coupler, the air brake, and the friction gear; this resulted in a steady drop in freight rates for shippers.
  9. For investors the price of railroad competition was high; when the economy turned bad, as in 1893, a third of the industry went into receivership.
  10. After 1893 the investment banks of J. P. Morgan & Co. and Kuhn Loeb & Co. stepped in to persuade investors to accept lower interest rates or put up more money, and they eased competitive pressure by consolidating railroad rivals.
  11. By the early twentieth century, a half dozen great regional systems had emerged out of the jumble of rival systems and shifted the nerve center of American railroading to Wall Street.
- C. Large-Scale Enterprise
1. Until well into the industrial age, most manufacturers operated on a small scale for nearby markets and left distribution to wholesale merchants and commission agents.
  2. America's population, swelled by immigration and a high birthrate, jumped from 40 million in 1870 to over 60 million in 1890.
  3. People flocking to the cities and the railroads brought America's expanding markets within the reach of distant producers.
  4. Americans were ready consumers of standardized, mass-marketed goods. The geographic mobility and the blurring of social class in America tended to erase the preference for distinctively local products that shaped European tastes.
  5. How mass marketing was executed in the United States can be seen from the example of the meatpacking industry. With the 1865 opening of the Union Stock Yard in Chicago, livestock came in by rail from the Great Plains, was auctioned off in Chicago, and then shipped east for processing in "butchertowns."
  6. This arrangement—a national livestock market but localized processing—could have met the needs of the exploding population, but Gustavus F. Swift had a different vision.
  7. Swift pioneered the creation of a new kind of enterprise—a vertically integrated firm capable of handling within its own structure all the functions of an industry—from central processing to distribution (via newly developed refrigerated rail cars and wagons to deliver meat to retailers) to constructing additional facilities to process by-products.
  8. Others shared Swift's insight that the essential step was to identify a mass market and then develop a national enterprise capable of serving it. For example, John D. Rockefeller's Standard Oil Company had a national distribution system for kerosene, and the Singer Sewing Machine Company used retail stores as well as door-to-door salesmen.
  9. The retail business went through comparable changes. Montgomery Ward and Sears, Roebuck developed into national mail order houses for rural consumers, John Wanamaker pioneered the department store, and chain stores such as A&P and Woolworth's were created.
  10. In the late nineteenth century, modern advertising appeared as big businesses set about the task of creating a national demand for their brand names.
  11. Drawing on the experience of rail companies, many of the new vertically integrated firms adopted a centralized, functionally departmentalized plan, with a central office housing top executives and departments covering specific areas of activity—purchasing, auditing, production, transportation, or sales.
  12. Functionally defined departments gave rise to "middle management," which directed the flow of goods and information through the integrated enterprise.
  13. By the turn of the century, the hundred largest companies controlled roughly a third of the nation's total productive capacity, and the dominant form of

industrial organization had become large-scale enterprise.

