**Week 2 DBQ: The Gilded Age, Progressive Movement, Labor, City Growth,**

**Immigration & Nativism, Urban Life, & Agrarian Revolutions**

***Directions: Read and annotate the excerpts below, then answer the questions for each selection by coloring in the correct answer choice on the bubble sheet provided.***

***Andrew Carnegie on the Triumph of America, 1885***

 The old nations of the earth creep on at a snail's pace; the Republic thunders past with the rush of the express. The United States, the growth of a single century, has already reached the foremost rank among nations, and is destined soon to out-distance all others in the race. In population, in wealth, in annual savings, and in public credit; in freedom from debt, in agriculture, and in manufactures, America already leads the civilized world...Certain writers in the past have maintained that the ethnic type of a people has less influence upon its growth as a nation than the conditions of life under which it is developing. The modem ethnologist knows better. We have only to imagine what America would be today if she had fallen, in the beginning, into the hands of any other people than the colonizing British, to see how vitally important is this question of race. America was indeed fortunate in the seed planted upon her soil. With the exception of a few Dutch and French it was wholly British; and ... the American of today remains true to this noble strain and is four-fifths British. The special aptitude of this race for colonization, its vigor and enterprise, and its capacity for governing, although brilliantly manifested in all parts of the world, have never been shown to such advantage as in America...The second, and perhaps equally important factor in the problem of the rapid advancement of this branch of the British race, is the superiority of the conditions under which it has developed...The map proclaims the unity of North America, for in this great central basin, three million square miles in extent, free from impassable rivers or mountain barriers great enough to hinder free intercourse, political integration is a necessity and consolidation a certainty...The unity of the American people is further powerfully promoted by the foundation upon which the political structure rests, the equality of the citizen. There is not one shred of privilege to be met with anywhere in all the laws. One man's right is every man's right. The flag is the guarantor and symbol of equality. The people are not emasculated by being made to feel that their own country decrees their inferiority, and holds them unworthy of privileges accorded to others. No ranks, no titles, no hereditary dignities, and therefore no classes. Suffrage is universal, and votes are of equal weight. Representatives are paid, and political life and usefulness thereby thrown open to all. Thus there is brought about a community of interests and aims which a Briton, accustomed to monarchical and aristocratic institutions, dividing the people into classes with separate interests, aims, thoughts, and feelings, can only with difficulty understand...

**1. Andrew Carnegie contends that America's rise to greatness could be attributed to what things?**

a) Being settled by people of English ancestry

b) The geography of the US makes it easy to develop shared politics and institutions

c) America's political institutions founded on the equality of all men

d) All of the above

***Harry George and the Paradox of Capitalist Growth, 1879***

 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. In them the lowest class do not share. I do not mean that the condition of the lowest class has nowhere nor in anything been improved; but that there is nowhere any improvement which can be credited to increased productive power. I mean that the tendency of what we call material progress is in nowise to improve the condition of the lowest class in the essentials of healthy, happy human life. Nay, more, that it is still further to depress the condition of the lowest class. The new forces, elevating in their nature though they be, do not act upon the social fabric from underneath, as was for a long hoped and believed, but strike it at a point intermediate between top and bottom. It is as though an immense wedge were being forced, not underneath society, but through society. Those who are above the point of separation are elevated, but those who are below are crushed down...This association of poverty with progress is the great enigma of our times. It is the central fact from which spring industrial, social, and political difficulties that perplex the world, and with which statesmanship and philanthropy and education grapple in vain. From it come the clouds that overhang the future of the most progressive and self-reliant nations. It is the riddle which the Sphinx of Fate puts to our civilization, and which not to answer is to be destroyed. So long as all the increased wealth which modem progress brings goes but to build up great fortunes, to increase luxury and make sharper the contrast between the House of Have and the House of Want, progress is not real and cannot be permanent. The reaction must come. The tower leans from its foundations, and every new story but hastens the final catastrophe. To educate men who must be condemned to poverty, is but to make them restive; to base on a state of most glaring social inequality political institutions under which men are theoretically equal, is to stand a pyramid on its apex....

