

from *Sister Carrie*
Theodore Dreiser, 1900

Carrie walked with an air equal to that of Mrs. Vance, and accepted the seat which the head waiter provided for her. She was keenly aware of all the little things that were done – the little genuflections and attentions of the waiters and head waiter which Americans pay for. The air with which the latter pulled out each chair, and the wave of the hand with which he motioned for them to be seated, were worth several dollars in themselves.

Once seated, there began that exhibition of showy, wasteful, and unwholesome gastronomy as practised by wealthy Americans, which is the wonder and astonishment of true culture and dignity the world over. The large bill of fare held an array of dishes sufficient to feed an army, sidelined with prices which made reasonable expenditure a ridiculous impossibility - an order of soup at fifty cents or a dollar, with a dozen kinds to choose from; oysters in forty styles and at sixty cents the half-dozen; entrees, fish, and meats at prices which would house one over night in an average hotel. One dollar fifty and two dollars seemed to be the most common figures upon this most distastefully printed bill of fare....

The tables were not so remarkable in themselves, and yet the imprint of Sherry upon the napery, the name of Tiffany upon the silverware, the name of Haviland upon the china, and over all the glow of the small, red-shaded candelabra and the reflected tints of the walls on garments and faces, made them seem remarkable. Each waiter added an air of exclusive-ness and elegance by the manner in which he bowed, scraped, touched, and trifled with things. The exclusively personal attention which he devoted to each one, standing half bent, ear to one side, elbows akimbo, saying: "Soup - green turtle, yes. One portion, yes. Oysters - certainly - half-dozen - yes. Asparagus. Olives - yes."

In the city, at that time, there were a number of charities similar in nature to that of the captain's, which Hurstwood now patronised in a like unfortunate way. One was a convent mission-house of the Sisters of Mercy in 15th Street - a row of red brick family dwellings, before the door of which hung a plain wooden contribution box, on which was painted the statement that every noon a meal was given free to all those who might apply and ask for aid. This simple announcement was modest in the extreme, covering, as it did, charity so broad. Institutions and charities are so large and so numerous in New York that such things as this are not often noticed by the more comfortably situated. But to one whose mind is upon the matter, they grow exceedingly under inspection. Unless one were looking up this matter in particular, he could have stood at 6th Avenue and 15th Street for days around the noon hour and never have noticed that out of the vast crowd that surged along that busy thoroughfare there turned out, every few seconds, some weather-beaten, heavy-footed specimen of humanity, gaunt in countenance and dilapidated in the matter of clothes. The fact is none the less true, however, and the colder the day the more apparent it became. Space and a lack of culinary room in the mission-house, compelled an arrangement which permitted of only twenty-five or thirty eating at one time, so that a line had to be formed outside and an orderly entrance effected. This caused a daily spectacle which, however, had become so common by repetition during a number of years that no nothing was thought of it. The men waited patiently, like cattle, in the coldest weather - waited for several hours before they could be admitted. No questions were asked and no service rendered. They ate and went away again, some of them returning regularly day after day the winter through.

A big, motherly looking woman invariably stood guard at the door during the entire operation and counted the admissible number. The men moved up in solemn order. There was no haste and no eagerness displayed.

It was almost a dumb procession. In the bitterest weather this line was to be found here. Under an icy wind there was a prodigious slapping of hands and a dancing of feet. Fingers and the features of the face looked as if severely nipped by the cold. A study of these men in broad light proved them to be nearly all of a type. They belonged to a class that sit on the park benches during the endurable days and sleep upon them during the summer nights. They frequent the Bowery and those down-at-the-heels eastside streets where poor clothes and shrunken features are not signaled out as curious. They are the men who are in the lodging-house sitting-rooms during bleak and bitter weather and who swarm about the cheaper shelters which only open at six in a number of the lower eastside streets. Miserable food, ill-timed and greedily eaten, had played havoc with bone and muscle. They were all pale, flabby, sunken-eyed, hollow-chested, with eyes that glinted and shone and lips that were a sickly red by contrast. Their hair was but half attended to, their ears anaemic in hue, and their shoes broken in leather and run down at heel and toe. They were of the class which simply floats and drifts, every wave of people washing up one, as breakers do driftwood upon a stormy shore.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE FRONTIER IN AMERICAN HISTORY

Frederick Jackson Turner, 1893

In this advance, the frontier is the outer edge of the wave-- the meeting point between savagery and civilization....

The American frontier is sharply distinguished from the European frontier--a fortified boundary line running through dense populations. The most significant thing about the American frontier is, that it lies at the hither edge of free land. In the census reports it is treated as the margin of that settlement which has a density of two or more to the square mile. The term is an elastic one, and for our purposes does not need sharp definition. We shall consider the whole frontier belt including the Indian country and the outer margin of the "settled area" of the census reports. This paper will make no attempt to treat the subject exhaustively; its aim is simply to call attention to the frontier as a fertile field for investigation, and to suggest some of the problems which arise in connection with it.