14. Despite the rise of large firms, small manufacturers still flourished, making a variety of goods such as textiles, leather items, and **machine tools** through a system called “flexible specialization.”
- II. The World of Work
- A. Labor Recruits
1. Industrialization set people in motion; farm folk migrated to cities and artisans entered factories.
  2. Rural Americans mostly rejected factory work; though they lacked industrial skills they did have language, literacy, and cultural skills that made them employable in **white-collar** jobs.
  3. The United States could not rely primarily on its own rural population for a supply of workers, except in the South, where a low-wage industrial sector emerged after Reconstruction.
  4. Southern textile mills recruited workers from the surrounding hill farms; mill wages exceeded farm earnings, but not by much.
  5. The new southern mills had an advantage over those of the long-established New England industry—southern mills’ wages were as much as 40 percent less.
  6. A “family system” of mill labor developed, with a labor force that was half female and very young.
  7. Blacks sometimes worked as day laborers and janitors but seldom got jobs as operatives in the cotton mills.
  8. In natural resources, the South’s other growth sector, employers recruited with little regard for race. Logging and the iron industries were both racially integrated.
  9. The southern labor market was insulated from the rest of the country, which might explain why all but the most resourceful did not seek job opportunities elsewhere.
  10. Modest numbers of blacks did migrate out of the South, settling where industrial work was available, but black applicants were turned away from the factory gates because of the availability of cheap immigrant labor.
  11. The great migration from the Old World had started in the 1840s, beginning with the Irish from the potato famine, followed by Germans and Swedes, and then, later in the nineteenth century, Austrians, Hungarians, Russians, Italians, and Slavs.
  12. Ethnic origin largely determined the kind of work immigrants obtained in America: the Welsh were mostly tin-plate workers, the English were miners, Germans were machinists, Scandinavians were seamen, and the Irish were laborers.
  13. As mechanization advanced, the demand for ordinary labor skyrocketed; heavy, low-paid labor became the domain of the recent immigrants, particularly those from eastern and southern Europe (Italians and Slavs).
  14. Immigrants moved within well-defined networks, following relatives or fellow villagers already in America and relying on them to land a job. A high degree of ethnic clustering resulted, even within a single factory.
  15. Immigrants were often peasants displaced by the breakdown of the traditional rural economies of southern and Eastern Europe; many returned home during America’s depression years.
  16. Immigrants took the worst jobs and were always available when they were needed, which made them an ideal labor supply for the new industrial order.
- B. Autonomous Labor
1. Autonomous male craftsmen flourished in many branches of nineteenth-century industry.
  2. These workers abided by the “stint,” an informal system of restricting output that infuriated efficiency-minded engineers, but to the worker signified personal dignity and “unselfish brotherhood” with fellow employees and reflected a keen sense of the craft, each with its own history and customs.
  3. Many young female workers found a new sense of independence and new social outlets from working.
  4. Women workers rarely wielded the kind of craft power that the skilled male worker commonly enjoyed.
  5. For men, dispersal of authority was characteristic of nineteenth-century industry; the most skilled workers were autonomous—hiring, supervising, and paying their own helpers—but the subordinates were sometimes exploited.
- C. Systems of Control
1. With mass production, machine tools became more specialized, and the need for skilled operatives disappeared.

2. Employers were attracted to “dedicated” machinery because it increased output; gradually, the idea took hold that getting workers to work harder or more efficiently might further reduce the cost of production.
3. Frederick W. Taylor’s method of **scientific management** eliminated the brainwork from manual labor and deprived workers of the authority they had previously known.
4. Influenced by Taylor, managers subjected tasks to time-and-motion studies in order to determine the workers’ pay; Taylor assumed that workers would automatically respond to the lure of higher earnings.
5. Scientific management did not solve the labor problem as Taylor had thought it would; rather it embittered relationships on the shop floor.
6. Taylor’s disciples created the new fields of personnel work and industrial psychology, which they claimed extracted more and better labor from workers.
7. The new processes of labor management occurred unevenly in varying industries—early for textile workers, while miners and ironworkers felt it more slowly. Increasingly, however, workers found themselves in an environment that crushed their sense of mastery and even, at times, their understanding.

### III. The Labor Movement

#### A. Reformers and Unionists

1. The Knights of Labor was founded in 1869 as a secret society of garment workers in Philadelphia, and by 1878 had emerged as a national movement.
2. To achieve labor “emancipation,” the Knights had originally intended to set up a cooperative commonwealth of factories owned and run by the employees; led by Terence V. Powderly, they instead devoted themselves to “education.”
3. The labor reformers expressed the higher aspirations of American workers, but the trade unions tended to the workers’ everyday needs. Unions regulated entry into a trade, and engaged in **collective bargaining**. The **closed shop** reserved all jobs for union members, and they defended the craft worker’s traditional skills and rights.
4. The earliest unions were organizations of workers in the same craft and sometimes the same ethnic group. Apprenticeship rules regulated entry into a trade, and the

closed shop kept out lower-wage and incompetent workers.

5. By the 1870s the national union was becoming the dominant organizational form for American trade unionism.
  6. Many workers carried membership cards in both the Knights of Labor and a trade union.
  7. As did most trade unions, the Knights barred women until 1881, when women shoe workers won the right to form their own local assembly.
  8. The Knights of Labor allowed black workers to join out of the need for solidarity and in deference to the Order’s egalitarian principles.
- #### B. The Emergence of the AFL
1. In the early 1880s the Knights began to act more like trade unions; as the Knights won more strikes, its membership rapidly increased.
  2. As the Knights stood poised as a potential industrial-union movement, the national trade unions insisted on a clear separation of roles, with the Knights confined to labor reform.
  3. Samuel Gompers led the ideological assault on the Knights, and he hammered out the philosophical position known as pure and simple unionism, which focused on concrete, achievable gains and organizing workers by craft and occupation.
  4. The Knights favored an eight-hour workday because workers had duties to perform as American citizens, and unionists favored it because it spread the work among more people, providing more jobs and protecting them from overwork.
  5. As the union deadline for achieving the eight-hour day approached, workers responded with a wave of strikes and demonstrations, the most infamous being the Haymarket Square incident, which was blamed on **anarchists** who advocated a stateless society. Four of them were executed, one committed suicide, and the others received long prison sentences.
  6. Seizing on the antiunion hysteria set off by the Haymarket affair, employers broke strikes violently, compiled blacklists, and forced some workers to sign “**yellow-dog contracts**” that renounced union membership.
  7. In December 1886 the national trade unions formed the American Federation of Labor (AFL); the underlying principle