**2. In this excerpt, Harry George warns us about what?**

a) Egyptian architecture

b) The perils of accumulating too much wealth too quickly

c) The growing inequality between the rich and poor

**3. Carnegie's assessment of America is starkly different from George's. What might account for that?**

a) George is not a businessman like Carnegie

b) Carnegie is blind to growing inequality in America

c) George is jealous of Carnegie's success

***Excerpts from "Building a Mighty Nation," an essay by H. Wayne Morgan***

 ...It is the Gilded Age, or at least it is the stereotype of the bloated dreams, foolish optimism, seedy rhetoric of the generation which followed the Civil War, and no man caught that side of it as well as Mark Twain, who named it...The generation that emerged from the Civil War embarked upon a seemingly endless development of America's natural resources, commercial riches, and opportunities for equality in most spheres of life, to stage what Vernon Parrington called "the Great Barbecue." The feast of material plenty was set at the national table for everyone, who purchased this bonanza only at the price of bad taste, corruption in politics and economics, and dangerous refusals to face the harder and deeper facts of life. Yet whether these facts be true or false, the age presents a compelling charm in many of its aspects. It was a time of peace, of relative prosperity, of growth and change which seemed the more important and exciting because they occurred in a vacuum of international affairs when the United States could afford the luxury of self-interest. Moreover, the age believed in itself, something its successors cannot always claim. Optimism, a belief in progress, however foolish it may sometimes have become, was the keynote of the time...[But economic historian Charles Beard] saw much that other students missed, much that redeemed the age and helped its children forgive its sudden and massive interest in boundless wealth and power. Not all men were blind to the era's faults; there were reformers and reform movements in most spheres of life, and political criticism was especially harsh... beginnings are not always what men desire, but they are beginnings nonetheless. The Gilded Age witnessed pioneer efforts in education, when a few of the "Robber Barons" endowed institutions of higher learning; when most major eastern cities established art galleries; when states began to expand their educational systems and social services, forming molds which the twentieth century would expand. How curious and how often overlooked is the fact of great scientific and philosophical development in the period; it was the age of Charles S. Peirce, William James, and the Social Darwinists.

**4. What is Morgan's argument based on this excerpt?**

a) That during the Gilded Age riches were there for the taking if a person was ambitious enough.

b) That "robber barons" were really good guys who were just misunderstood

c) That despite the excesses, corruption, and wealth inequality of the Gilded Age, it was also a time of advancement in arts, education, science, and other areas because of rich men's philanthropy.

***Excerpt from "America in the Gilded Age" by Sean Dennis Cashman on the rise of Unions***

 Between 1865 and 1900 more and more workers were drawn into factories, foundries, and mills on the same low terms as common laborers. The total number of people employed in manufacturing increased from 1.3 million to 4.5 million. The number of factories or sweatshops rose from 140,000 to 512,000. In factories, foundries, and mills wages low, hours of work long, and conditions unhealthy. Millions were denied the basic amenities that their own labor made possible for others. Their impoverished status seemed to contradict the economic prosperity of the business and industry they were creating. Progress and poverty were, apparently, inseparable...Trade-union development was retarded by a number of factors. Labor unions existed to promote the interests of their members by securing better conditions, hours, and wages for workers. But, even without unions, the conditions of artisans were improving. Workers' general indifference to unions was compounded by immigration on a massive scale. Immigrants, glad of any opportunity, proved a plentiful source of cheap labor. The steady stream of immigrants could always replace dissatisfied workers who went on strike or even joined a union. Their presence thus placed native workers at a disadvantage in their fumbling attempts at collective bargaining. The very fact that the work force was so heterogeneous made it difficult to establish class consciousness, let alone working class solidarity.