From the conditions of frontier life came intellectual traits of profound importance. The works of travelers along each frontier from colonial days onward describe certain common traits, and these traits have, while softening down, still persisted as survivals in the place of their origin, even when a higher social organization succeeded. The result is that to the frontier the American intellect owes its striking characteristics. That coarseness and strength combined with acuteness and inquisitiveness; that practical, inventive turn of mind, quick to find expedients; that masterful grasp of material things, lacking in the artistic but powerful to effect great ends; that restless, nervous energy; that dominant individualism, working for good and for evil, and withal that buoyancy and exuberance which comes with freedom--these are traits of the frontier, or traits called out elsewhere because of the existence of the frontier. Since the days when the fleet of Columbus sailed into the waters of the New World, America has been another name for opportunity, and the people of the United States have taken their tone from the incessant expansion which has not only been open but has even been forced upon them. He would be a rash prophet who should assert that the expansive character of American life has now entirely ceased. Movement has been its dominant fact, and, unless this training has no effect upon a people, the American energy will continually demand a wider field for its exercise. But never again will such gifts of free land offer themselves. For a moment, at the frontier, the bonds of custom are broken and unrestraints triumphant. There is not tabula rasa. The stubborn American environment is there with its imperious summons to accept its conditions; the inherited ways of doing things are also there; and yet, in spite of environment, and in spite of custom, each frontier did indeed furnish a new field of opportunity, a gate of escape from the bondage of the past; and freshness, and confidence, and scorn of older society, impatience of its restraints and its ideas, and indifference to its lessons, have accompanied the frontier. What the Mediterranean Sea was to the Greeks, breaking the bond of custom, offering new experiences, calling out new institutions and activities, that, and more, the ever retreating frontier has been to the United States directly, and to the nations of Europe more remotely. And now, four centuries from the discovery of America, at the end of a hundred years of life under the Constitution, the frontier has gone, and with its going has closed the first period of American history.

We Must Not Help the Weak at the Expense of the Strong
William Graham Sumner, 1883

Certain ills belong to the hardships of human life. They are natural. They are part of the struggle with Nature for existence. We cannot blame our fellow-men for our share of these. My neighbor and I are struggling to free ourselves from these ills. The fact that my neighbor has succeeded in this struggle better than I constitutes no grievance for me. Certain other ills are due to the malice of men, and to the imperfections or errors of civil institutions...The second class of ills falls on certain social classes, and reform will take the form of interference by other classes in favor of that one. The last fact is, no doubt, the reason why people have been led...to believe that the same method was applicable to the other class of ills. The distinction here made between the ills which belong to the struggle for existence and those which are due to the faults of human institutions is of prime importance....

There is no possible definition of "a poor man." A pauper is a person who cannot earn his living; whose producing powers have fallen positively below his necessary consumption; who cannot, therefore, pay his way. A human society needs the active co-operation and productive energy of every person in it. A man who is present as a consumer, yet does not contribute either by land, labor, or capital, to the work of society, is a burden. On no sound political theory ought such a person share in the political power of the state. He drops out of the ranks of workers and producers. Society must support him. It accepts the burden, but he must be cancelled from the ranks likewise. About him no more need be said. But he is not the "poor man." The "poor man" is an elastic term, under which any number of social fallacies may be hidden.

Neither is there any possible definition of "the weak." Some are weak in one way, some in another; and those who are weak in one sense are strong in another. In general, however, it may be said that those whom humanitarians and philanthropists call the weak are the ones through whom the productive and conservative forces of society are wasted. They constantly neutralize and destroy the finest efforts of the wise and industrious, and are a dead-weight on the society in all its struggles to realize any better things. Whether the people who mean no harm, but are weak in the essential powers necessary to the performance of one's duties in life, or those who are malicious and vicious, do the more mischief, is a question not easy to answer....

In their eagerness to recommend the less fortunate classes to pity and consideration they forget all about the rights of other classes; they gloss over all the faults of the classes in question, and they exaggerate their misfortunes and their virtues. They invent new theories of property, distorting rights and perpetrating injustice, as any one is sure to do who sets about the re-adjustment of social relations with the interests of one group distinctly before his mind, and the interests of all other groups thrown into the background...

Social improvement is not to be won by direct effort. It is secondary, and results from physical or economic improvements. That is the reason why schemes of direct social amelioration always have an arbitrary, sentimental, and artificial character while true social advance must be a product and a growth. The efforts which are being put forth for every kind of progress in the arts and sciences are, therefore, contributing to true social progress....

We each owe it to the other to guarantee rights. Rights do not pertain to *results*, but only to *chances*. They pertain to the *conditions* of the struggle for existence, not to any of the results of it; to the *pursuit of happiness*,

not to the possession of happiness....Each has a right to acquire and possess property if he can....Rights should be equal, because they pertain to chances, and all ought to have equal chances so far as chances are provided or limited by the action of society. This, however, will not produce equal results, but it is right just because it will produce unequal results – that is, results which shall be proportioned to the merits of individuals. We each owe it to the other to guarantee mutually the chance to earn, to possess, to earn, to marry, etc....All of us ought to guarantee rights to each of us.

....If we help a man to help himself, by opening the chances around him, we put him in a position to add to the wealth of the community by putting new powers in operation to produce...