- was that workers had to accept the working world as it was.
8. The Knights of Labor never recovered from the Haymarket affair, and by the mid-1890s the Knights had faded away while the AFL took firm root.
- C. Industrial War
1. American trade unions wanted a larger share for working people; this made employers opposed to collective bargaining.
  2. Andrew Carnegie had once stated that workers had the right to organize and that employers should honor workers' jobs during labor disputes.
  3. Carnegie decided that collective bargaining had become too expensive and wanted to replace the workers at his steel mill in Homestead, Pennsylvania, with advanced machinery.
  4. Carnegie's second-in-command, Henry Clay Frick, announced that Carnegie's mill would no longer deal with the Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers.
  5. The Homestead strike on July 6, 1892, ushered in a decade of strife that pitted working people against the power of corporate industry often backed by the government.
  6. George M. Pullman cut wages at his factory but not the rents for employee housing; he denied that there was any connection between his roles as employer and landlord.
  7. Pullman workers belonged to the American Railway Union (ARU), and Eugene V. Debs directed all ARU members not to handle Pullman sleeping cars (a **secondary labor boycott**).
  8. The Pullman boycott was crushed by the federal government, which—pressured by the railroad companies—used its power to protect the U.S. mail carried in railcars.
- D. American Radicalism in the Making
1. Eugene Debs devoted himself to the American Railway Union, an **industrial union** that organized all railroad workers irrespective of skill.
  2. With the formation of the Socialist Labor Party in 1877, Marxist socialism established itself as a permanent, if narrowly based, presence in American politics.
  3. After being incarcerated following the Pullman strike, Debs gravitated to the socialist camp and helped to launch the Socialist Party of America in 1901.
  4. Under Debs, the Socialist Party of America began to attract not only immigrants but farmers and women as well.
  5. A different brand of American Marxist radicalism was taking shape as the atmosphere of western mining camps turned violent in the 1890s.
  6. Led by Ed Boyce and “Big Bill” Haywood, the Western Federation of Miners (WFM) joined with left-wing socialists in 1905 to create the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW, or Wobblies).
  7. The Wobblies supported the Marxist class struggle at the workplace rather than in politics. They believed in class struggle and resistance through a **general strike**. They wanted a new society to emerge, run directly by the workers through their industrial unions in a system called **syndicalism**.
  8. American radicalism bore witness to what was exploitative and unjust in the new industrial order.

### Key Terms

**machine tools** Cutting, boring, and drilling machines used to produce standardized metal parts that were assembled into products like sewing machines. The development of machine tools by American inventors in the early nineteenth century facilitated the paid spread of the Industrial Revolution. (528)

**white-collar** Middle-class professionals who are salaried workers as opposed to business owners or wage laborers; they first appeared in large numbers during the industrial expansion in the late nineteenth century. Their ranks were composed of lawyers, engineers, and chemists, as well as salesmen, accountants, and advertising managers. (529)

**scientific management** A system of organizing work, developed by Frederick W. Taylor in the late nineteenth century, designed to get the maximum output from the individual worker and reduce the cost of production, using methods such as the time-and-motion study to determine how factory work should be organized. The system was never applied in its totality in any industry, but it contributed to the rise of the “efficiency expert” and the field of industrial psychology. (538)

**collective bargaining** A process of negotiation between labor unions and employers, particularly favored by the American Federation of Labor (AFL). Led by Samuel Gompers, the AFL accepted the

new industrial order but fought for a bigger share for the profits for the workers. (540)

**closed shop** Workplace in which a job seeker had to be a union member to gain employment. In the nineteenth century, the closed shop was favored by craft unions as a method of keeping out incompetent and lower-wage workers and of strengthening the unions' bargaining position with employers. (540)

**anarchism** The advocacy of a stateless society achieved by revolutionary means. Feared for their views, anarchists became the scapegoats for the 1886 Haymarket Square bombing. (543)

**yellow-dog contract** An agreement by a worker, as a condition of employment, not to join a union. Employers in the late nineteenth century used this, along with the blacklist and violent strikebreaking, to fight unionization of their workforces. (543)