**5. Cashman notes that the gap between the rich and very poor was big and growing. But efforts to unionize to protect workers' rights was hampered by what other phenomenon of the 19th century?**

a) Illiteracy among mine workers

b) The influx of new immigrants eager for any kind of work

c) The scarcity of trained labor lawyers

***Samuel Gompers (president of the American Federation of Labor) Defends the Right to Strike, 1899***

 The working people find that improvements in the methods of production and distribution are constantly being made, and unless they occasionally strike, or have the power to enter upon a strike, the improvements will all go to the employer and all the injuries to the employees. A strike is an effort on the part of the workers to obtain some of the improvements that have occurred resultant from bygone and present genius of our intelligence, of our mental progress. We are producing wealth today at a greater ratio ever in the history of mankind, and a strike on the part of workers is, first, against deterioration in their condition, and, second, to be participants in some of the improvements. Strikes are caused from various reasons. The employer desires to reduce wages and lengthen hours of labor, while the desire on the part of employees is to obtain shorter hours of labor, better wages, and better surroundings. Strikes establish or maintain the rights of unionism; that is, to establish and maintain the organization by which the rights of the workers can be the better protected and advanced against the little forms of oppression, sometimes economical, sometimes political - the effort on the part of employers to influence and intimidate workmen's political preferences; strikes against victimization; activity in the cause of the workers against the blacklist...

**6. According to Gompers, a strike is a means for workers to do what?**

a) Secure their rights and share of the profits made on their labor

b) Become shared owners in their places of work

c) Elect politicians who are sympathetic to labor causes

***Excerpt from "Labor in America" by Melvyn Dubofsky and Foster Rhea Dulles,***

 ***on the Homestead Strike of 1892***

 In the early morning of July 6, 1892, two barges were being towed slowly up the Monongahela River toward Homestead, Pennsylvania. There had been trouble at the local plant of the Carnegie Steel Company. The skilled workers at Homestead, members of the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers, had refused to accept new wage cuts and were supported in their stand by the rest of the labor force...Here was a challenge to his authority that [plant manager Anthony] Frick was only too glad to accept. Here was his chance to crush the Amalgamated once and for all. Aboard the two barges being towed up the Monongahela were three hundred Pinkerton detectives armed with Winchester rifles. As the steel company's private army drew alongside the Homestead mills and prepared to land, there was a sudden exchange of shots between the barges and the shore. The workers had entrenched themselves behind a barricade of steel billets and, as the Pinkertons tried to take possession of the plant, they were beaten back in a raging battle that swirled along the riverfront. All that day, from four in the morning until five in the afternoon, the fusillade of shots continued. The strikers set up a small brass cannon behind a breastwork of railroad ties and opened a direct fire on the barges. Failing to sink them, they poured barrels of oil into the river and set the oil afire. With three men already dead and many more wounded, the Pinkertons were trapped. Deserted by the tug that had towed them upstream and helplessly crowded onto the barge lying farthest from the shore, they finally ran up a white flag and agreed to surrender. In return for a guarantee of safe conduct out of the community, they gave up their arms and ammunition. But feelings were running too high at Homestead, where the casualties had included seven killed, for any easy reestablishment order. When the Pinkertons came ashore, they were again attacked had to run the gauntlet of an infuriated mob of men women armed with stones and clubs before they were safely entrained for Pittsburgh. An uneasy calm then settled over the little as the Homestead workers, victorious in this first round, awaited the next moves by the company...Then, on July 12, the state militia, mobilized eight-thousand strong by the Governor of Pennsylvania upon Frick's appeal aid, marched in quietly to take control of Homestead under martial law. With such protection, the Carnegie Company began bringing in scabs-the 'black sheep" whom the locked out workers knew were being hired to take their jobs - and proceeded to file charges of rioting and murder against the strike leaders for the attack on the Pinkertons. The plant was then reopened with militia protection, and non-union men were given the Amalgamated men's jobs. When the strike was officially called off in November, two thousand strikebreakers had been brought in and only some eight hundred of the original Homestead working force of nearly four thousand were reinstated.