From How the Other Half Lives

Jacob Riis, 1890

VI: The Bend

WHERE Mulberry Street crooks like an elbow within hail of the old depravity of the Five Points, is "the Bend," foul core of New York's slums. Long years ago the cows coming home from the pasture trod a path over this hill. Echoes of tinkling bells linger there still, but they do not call up memories of green meadows and summer fields; they proclaim the home-coming of the rag-picker's cart. In the memory of man the old cow-path has never been other than a vast human pig-sty. There is but one "Bend" in the world, and it is enough. The city authorities, moved by the angry protests of ten years of sanitary reform effort, have decided that it is too much and must come down. Another Paradise Park will take its place and let in sunlight and air to work such transformation as at the Five Points, around the corner of the next block. Never was change more urgently needed. Around "the Bend" cluster the bulk of the tenements that are stamped as altogether bad, even by the optimists of the Health Department. Incessant raids cannot keep down the crowds that make them their home. In the scores of back alleys, of stable lanes and hidden byways, of which the rent collector alone can keep track, they share such shelter as the ramshackle structures afford with every kind of abomination rifled from the dumps and ash-barrels of the city. Here, too, shunning the light, skulks the unclean beast of dishonest idleness. "The Bend" is the home of the tramp as well as the rag-picker.

In the street, where the city wields the broom, there is at least an effort at cleaning up. There has to be, or it would be swamped in filth overrunning from the courts and alleys where the rag-pickers live. It requires more than ordinary courage to explore these on a hot day. The undertaker has to do it then, the police always. Right here, in this tenement on the east side of the street, they found little Antonia Candia, victim of fiendish cruelty, "covered," says the account found in the records of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, "with sores, and her hair matted with dried blood." Abuse is the normal condition of "the Bend," murder its everyday crop, with the tenants not always the criminals. In this block between Bayard, Park, Mulberry, and Baxter Streets, "the Bend" proper, the late Tenement House Commission counted 155 deaths of children 1 in a specimen year (1882). Their percentage of the total mortality in the block was 68.28, while for the whole city the proportion was only 46.20. The infant mortality in any city or place as compared with the whole number of deaths is justly considered a good barometer of its general sanitary condition. Here, in this tenement, No. 59½, next to Bandits' Roost, fourteen persons died that year, and eleven of them were children; in No. 61 eleven, and eight of them not yet five years old. According to the records in the Bureau of Vital Statistics only thirty-nine people lived in No. 59½ in the year 1888, nine of them little children. There were five baby funerals in that house the same year. Out of the alley itself, No. 59, nine dead were carried in 1888, five in baby coffins. Here is the record of the year for the whole block, as furnished by the Registrar of Vital Statistics, Dr. Roger S. Tracy:

*Deaths and Death-rates in 1888 in Baxter and Mulberry Streets, between
Park and Bayard Streets.*

	POPULATION.			DEATHS.			DEATH-RATE.		
	Five years old and over.	Under five years.	Total.	Five years old and over.	Under five years.	Total.	Five years old and over.	Under five years.	General.
Baxter Street	1,918	315	2,233	26	46	72	13.56	146.02	32.24
Mulberry Street ...	2,788	629	3,417	44	86	130	15.78	136.70	38.05
Total	4,706	944	5,650	70	132	202	14.87	139.83	35.75

The general death-rate for the whole city that year was 26.27.

These figures speak for themselves, when it is shown that in the model tenement across the way at Nos. 48 and 50, where the same class of people live in greater swarms (161, according to the record), but under good management, and in decent quarters, the hearse called that year only twice, once for a baby. The agent of the Christian people who built that tenement will tell you that Italians are good tenants, while the owner of the alley will oppose every order to put his property in repair with the claim that they are the worst of a bad lot. Both are right, from their different stand-points. It is the stand-point that makes the difference—and the tenant.



The Strenuous Life of the Tammany District Leader
William L Riordan, 1905

The life of the Tammany district leader is strenuous. To his work is due the wonderful recuperative power of the organization.

No other politician in New York or elsewhere is exactly like the Tammany district leader or works as he does. As a rule, he has no business or occupation other than politics. He plays politics every day and night in the year, and his headquarters bears the inscription, "Never closed."

Everybody in the district knows him. Everybody knows where to find him, and nearly everybody goes to him for assistance of one sort or another, especially the poor of the tenements.

He is always obliging. He will go to the police courts to put in a good word for the "drunks and disorderlies" or pay their fines, if a good word is not effective. He will attend christening, weddings, and funerals. He will feed the hungry and help bury the dead.

A philanthropist? Not at all. He is playing politics all the time.

Brought up in Tammany Hall, he has learned how to reach the heart of the great mass of voters. He does not bother about reaching their heads. It is his belief that arguments and campaign literature have never gained votes.

He seeks direct contact with the people, does them good turns when he can, and relies on their not forgetting him on election day. His heart is always in his work, too, for his subsistence depends on its results....

Sometimes the work of a district leader is exciting, especially if he happens to have a rival who intends to make a contest for the leadership at the primaries. In that case, he is even more alert, tries to reach the fires before his rival, sends out runners to look for "drunks and disorderlies" at the police stations, and keeps a very close watch on the obituary columns of the newspapers.