**secondary boycott (secondary labor boycott)** Technique used by unions in labor disputes to exert pressure on an employer involved in the dispute by targeting other parties not involved but having a relationship to the employer, for example, as a supplier or as a customer. A secondary labor boycott was used in the great Pullman boycott of 1894 and failed when the government intervened. (544)

**industrial union** A group of workers in a single industry (for example, automobile, railroad, or mining) organized into a single association, regardless of skill, rather than into separate craft-based associations. The American Railway Union, formed in the 1880s, was one of the first industrial unions in the nation. (544)

**general strike** A strike that draws in all the workers in a society, with the intention of shutting down the entire system. Radical groups like the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) saw the general strike as the means for initiating a social revolution. (546)

**syndicalism** A revolutionary movement that, like socialism, believed in the Marxist principle of class struggle and advocated the organization of society on the basis of industrial unionism. This approach was advocated by the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) at the start of the twentieth century. (546)

### Lecture Strategies

1. Railroads became the predominant industry in America during the late nineteenth century. Write a lecture that examines the rise of American rail-

roads. Describe the technological innovations that allowed for rapid expansion, the development of managerial expertise that permitted control of far-flung rail networks, and the men behind the rail companies. Explore the role of the railroads, as the nation's first big business, in transforming the American economy.

2. Write a lecture that discusses the growth of the American mass market in the context of the rise of industrial capitalism. Compare the United States with Europe in terms of growth rates and free trade. Explore the roles of mass production, advertising, new technology (for example, the refrigerator car), and growing purchasing power in preparing Americans to be consumers.
3. Write a lecture that discusses the development of the American labor movement in the late nineteenth century. Among the topics to cover are the division between craft workers and unskilled workers, the difficulties of organizing labor in gigantic manufacturing facilities, the effect of immigration on the union movement, the negative consequences of strikes and violence, and the role of scientific management in the workplace.
4. The origins of American radicalism make an excellent lecture topic. The social and economic dislocations on the working class caused by rapid industrialization should be mentioned, along with Karl Marx's impact on American radicals. Discuss how the government's backing of big business and the failure of strikes were significant to the beginnings of American radicalism.
5. Write a lecture that focuses on the major players of the era, comparing the lives of Andrew Carnegie and the Rockefellers, for example, with Big Bill Haywood and Emma Goldman. How were their lives similar? How were they different? How did their experiences shed light on the major themes and patterns of U.S. history during the late nineteenth century?

### Reviewing the Text

These questions are from the textbook and follow each main section of the narrative. They are provided in the Computerized Test Bank with suggested responses, for your convenience.

### *Industrial Capitalism Triumphant* (pp. 520–528)

1. What factors account for the rise of the American steel industry in the late nineteenth century?

- The demand for steel rose along with the middle class.
  - The United States had abundant raw materials.
  - Steel production experienced technological advances, such as the Bessemer converter.
2. Why did the railroad network grow so rapidly after the Civil War? And with what consequences for the country's economic development?
    - The country was lacking an adequate transportation system.
    - Railroads were being built by private companies.
    - The U.S. government provided land grants to railroad companies.
    - The corporation system was created.
    - A great deal of land was taken from the Indians and was available at cheap prices.
    - The railroad impacted the nation by bringing immigrants west, facilitating a market economy, transporting goods across the country, and helping other industries (like the steel industry) increase profits.
  3. How do you account for the growth of large-scale enterprise in the late nineteenth century?
    - The large, geopolitically undivided market did not impede the flow of goods.
    - There was a rapid population increase through immigration.
    - The population of urban areas grew dramatically.
    - The United States had abundant raw materials and natural resources.
    - The country experienced the rise of the steel and railroad industries.
    - New forms of business organization, such as vertical integration, came into being.