**7. In the excerpt above, what can we deduce about labor relations in the Gilded Age?**

a) Management was eager to work with workers to resolve differences

b) Workers felt helpless in the face of scab workers who took their place

c) Disagreements between workers and management could and often did turn violent and deadly

**8. What role did the government play in the Homestead strike based on the excerpt?**

a) It dispatched police to keep both sides peaceful

b) The governor declared martial law and sent troops to protect replacement workers hired by the Carnegie Steel plant

c) Andrew Carnegie pleaded with the governor to release arrested strikers

***Excerpt from Booker T. Washington's "Cast Down Your Bucket" speech, 1895***

 A ship lost at sea for many days suddenly sighted a friendly vessel. From the mast of the unfortunate vessel was seen a signal: "Water! water; we die of thirst!" The answer from the friendly vessel at once came back: "Cast down your bucket where you are." A second time the signal, "Water, water, send us water!" ran from the distressed vessel, and was answered: "Cast down your bucket where you are." And a third and fourth signal for water was answered: "Cast down your bucket where you are." The captain of the distressed vessel, at last heeding the injunction, dropped down his bucket, and it came up full of fresh, sparkling water from the mouth of the Amazon River. To those of my race who depend on bettering their condition in a foreign land or who underestimate the importance of cultivating friendly relations with the Southern white man, who is their next-door neighbor, I would say: Cast down your bucket where you are; cast it down in making friends, in every manly way, of the people of all races by whom we are surrounded. Cast it down in agriculture, in mechanics, in commerce, in domestic service, and in the professions...Our greatest danger is that, in the great leap from slavery to freedom, we may overlook the fact that the masses of us are to live by the productions of our hands and fail to keep in mind that we prosper in proportion as we learn to dignify and glorify common labor, and put brains and skill into the common occupations shall prosper in proportion as we learn to draw the line between the superficial and the substantial, the ornamental gew-gaws of life and the useful. No race can prosper till it learns that there is as much dignity in tilling a field as in writing a poem. It is at the bottom of life we must begin, and not at the top. Nor should permit our grievances to overshadow our opportunities...

**9. Booker T. Washington advises African Americans to get ahead by doing what?**

a) Going to sea in ships to learn navigation

b) Learning trades that make them valuable contributors to the economy and the white man's world

c) Protest for political and economic equality

***Excerpt from "The Souls of Black Folk," by W.E.B. DuBois, 1903***

 Mr. Washington represents in Negro thought the old attitude of adjustment and submission; but adjustment at such a peculiar as to make his programme unique. This is an age of unusual economic development, and Mr. Washington's programme naturally takes an economic cast, becoming a gospel of Work and Money to such an extent as apparently almost completely to overshadow the higher aims of life. Moreover, this is an age when the more advanced races are coming in closer contact with the less developed races, and the race-feeling is therefore intensified; Mr. Washington's programme practically accepts the alleged inferiority of the Negro races. In our own land, the reaction from the sentiment of war time has given impetus to race-prejudice against Negroes, and Mr. Washington withdraws many of the demands of Negroes as men and American citizens. In other periods of intensified prejudice all the Negro's tendency to assertion has been called forth; at this period a policy of submission is advocated. In the history of nearly all other races and peoples the doctrine preached at such crises has been that self-respect is worth more than lands and houses, and that a people who voluntarily surrender such respect, or cease striving for it, are not worth civilizing. In answer to this, it has been claimed that the Negro can survive only through submission. Mr. Washington distinctly asks that black people give up, at least for the present, three thing - First, political power, Second, insistence on civil rights, Third, higher education of Negro youth,- and concentrate all their energies on industrial education, the accumulation of wealth, and the conciliation of the South. This policy has been courageously and insistently advocated for over fifteen years, and has been triumphant for perhaps ten years...The black men of America have a duty to perform, a duty stern and delicate, - a forward movement to oppose a part of the work of their greatest leader. So far as Mr. Washington preaches Thrift, Patience, and Industrial Training for the masses, we must hold up hands and strive with him, rejoicing in his honors and in the strength of this Joshua called of God and of man to lead the headless host. But so far as Mr. Washington apologizes for injustice, North or South, does not rightly value the privilege and duty of voting, belittles the emasculating effects of caste distinctions, and opposes the higher training and ambition of our brighter minds, - so far as he, the South, or the Nation, does - we must unceasingly and firmly oppose them. By every civilized and peaceful method we must strive for the rights which the world accords to men, clinging unwaveringly to those great words which the sons of the Fathers would fain forget: "We hold these truths to be self-evident: That all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness"