A few years ago there was a bitter contest for the Tammany leadership of the Ninth District between John C. Sheehan and Frank J. Goodwin. Both has had long experience in Tammany politics and both understood every move of the game.

Every morning their agents went to their respective headquarters before seven o'clock and read through the death notices in all the morning papers. If they found that anybody in the district had died, they rushed to the homes of their principals with information and then there was a race to the house of the deceased to offer condolences, and, if the family were poor, something more substantial....

Both were particularly anxious to secure the large Italian vote. They not only attended all the Italian christenings and funerals, but also kept a close lookout for the marriages in order to be on hand with wedding presents.....

Sometimes the rivals come into conflict at the death-bed. One night a poor Italian peddler died in Roosevelt Street. The news reached Divver and Foley (political candidates) about the same time, and as they knew the family of the man was destitute, each went to an undertaker and brought him to the Roosevelt tenement.

The rivals and the undertakers met at the house and an altercation ensued. After much discussion the Divver undertaker was selected. Foley had more carriages at the funeral, however, and he further impressed the Italian voters by paying the widow's rent for a month, and sending her half a ton of coal and a barrel of flour.

The rivals were put on their mettle toward the end of the campaign by the wedding of a daughter of one of the original Cohens of the Baxter Street region. The Hebrew vote in the district is nearly as large as the Italian vote, and Divver and Foley set out to capture the Cohens and their friends.

They stayed up nights thinking what they would give the bride. Neither knew how much the other was prepared to spend on a wedding present, or what form it would take; so spies were employed by both sides to keep watch on the jewelry stores, and the jewelers of the district were bribed by each side to impart the desired information.

At last Foley heard that Divver had purchased a set of silver knives, forks, and spoons. He at once bought a duplicate set and added a silver tea service. When the presents were displayed at the home of the bride Divver was not in a pleasant mood and he charged his jeweler with treachery. It may be added that Foley won at the primaries....

By these means the Tammany district leader reaches out into the homes of his district, keeps watch not only on the men, but also on the women and children; knows their needs, their likes and dislikes, their troubles and their hopes, and places himself in a position to use his knowledge for the benefit of his organization and himself. Is it any wonder that scandals do not permanently disable Tammany and that it speedily recovers from what seems to be crushing defeat?

Hull House, Chicago: An Effort toward Social Democracy
Jane Addams, 1892

Hull House, Chicago's first Social settlement, was established in September, 1889. It...was opened by two women, supported by many friends, in the belief that the mere foothold of a house, easily accessible, ample in space, hospitable and tolerant in spirit, situated in the midst of the large foreign colonies which so easily isolate themselves in American cities, would be in itself a serviceable thing for Chicago....It was opened on the theory that the dependence of classes on each other is reciprocal; and that as "the social relation is essentially a reciprocal relation, it gave a form of expression that has peculiar value."....

Hull House is an ample old residence, well built and somewhat ornately decorated after the manner of its time, 1856...It once stood in the suburbs, but the city has steadily grown up around it and its site now has corners on three or four distinct foreign colonies. Between Halsted Street and the river live about ten thousand Italians...To the south Twelfth Street are many Germans, and side streets are given over almost entirely to Polish and Russian Jews. Further south, these Jewish colonies merge into a huge Bohemian colony, so vast that Chicago ranks as the third Bohemian city in the world. To the northwest are many Canadian-French,...and to the north are many Irish and first-generation Americans....

The streets are inexpressibly dirty, the number of schools inadequate, factory legislation unenforced, the street-lighting bad, and paving miserable,...and the stables defy all laws of sanitation....The Hebrews and Italians do the finishing for the great clothing manufacturers....As the design of the sweating system is the elimination of rent from the manufacture of clothing, the "outside work" is begun after the clothing leaves the cutter. For this work no basement is too dark, no stable loft too foul, no rear shanty too provisional, no tenement room too small, as these conditions imply low rental. Hence these shops abound in the worst of the foreign districts, where they sweater easily find his cheap basement and his home finishers....

Wealth
Andrew Carnegie, 1889

The problem of our age is the proper administration of wealth, so that the ties of brotherhood may still bind together the rich and poor in harmonious relationship. The conditions of human life have not only been changed, but revolutionized, within the past few hundred years. In former days there was little difference between the dwelling, dress, food, and environment of the chief and those of his retainers. The Indians are to-day where civilized man then was. When visiting the Sioux, I was led to the wigwam of the chief. It was just like the others in external appearance, and even within the difference was trifling between it and those of the poorest of his braves. The contrast between the palace of the millionaire and the cottage of the laborer with us to-day measures the change which has come with civilization.

This change, however, is not to be deplored, but welcomed as highly beneficial. It is well, nay, essential for the progress of the race, that the houses of some should be homes for all that is highest and best in literature and the arts, and for all the refinements of civilization, rather than that none should be so. Much better this great irregularity than universal squalor. Without wealth there can be no Mæcenas. The "good old times " were not good old times. Neither master nor servant was as well situated then as to-day. A relapse to old conditions would be disastrous to both--not the least so to him who serves--and would sweep away civilization with it. But whether the change be for good or ill, it is upon us, beyond our power to alter, and there fore to be accepted and made the best of. It is a waste of time to criticise the inevitable.