### *The World of Work (pp. 528–538)*

1. Why were ethnicity and gender key determinants in how jobs were allocated in late-nineteenth-century industry?
  - Ethnicity determined the work the immigrants took in America. Immigrants sought jobs that required skills they already had in the old country. Employers drew from certain groups based on their skills. Irish and Southern Europeans worked in heavier, lower-paid work as mechanization advanced in the late nineteenth century.
  - Contemporary beliefs about womanhood largely determined which women took jobs and how they were treated. Women were only allowed to do “women’s work” in industry, and were paid less than men. Married women found themselves shut out of industry and unions. Once women dominated an occupation, it became feminine labor.
2. What accounts for the high degree of autonomy that many workers enjoyed in the early phases of industrialization?
  - Workers’ autonomy stemmed from the personal dignity and social meaning they attached to their jobs. Workers viewed themselves as craftsmen, based on the long-term European concept of guilds, like those for hatters, bakers, cobblers, and so on.
3. Why did that autonomy steadily erode as industrialization advanced?
  - Autonomy decreased through a process called “deskilling,” caused by a rise in scientific management systems to improve the efficiency of business practices. Time and motion studies sped up working conditions, leading to mass production and the mechanization of industry. The rise of industrial capitalism led to people performing industrial tasks and making one part of a product on an assembly line, instead of the entire product by hand.

### *The Labor Movement (pp. 538–547)*

1. How would you distinguish between labor reform and trade unionism?
  - Labor reformers, such as the Knights of Labor, expressed grander aspirations for American workers, such as the establishment of an egalitarian society in which every citizen might become economically independent.
  - Trade unionism tended to worker’s everyday needs or practical job interests by regulating apprenticeship rules, maintaining the closed shop, and defending the craft workers’ traditional skills, social identity, and rights.
2. Why did the AFL prevail over the Knights of Labor?
  - The AFL prevailed because they focused more on realistic issues impacting worker’s everyday lives, and because the Knights ignored the importance of the eight-hour-a-day movement.

- The Haymarket bombing created anti-Union hysteria that focused on the Knights.
  - The AFL was more resilient and catered to racist sentiments of the white working class by barring ethnic minorities and women.
3. Why are the 1890s the critical period in the rise of American radicalism?
    - American industry hit unions hard in the 1890s in Homestead and Pullman strikes and boycotts, inflaming immigrants (such as Emma Goldman) and native-born into seeking more radical answers to the problems of capitalism.
    - An economic recession occurred, lowering prices of farm goods while lowering wages in eastern cities. Oppression and recession radicalized many Americans, as it would in the 1930s.
  4. Why did American workers find it hard to choose between labor reform and trade unionism? And why, when they did choose, did it take the form of the AFL's "pure-and-simple" unionism?
    - Both were closely related forms of labor organization, and the American working class was divided along regional, occupation, ethnic, and gender lines.
    - Pure-and-simple unionism evolved from the practical needs of workers for building power in the workplace for immediate gains in wages, hours, and working conditions. Workers needed to take the world as it was, not as they dreamed it might be as the Knights had mistakenly done.

### Chapter Writing Assignments

These questions appear at the end of Chapter 17 in the textbook. They are provided in the Computerized Test Bank with suggested responses, for your convenience.

1. Why is growth of capital goods important to the development of American industry after 1877?
  - American industry produced goods for purchase by the expanding middle class and became dependent on the purchasing power of consumers to maintain productivity.
2. Why is it that the late nineteenth century became the age of big business?
  - Combinations of capital after the Civil War created new forms of business organization like vertical integration and corporations, which enabled businesses to expand and tap into a burgeoning American market and the conspicuous consumption of an expanding population.
3. Does it matter that the United States had to rely on Europe to meet the nation's need for workers?
  - The United States lacked a large enough labor pool to meet the needs of industry. Immigration was a key factor in the growth of the U.S. industrial system during the late nineteenth century. Immigrants were willing to work for low wages as newcomers to a foreign land, enabling capitalists like Andrew Carnegie to rely on cheap labor to increase the profitability of steel making.
  - U.S. reliance on immigrant labor from Europe reveals the global relations between labor and capital during the late nineteenth century, and reflects modern parallels with Mexico.

### Class Discussion Starters

1. Why was the year 1877 so significant in American history?

*Possible answers*

- a. Reconstruction ended, and the federal government left the South to its own devices.
- b. The Panic of 1873 came to an end.
- c. It was a year of violence. Rail strikes swept the nation in July and August, and the ensuing carnage led President Rutherford B. Hayes to call up federal troops to restore order.

2. What factors influenced the rapid growth of the American steel industry in the late nineteenth century?

*Possible answers*

- a. New technologies such as the Bessemer steel furnace were introduced and readily accepted.
- b. Markets were rapidly expanding.
- c. The country had an abundance of natural resources.
- d. Labor and capital were available.
- e. The steel industry yielded high profits.

3. What was the significance of the massive American rail network?

*Possible answers*

- a. Railroads linked the various sections of the country together; virtually every American lived fairly close to a rail line.
- b. The railroads made possible the rapid movement of large numbers of passengers and vast amounts of freight at a decreasing cost.



