Historian Joan Waugh:

- For many years, Grant was contextualized by Southern resentment of civil rights for African Americans.

Historian Joan Waugh:

- Now there is a growing appreciation of Grant’s commitment to African American civil rights.

Historian Joan Waugh:

- He fought to protect the rights of African Americans more than any other 19th-century president.

Enforcement of Voting Rights; Fighting Voter Suppression:

- Labored to ensure the passage of the 15th Amendment
- Fought to make it possible for blacks to vote
- (1872 to 1968)
Enforcement of Voting Rights; Fighting Voter Suppression

- Ultimately, we abandoned African Americans to segregation, discrimination & repressive violence
- But Grant was not responsible for that tragedy

Grant and Civil Rights:

- Imposed federal military rule in Georgia, 1869
- 15th Amendment, 1870
- Established Dept. of Justice; Office of Solicitor General, 1870

Grant and Civil Rights:

- Enforcement Act of 1870:
- To prevent southern “Redeemers” from violently attacking African Americans

Election of 1868: African American swing voters. 500,000 African Americans voted for the first time. Grant defeated Seymour by only 300,000 votes.
Grant and Civil Rights:

- Enforcement Act of 1871
- Prosecuted the KKK in the South (local and state courts would not)

Grant and Civil Rights:

- The Civil Rights Act of 1875
- Unprecedented attempt to extend federal protection of black civil rights to public places

Voter Suppression
“Redemption” Voter Suppression & then the Purging of Black Legislators

Questions?

The Economic History of the “Gilded Age”
The Gilded Age Economy

1865: 55%; 1900: 40%
Wars Against Indians
Factor of Production: Land

Establishing a Network of Forts
Making Way for the Railroads to Sell their Land Grants

Railroad economic instability: Over-Expansion Land Speculation

Railroads: Massive Corruption, Overexpansion, Bankruptcies
Railroad Labor Strife

1894

Repression of Labor
Great Railroad Strike of 1877
Haymarket Incident, 1886

Haymarket 1886
The Fight for the Eight-Hour Day

Homestead Strike, 1892
(Against Carnegie Steel)

Homestead Strike, 1892
Pullman Strike, 1894
Homestead Strike
1892

Rapid Industrialization

Industrial Growth Created Vast Fortunes Particularly in Steel
Enormous Disparities of Wealth Created

Vast Disparities of Wealth; Social Polarization

The Struggles of American Workers
An Age of Economic Upheaval & Job Insecurity

Low Wages
High Unemployment

An Estimated 40% of Americans Lived Below the Poverty Level

No Workplace Protections. Organizing Banned.
Exploitation of Labor: States & Cities Powerless

Corporate Control of Politics

Growing Tensions Between Wealth & Democracy

Tensions between wealth & democracy (money in politics)
Political Corruption

Multiple Market Panics & Depressions
(no oversight of markets or exchanges of any kind)

Chaotic & Corrupt Banking & Financial Practices
**Wall Street Bubbles**

**Accelerated Urbanization, Poverty, Overcrowding**

**Rapid Urbanization**

**Urban and Rural Population Shift 1860-1930**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1860</th>
<th>1880</th>
<th>1900</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>New York City</td>
<td>1,174,800</td>
<td>1,912,000</td>
<td>3,437,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philadelphia</td>
<td>565,500</td>
<td>847,000</td>
<td>1,294,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boston</td>
<td>177,800</td>
<td>363,000</td>
<td>561,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baltimore</td>
<td>212,400</td>
<td>332,000</td>
<td>509,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cincinnati</td>
<td>161,000</td>
<td>255,000</td>
<td>326,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Louis</td>
<td>160,800</td>
<td>350,000</td>
<td>575,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chicago</td>
<td>109,300</td>
<td>503,000</td>
<td>1,698,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Rapid Urbanization**
Urban Poverty; Hostility Toward the Migrant & Immigrant Labor Force

**Intntigrantsfront Europe**

**European Immigration, 1870–1920**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Old Northwestern Europe</th>
<th>New Central Europe</th>
<th>New Eastern Europe</th>
<th>New Southern Europe</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1870</td>
<td>Great Britain, Ireland</td>
<td>Luxembourg, Belgium</td>
<td>Russia, Baltic States</td>
<td>Italy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1880</td>
<td>Scandinavia, France</td>
<td>Poland, Czechoslovakia</td>
<td>Romania, Bulgaria</td>
<td>Spain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1890</td>
<td></td>
<td>Austria-Hungary</td>
<td>European Turkey</td>
<td>Portugal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Greece</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**SOURCE:** Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1970

**THE NEW IMMIGRATION, 1861-1920**

- Northwestern Europe (mostly Ireland, Germany, and England)
- Central and Eastern Europe (mostly Poland, Russia, and Hungary)
- Southern Europe (mostly Italy and Greece)
- Asia (mostly China)
- Other

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Millions of immigrants</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1861-1880</td>
<td>89% 5% 2% 6% 18% 2% 8% 3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1881-1900</td>
<td>51% 25% 14% 12% 18% 2% 8% 3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1901-1920</td>
<td>13% 44% 29% 11%</td>
</tr>
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**Source:** Historical Statistics of the United States

The “New Immigration”
See Pink (leading to 1924)

**THE NEW IMMIGRATION, 1861-1920**

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**Source:** Historical Statistics of the United States

The “New Immigration”
See “Asia”
"The Anti-Chinese Wall"

Unimaginative, Uninspired Political Leadership

Bitterly Polarizing Conflict Over Currency
Sherman Silver Purchase Act, 1890

With the exception of John Sherman, the Gilded Age was largely bereft of innovative public finance ideas.

National Expert on Tariffs, Currency, Regulations

John Sherman
American Statesmen Series

Theodore E. Burton
John Sherman
Senator from Ohio
(32 years)
Treasury Secretary

Leader in economic policy for four decades

He fought to maintain the income tax

Sherman: Income taxes more equitable than tariffs; & certainly more dependable
Sherman Antitrust Act
1890: Remains the seedbed of U.S. antitrust policy.

Empowered Justice Dept. to investigate illegalities or to impose remedies.

“The Long Depression”
1873-1897
- Ignited by the Panic of 1873
- Concluded in the years after the Panic of 1893
- National Bureau of Economic Research dates initial contraction from October 1873 to March 1879

“If we will not endure a king as a political power we should not endure a king over the production, transportation, and sale of any of the necessaries of life.”
The “Long Depression” 1873-1897

- From 1873 to 1879, 18,000 businesses went bankrupt, *including 89 railroads!*
- At 65 months, the longest contraction, eclipsing the Great Depression’s 43 month contraction between 1929 and 1933

Grover Cleveland Loomed Large in the Economic History of the Gilded Age

The “Long Depression” 1873-1897

- Ten states and hundreds of banks went bankrupt
- Different sources peg the peak unemployment rate as high as 20%

Deepest economic depression yet following Panic of 1893
Unemployment soared from 3% in 1892 to 20% by 1894

Cleveland pushed for “austerity”

Cleveland Supported Hard Money & Lower Tariffs

Grover Cleveland: Staunch Adherence to the Gold Standard
Economic History Association: 180 Economic History Scholars:
“The Gold Standard was Effective at Stabilizing Prices & Moderating Business Cycle Fluctuations in the Late 19th and Early 20th Centuries”

All: Agree: 34% Disagree: 66%

Historians: Agree: 33% Disagree: 67%

Economists: Agree: 36% Disagree: 64%