It is easy to see how the change has come. One illustration will serve for almost every phase of the cause. In the manufacture of products we have the whole story. It applies to all combinations of human industry, as stimulated and enlarged by the inventions of this scientific age. Formerly articles were manufactured at the domestic hearth or in small shops which formed part of the household. The master and his apprentices worked side by side, the latter living with the master, and therefore subject to the same conditions. When these apprentices rose to be masters, there was little or no change in their mode of life, and they, in turn, educated in the same routine succeeding apprentices. There was, substantially social equality, and even political equality, for those engaged in industrial pursuits had then little or no political voice in the State.

But the inevitable result of such a mode of manufacture was crude articles at high prices. To-day the world obtains commodities of excellent quality at prices which even the generation preceding this would have deemed incredible. In the commercial world similar causes have produced similar results, and the race is benefited thereby. The poor enjoy what the rich could not before afford. What were the luxuries have become the necessities of life. The laborer has now more comforts than the landlord had a few generations ago. The farmer has more luxuries than the landlord had, and is more richly clad and better housed. The landlord has books and pictures rarer, and appointments more artistic, than the King could then obtain.

The price we pay for this salutary change is, no doubt, great. We assemble thousands of operatives in the factory, in the mine, and in the counting-house, of whom the employer can know little or nothing, and to whom the employer is little better than a myth. All intercourse between them is at an end. Rigid Castes are formed, and, as usual, mutual ignorance breeds mutual distrust. Each Caste is without sympathy for the other, and ready to credit anything disparaging in regard to it. Under the law of competition, the employer of thousands is forced into the strictest economies, among which the rates paid to labor figure prominently, and often there is friction between the employer and the employed, between capital and labor, between rich and poor. Human society loses homogeneity.

The price which society pays for the law of competition, like the price it pays for cheap comforts and luxuries, is also great; but the advantage of this law are also greater still, for it is to this law that we owe our wonderful material development, which brings improved conditions in its train....

We start, then, with a condition of affairs under which the best interests of the race are promoted, but which inevitably gives wealth to the few. Thus far, accepting conditions as they exist, the situation can be surveyed and pronounced good. The question then arises, --and, if the foregoing be correct, it is the only question with which we have to deal, --What is the proper mode of administering wealth after the laws upon which civilization is founded have thrown it into the hands of the few? And it is of this great question that I believe I offer the true solution. It will be understood that *fortunes* are here spoken of, not moderate sums saved by many years of effort, the returns on which are required for the comfortable maintenance and education of families. This is not *wealth*, but only *competence* which it should be the aim of all to acquire.

There are but three modes in which surplus wealth can be disposed of. It can be left to the families of the decedents; or it can be bequeathed for public purposes; or, finally, it can be administered during their lives by its possessors. Under the first and second modes most of the wealth of the world that has reached the few has hitherto been applied. Let us in turn consider each of these modes. The first is the most injudicious. In monarchical countries, the estates and the greatest portion of the wealth are left to the first son, that the vanity of the parent may be gratified by the thought that his name and title are to descend to succeeding generations unimpaired... Why should men leave great fortunes to their children? If this is done from affection, is it not misguided affection? Observation teaches that, generally speaking, it is not well for the children that they should be so burdened. Neither is it well for the state. Beyond providing for the wife and daughters moderate sources of income, and very moderate allowances indeed, if any, for the sons, men may well hesitate, for it is no longer questionable that great sums bequeathed oftener work more for the injury than for the good of the recipients. Wise men will soon conclude that, for the best interests of the members of their families and of the state, such bequests are an improper use of their means....

As to the second mode, that of leaving wealth at death for public uses, it may be said that this is only a means for the disposal of wealth, provided a man is content to wait until he is dead before it becomes of much good in the world....

The growing disposition to tax more and more heavily large estates left at death is a cheering indication of the growth of a salutary change in public opinion. The State of Pennsylvania now takes--subject to some exceptions--one-tenth of the property left by its citizens....

This policy would work powerfully to induce the rich man to attend to the administration of wealth during his life, which is the end that society should always have in view, as being that by far most fruitful for the people. Nor need it be feared that this policy would sap the root of enterprise and render men less anxious to accumulate, for to the class whose ambition it is to leave great fortunes and be talked about after their death, it will attract even more attention, and, indeed, be a somewhat nobler ambition to have enormous sums paid over to the state from their fortunes.

There remains, then, only one mode of using great fortunes....

Poor and restricted are our opportunities in this life; narrow our horizon; our best work most imperfect; but rich men should be thankful for one inestimable boon. They have it in their power during their lives to busy themselves in organizing benefactions from which the masses of their fellows will derive lasting advantage, and thus dignify their own lives. The highest life is probably to be reached, not by such imitation of the life of Christ as Count Tolstoi gives us, but, while animated by Christ's spirit, by recognizing the changed conditions of

this age, and adopting modes of expressing this spirit suitable to the changed conditions under which we live ; still laboring for the good of our fellows, which was the essence of his life and teaching, but laboring in a different manner.