- c. The railroads spurred the growth of the steel industry because rails were the chief product of American steel mills in the 1870s and 1880s.
- d. The tremendous sums needed to finance track construction revolutionized American capital markets as large stock and bond issues were floated to underwrite the building boom.
- e. The explosive growth in track mileage made mass marketing possible.

**4. What were the keys to large-scale enterprise in late-nineteenth-century America?**

*Possible answers*

- a. The population was growing rapidly.
- b. There was a lack of internal trade barriers.
- c. Domestic manufacturers were protected by high tariffs.
- d. Cheap labor was widely available.

**5. Explain how Gustavus Swift changed the American meatpacking industry.**

*Possible answers*

- a. Swift and his engineers designed and manufactured refrigerated railcars, allowing fresh meat to be shipped safely over long distances.
- b. Swift's company pioneered the system of vertical integration, controlling the processing, distribution, and marketing of meat.
- c. Swift's company helped to eliminate smaller competition. Within a few years, an oligopoly dominated the American meat industry.

**6. How did American society prepare its citizens to be consumers of standardized goods?**

*Possible answers*

- a. Geographical mobility broke down local customs and regional distinctions.
- b. Advertising gave products national recognition and a national market.
- c. The blurring of social distinctions meant that citizens ate and dressed similarly.

**7. What distinguished craft workers from common laborers in the United States in the nineteenth century?**

*Possible answers*

- a. Craft workers performed specialized tasks that required a high level of skill.
- b. Craft workers were more or less autonomous employees who needed little or no supervision as they performed their appointed tasks.
- c. Craft workers tended to be independent and less tolerant of poor working conditions.

**8. How was immigrant labor beneficial to the United States?**

*Possible answers*

- a. Immigrant labor was the backbone of main industries, such as steel. Without immigrants, the United States could not have industrialized as it did.
- b. When the American economy was weak, many jobless immigrants returned to their homelands. Immigrants who stayed only temporarily were thus a safety valve for the growing American labor force.

**9. Why did American workers become increasingly alienated in the late nineteenth century?**

*Possible answers*

- a. New factory jobs required fewer skills (deskilling).
- b. The emphasis was on increased production; as a result, workers performed the same repetitious tasks.
- c. Management became even more distant from the factory floor.

**10. Explain the weaknesses of the American labor movement late in the nineteenth century.**

*Possible answers*

- a. The labor movement was divided. Craft workers joined the new American Federation of Labor, which had traditional goals. Other workers joined the Knights of Labor, an amorphous, fraternal-like organization that was hurt by being linked to the labor violence of the 1880s.
- b. Racial, ethnic, and gender divisions hindered workers' solidarity.
- c. Incidents of violence alienated the public and damaged the labor movement.

**11. Explain the rise of radicalism in the United States.***Possible answers*

- Industrial strife, exemplified by the unsuccessful Pullman boycott and Homestead strike, contributed to workers' disillusionment.
- Economic downturns, such as the Panic of 1893, caused untold numbers of workers to lose their jobs and turn to radical organizations for redress.
- Real and perceived social injustices prompted workers to take a more activist stance.
- Desperation led some workers to seek solutions outside traditional political avenues.

**Classroom Activities**

- Create the conditions for a debate between Samuel Gompers and Andrew Carnegie on the impact of industrial capitalism on the American worker and the United States. Divide the class into two groups and give them time to prepare talking points for both perspectives.
- Bring in a short document on some aspect of the chapter content, such as a speech by Emma Goldman or a press release by the IWW. After distributing the document to the class and giving them time to read it, ask a few key questions to get the students to connect the document to the themes presented in lectures and in the text. Write their ideas on the board as they illuminate the content.

**Oral History Exercise**

- Ask students to research the labor movement in the library or on the Internet and find oral history documents from any perspective that help shed light on the major patterns and themes covered in the chapter. They should then bring one or more of these examples into class for an exercise in document analysis to reveal the strengths and weaknesses of using oral history for understanding the themes of the chapter. This exercise emphasizes what it is that historians really “do.”