**10. W.E.B. DuBois argues that Washington's approach to black equality is flawed in what way?**

a) It reinforces perceptions of blacks as inferior to whites, and asks blacks to give up political power, civil rights, and higher education

b) It only provides opportunities for a small part of America's African-American population

c) It does not provide a way to pay for the education Washington encourages blacks to get

**11. What does DuBois see as the higher duty that blacks must strive for?**

a) The right to drink from the same water fountains as whites

b) The achievement of political, social, and economic equality - or the right to work for them - guaranteed to all Americans in the Declaration of Independence

c) The right to attend them same colleges and universities that white people in the South attend

***Populism: Excerpt from the People's Party of America's Omaha Platform, 1892***

The conditions which surround us best justify our cooperation: we meet in the midst of a nation brought to the verge of moral, political, and material ruin. Corruption dominates the ballot-box, the legislatures, the Congress, and touches even the ermine of the bench. The people are demoralized; most of the States have been compelled to isolate the voters at the polling-places to prevent universal intimidation or bribery. The newspapers are largely subsidized or muzzled; public opinion silenced; business prostrated; our homes covered with mortgages; labor impoverished; and the land concentrating in the hands of the capitalists. The urban workmen are denied the right of organization for self-protection; imported pauperized labor beats down their wages; a hireling standing army, unrecognized by our laws, is established to shoot them down, and they are rapidly degenerating into European conditions. The fruits of the toil of millions are boldly stolen to build up colossal fortunes for a few, unprecedented in the history of mankind; and the possessors of these, in turn, despise the republic and endanger liberty. From the same prolific womb of governmental injustice we breed the two great classes-tramps and millionaires.

**12. The populist movement argued for big changes in how America did business. The long list of reasons for such changes given in the excerpt can best be summed up by saying what?**

a) Poor people cannot catch a break in a system that is rigged against them at all levels

b) It is the natural place for working men to be at the bottom of the economic ladder

c) It is better to leave business to those with the education to do it well

***On Nativism and New immigrants, by John Higham***

 Unlike the older Catholic population, the southern and eastern Europeans who had begun to arrive in considerable numbers during the 1880's lived in the American imagination only in the form of a few vague, ethnic stereotypes...An initial distrust, compounded largely out of their culture and appearance, swelled into a pressing sense of menace, into hatred, and into violence. This process went forward essentially along two lines: first and most commonly, the general anti-foreign feelings touched off by the internal and international shocks of the late nineteenth century were discharged with special force against these new targets...secondly and more slowly, a campaign got under way against the new immigration as a unique entity, constituting in its difference from other foreign groups the essence of the nation's peril. The first type of attack was midwife to the second. The new immigrants had the very bad luck to arrive in America *en masse* at a time when nativism was already running at full tilt...Neither of the major traditions of nativist thought quite fitted the problem. The anti-radical theme, with its fears of imported discontent, applied to Europeans as a whole, and surely the new immigrants presented a more docile appearance than did Irish labor leaders or the German anarchists who hanged for the Haymarket Affair. Anti-Catholic nationalism, aside from failing to account for the new Jewish immigration, reeked of religious fanaticism which literate and cultured people now disavowed...There was, however, a third nativist tradition - weaker than the other two but more adaptable to the purpose at hand. The old idea that America belongs peculiarly to the Anglo-Saxon race would define the special danger of the new immigration if one assumed that northern Europeans were at least first cousins to the Anglo-Saxons.

**13. Nativism of the late 19th century can be described as not just anti-immigrant, but against what specific kind of immigrant?**

a) Those of African descent

b) Those with criminal records

c) Those from places other than the Anglo-Saxon parts of Europe