This, then, is held to be the duty of the man of Wealth: First, to set an example of modest, unostentatious living, shunning display or extravagance; to provide moderately for the legitimate wants of those dependent upon him; and after doing so to consider all surplus revenues which come to him simply as trust funds, which he is called upon to administer, and strictly bound as a matter of duty to administer in the manner which, in his judgment, is best calculated to produce the most beneficial results for the community--the man of wealth thus becoming the mere agent and trustee for his poorer brethren, bringing to their service his superior wisdom, experience and ability to administer, doing for them better than they would or could do for themselves.

Dissenting Opinion in *Plessy v Ferguson*
Justice John Marshall Harlan, 1896

Mr. Justice Harlan dissenting....In respect of civil rights, common to all citizens, the Constitution of the United States does not, I think, permit any public authority to know the race of those entitled to be protected in the enjoyment of such rights. Every true man has pride of race, and under appropriate circumstances when the rights of others, his equals before the law, are not to be affected, it is his privilege to express such pride and to take such action based upon it as to him seems proper. But I deny that any legislative body or judicial tribunal may have regard to the race of citizens when the civil rights of those citizens are involved. Indeed, such legislation, as that here in question, is inconsistent not only with that equality of rights which pertains to citizenship, National and State, but with the personal liberty enjoyed by every one within the United States....

The white race deems itself to be the dominant race in this country. And so it is, in prestige, in achievements, in education, in wealth and in power. So, I doubt not, it will continue to be for all time, if it remains true to its great heritage and holds fast to the principles of the constitutional liberty. But in view of the Constitution, in the eye of the law, there is in this country no superior, dominant, ruling class of citizens. There is no caste here. Our Constitution is color-blind, and neither knows nor tolerates classes among citizens. In respect of civil rights, all citizens are equal before the law. The humblest is the peer of the most powerful. The law regards man as man, and takes no account of his surroundings or of his color when his civil rights as guaranteed by the supreme law of the land are involved. It is, therefore, to be regretted that this high tribunal, the final expositor of the fundamental law of the land, has reached the conclusion that it is competent for a State to regulate the enjoyment by citizens of their civil rights solely upon the basis of race....

The arbitrary separation of citizens, on the basis of race, while they are on a public highway, is a badge of servitude wholly inconsistent with the civil freedom and the equality before the law established by the Constitution. It cannot be justified upon any legal grounds.

If evils will result from the commingling of the two races upon public highways established for the benefit of all, they will be infinitely less than those that will surely come from state legislation regulating the enjoyment of civil rights upon the basis of race. We boast of the freedom enjoyed by our people above all other peoples. But it is difficult to reconcile that boast with a state of the law which, practically, puts the brand of servitude and degradation upon a large class of our fellow-citizens, our equals before the law. The thin disguise of "equal" accommodations for passengers in railroad coaches will not mislead any one, nor atone for the wrong his day done....

Order by the Commander of the Military Division of the Mississippi
General William Sherman, 1865

SPECIAL FIELD ORDERS, No. 15.

I. The islands from Charleston, south, the abandoned rice fields along the rivers for thirty miles back from the sea, and the country bordering the St. Johns river, Florida, are reserved and set apart for the settlement of the negroes now made free by the acts of war and the proclamation of the President of the United States.

II. At Beaufort, Hilton Head, Savannah, Fernandina, St. Augustine and Jacksonville, the blacks may remain in their chosen or accustomed vocations—but on the islands, and in the settlements hereafter to be established, no white person whatever, unless military officers and soldiers detailed for duty, will be permitted to reside; and the sole and exclusive management of affairs will be left to the freed people themselves, subject only to the United States military authority and the acts of Congress. By the laws of war, and orders of the President of the United States, the negro is free and must be dealt with as such. He cannot be subjected to conscription or forced military service, save by the written orders of the highest military authority of the Department, under such regulations as the President or Congress may prescribe. Domestic servants, blacksmiths, carpenters and other mechanics, will be free to select their own work and residence, but the young and able-bodied negroes must be encouraged to enlist as soldiers in the service of the United States, to contribute their share towards maintaining their own freedom, and securing their rights as citizens of the United States....

III. Whenever three respectable negroes, heads of families, shall desire to settle on land, and shall have selected for that purpose an island or a locality clearly defined, within the limits above designated, the Inspector of Settlements and Plantations will himself, or by such subordinate officer as he may appoint, give them a license to settle such island or district, and afford them such assistance as he can to enable them to establish a peaceable agricultural settlement. The three parties named will subdivide the land, under the supervision of the Inspector, among themselves and such others as may choose to settle near them, so that each family shall have a plot of not more than (40) forty acres of tillable ground....to afford the settlers the opportunity to supply their necessary wants, and to sell the products of their land and labor.

IV. Whenever a negro has enlisted in the military service of the United States, he may locate his family in any one of the settlements at pleasure, and acquire a homestead, and all other rights and privileges of a settler, as though present in person....