**Working with Documents****COMPARING AMERICAN VOICES****Working Women (p. 534)**

- How do you explain A Stitcher's objection to married women working in the shoe factories?
  - He or she thinks that married women do not need higher wages because they are supported at home and work only for extra, expendable cash, so don't want to join a union or go on strike.
  - Poorer families who need the increase in wages that organizing would bring fail to benefit from the anti-union mentality of contented married women workers.
- Married Stitcher, like Americus, defends the employment of married women, but she also has a complaint, which, in her case, is against single women. Why does she claim they wrong married women? And what does this suggest about her attitude to the sex-typing that confined women in inferior gender-defined jobs?
  - Single women wronged married women by joining all-male work sites, which lowered male wages because of the practice of paying women lower wages than men. Married women then had to join the workforce to make up the shortfall.
  - Married Stitcher's position suggests that she is biased by patriarchy, and does not object to the sex-typing that confined women to lower-paying, all-women jobs.
- Is there any evidence in these documents that Married Stitcher's sister letter-writers share her conservative views about the segregation of women? Consider what they say about the trade unions in their industry.
  - All of the letter writers believe that only when money is desperately needed should women enter the workforce.
- In our time—at the beginning of the twenty-first century—it is taken for granted that if a woman wants to work, that's her personal choice and her right. Do any of the letter writers subscribe to that view?
  - The letter writers imply that working is a “last resort,” for a woman in a situation where she cannot be completely supported by a man.
  - If a woman is well-supported, she would naturally want to remain in the home to help her husband and family. The letter writers view it as her “right” to be employed if she wants to.

## VOICES FROM ABROAD

Count Vay de Vaya und Luskod:  
Pittsburgh Inferno (p. 532)

1. The Count describes the Monongahela Valley as “this fearful place.” What does he mean by this? What is he seeing that would not be apparent to an American observer?
  - He sees the impact of the mass market and industrial capitalist system on people and the landscape, as well as the loss of the native culture of the workers and the decline in their health and happiness after coming to America.
2. In the text (pp. 530–534) we offer an account of the industrial migration that the Count deplors in this document. In what ways do his comments amplify or make more understandable the text’s discussion? Or, to reverse the question, in what ways does the text fill in gaps in the Count’s understanding of what he is observing?
  - If the Count reads the text, he would learn that the rise of big business in the late nineteenth century through vertical and horizontal integration made possible the rise of powerful corporations that created monopolies over certain key industries.
  - This made possible an accumulation of capital in a small number of families to the detriment of the new immigrant industrial labor force that came to American cities to work. What they found was a corporate culture that polluted the environment and failed to improve working conditions for the industrial labor force.
3. Andrew Carnegie is the great American success story, a true rags-to-riches hero. How do you suppose Carnegie was regarded by Count Vay de Vaya und Luskod?
  - The Count, although wealthy, thought that Carnegie had the right to make money, but not to the extent of damaging thousands of immigrants through dangerous working conditions.

## Reading American Pictures

The Killing Floor: Site of America’s  
Mass Production Revolution? (p. 539)

1. As you inspect this engraving, you will see many workers, but no machinery. All the work is done by hand. Can you explain, by looking at the tasks the workers are doing, why, even without machinery, they would be more efficient collectively than the same number of butchers working in the traditional way, each one handling his own cow? Can you think of a term that describes the system of labor depicted in the engraving?
  - The image depicts a mass production system in which each man took on a separate task in processing livestock. This system was a more efficient system because it took less time to process an entire animal than did traditional butchering techniques.
2. Although lacking any mechanized tools, Swift’s mass-production system did benefit from one key technological advance. If you look at the ceiling, you will see an overhead pulley system. (This one appears to be manual; eventually it would be power-driven.) Can you explain, by inspecting the engraving, what this pulley system did and why it was important—crucially important, in fact—for Swift’s new system of production?
  - The pulley system allowed for a division of labor, moving the animal from one team of workers to the next on the shop floor, with each group processing only one portion of the animal or task.
3. Can you explain why Henry Ford, whose great innovation in car manufacturing was the moving assembly line, claimed he got the idea after visiting a meatpacking plant, like the one in this engraving?
  - Ford recognized that the mass production assembly line system provided more control by management over the production process, with less time to complete the task and hence more profit for the owners of industry.
4. In the text, we say that mass production was a deskilling process. Is there any evidence of that effect in this engraving?
  - Mass production was a deskilling process in that each worker lost the knowledge and skills needed

for the complex task of butchering an entire animal. Workers specialized in only one task, and became less skilled overall in the process.

## Electronic Media

### Web Sites

- *Andrew Carnegie*  
[www.pbs.org/wgbh/amex/carnegie/](http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/amex/carnegie/)  
A Web site that focuses on the famous nineteenth-century industrialist.
- *Emergence of Advertising in America*  
<http://scriptorium.lib.duke.edu/ea>  
This site focuses on the use of advertisements by U.S. companies between 1850 and 1920.

### Films

- *Emma Goldman* (2004, PBS documentary, 60 minutes)  
Directed by Mel Bucklin, this American Experience documentary traces the life of the controversial radical.
- *Andrew Carnegie* (1997, PBS documentary, 60 minutes)  
Directed by Austin Hoyt, this American Experience documentary chronicles the life of the industrialist Andrew Carnegie.

### Literature

- Emma Goldman, *Living My Life* (New York: Knopf, 1931)  
An autobiography by the most famous American radical of the era.

## Additional Bedford/St. Martin's Resources for Chapter 17

### FOR INSTRUCTORS

#### Transparencies

The following maps and images from Chapter 17 are available as full-color acetates:

- Homestead at Twilight
- Map 17.1 The Expansion of the Railroad System, 1870–1890
- Map 17.2 The Dressed Meat Industry, 1900
- Map 17.3 The New South, 1900
- Chicago Meatpacking Plant, 1882

### Instructor's Resource CD-ROM

The following maps, figures, and images from Chapter 17, as well as a chapter outline, are available on disc in both PowerPoint and jpeg formats:

- Map 17.1 The Expansion of the Railroad System, 1870–1890
- Map 17.2 The Dressed Meat Industry, 1900
- Map 17.3 The New South, 1900
- Figure 17.1 Business Activity and Wholesale Prices, 1869–1900
- Figure 17.2 Changes in the Labor Force, 1870–1910
- Figure 17.3 American Immigration, 1870–1914
- Homestead at Twilight
- Kellogg's Toasted Cornflakes
- Breaker Boys
- Chicago Meatpacking Plant, 1882
- The Knights of Labor

### Using the Bedford Series with *America's History*, Sixth Edition

Available online at [bedfordstmartins.com/usingseries](http://bedfordstmartins.com/usingseries), this guide offers practical suggestions for incorporating volumes from the Bedford Series in History and Culture into the U.S. History Survey. Relevant titles for Chapter 17 include

- *LOOKING BACKWARD, 2000-1887* by Edward Bellamy, Edited with an Introduction by Daniel H. Borus, *University of Rochester*
- *Muckraking: Three Landmark Articles*, Edited with an Introduction by Ellen F. Fitzpatrick, *University of New Hampshire*
- *The McGuffey Readers: Selections from the 1879 Edition*, Edited with an Introduction by Elliot J. Gorn, *Brown University*
- *A TRAVELER FROM ALTRURIA* by William Dean Howells, Edited with an Introduction by David W. Levy, *University of Oklahoma*

### FOR STUDENTS

#### Documents to Accompany *America's History*

The following documents and illustrations are available in Chapter 17 of the companion reader by Kevin J. Fernlund, *University of Missouri-St. Louis*:

1. Justin Smith Morrill, On the Origin of the Land Grant College Act (c. 1874)
2. Henry George, *Progress and Poverty* (1879)
3. Andrew Carnegie, *Gospel of Wealth* (1889)
4. On Child Labor (1877)
5. Lilly B. Chase Wyman, *Studies of Factory Life: Among the Women* (1888)

6. Anonymous (A Black Domestic), More Slavery at the South (c. 1912)
7. Frederick Winslow Taylor, *The Principles of Scientific Management* (1911)
8. On Agrarian Discontent, 1887
9. Terrence V. Powderly, *The Army of Unemployed* (1887)
10. Eugene V. Debs, *How I Became a Socialist* (1902)
11. Testimony before the U.S. Strike Commission on the Pullman Strike (1894)

### **Online Study Guide at bedfordsmartins.com/henretta**

The Online Study Guide helps students synthesize the material from the text as well as practice the skills historians use to make sense of the past. The following map, visual, and documents activities are available for Chapter 17:

#### ***Map Activity***

- Map 17.1 Iron and Steel Production, c. 1900

#### ***Visual Activity***

- Reading American Pictures: *The Killing Floor: Site of America's Mass Production Revolution?*

#### ***Reading Historical Documents Activities***

- Comparing American Voices: *Working Women*
- Voices from Abroad: Count Vay de Vaya und Luskod: *Pittsburgh Inferno*

### **Critical Thinking Modules at bedfordsmartins.com/historymodules**

These online modules invite students to interpret maps, audio, visual, and textual sources, centered on events covered in the U.S. history survey. Relevant modules for Chapter 17 include

- The Industrialization of the United States, 1860–1910
- Asian Americans, Race, and Citizenship in the Late Nineteenth Century