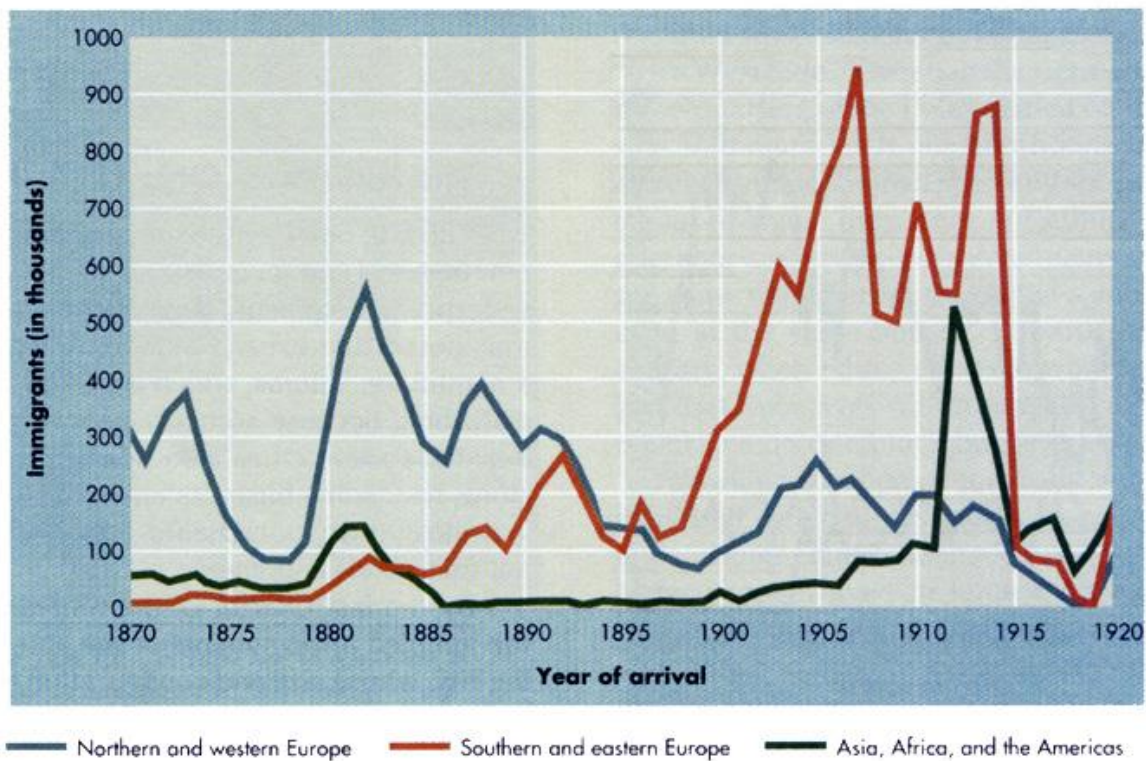
V. In order to carry out this system of settlement, a general officer will be detailed as Inspector of Settlements and Plantations, whose duty it shall be to visit the settlements, to regulate their police and general management, and who will furnish personally to each head of a family, subject to the approval of the President of the United States, a possessory title in writing, giving as near as possible the description of boundaries; and who shall adjust all claims or conflicts that may arise under the same, subject to the like approval, treating such titles altogether as possessory.

BY ORDER OF MAJOR GENERAL W. T. SHERMAN:



“Give me your tired, your poor, your huddled masses yearning to breathe free.”

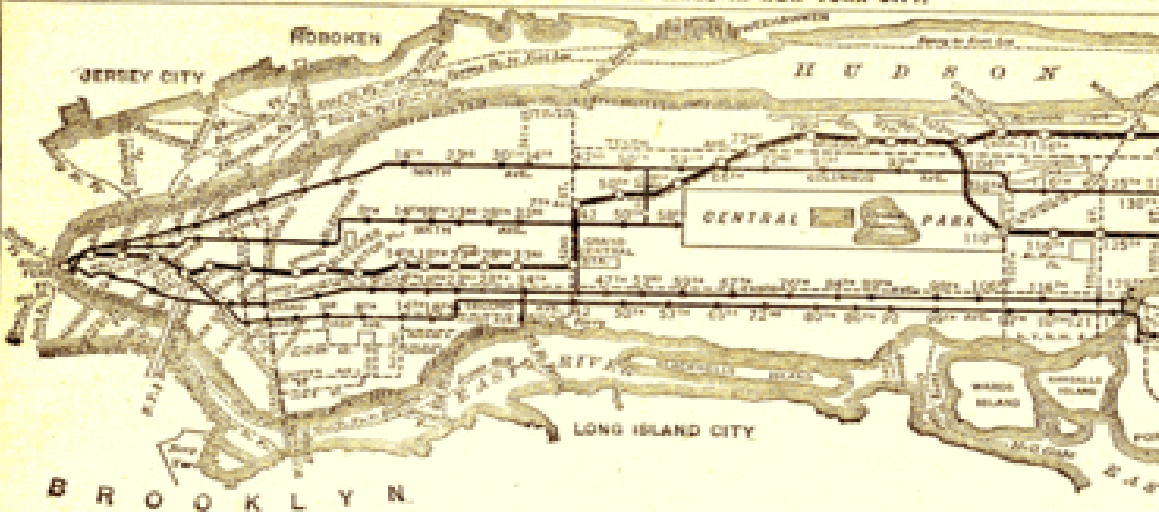
Immigration to the United States, 1870–1920



Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census.

INTERBOROUGH RAPID TRANSIT COMPANY

OPERATING SUBWAY AND ALL ELEVATED LINES IN NEW YORK CITY.



AUGUST BELMONT, President.
E. P. BRYAN, Vice-President.
FRANK HEDLEY, General Manager.

GENERAL OFFICERS.

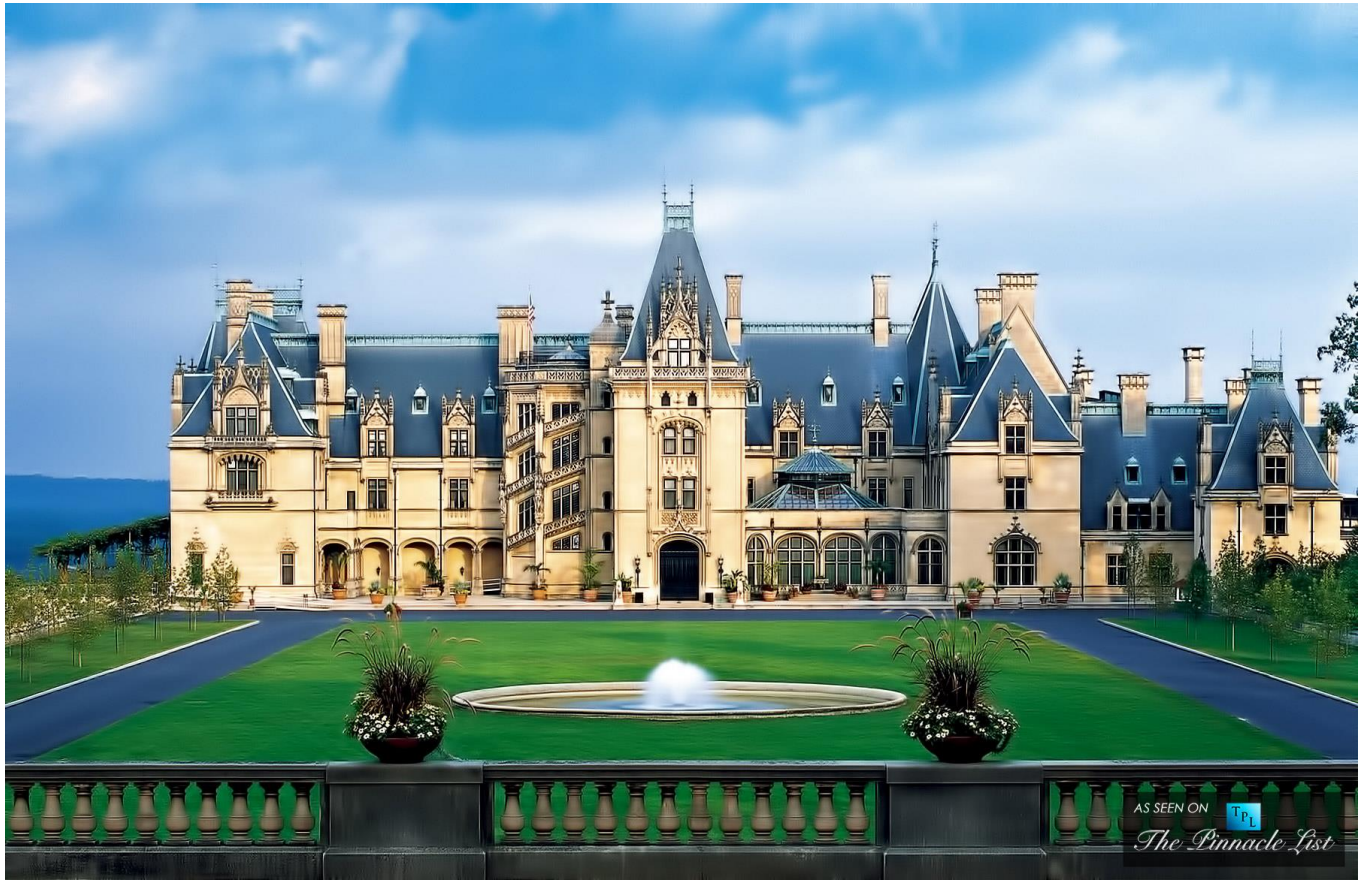
H. M. FISHER, Secretary.
D. W. McWILLIAMS, Treasurer.
E. F. J. GAYTOR, Auditor.

CHAS. H. PROGRAM, Chief Engineer.
General Office—
12-22 Park Row, New York.

SUBWAY DIVISION.—NEW YORK CITY.

WEST BRANCH.

Miles.	Exp. Min.	Local Min.	BROADWAY LINE.	LOCATION.
0	0	0	South Ferry ¹	Foot of Whitehall Street.
.30	1	1	Bowling Green.....	Foot of Broadway.
.50	2	2	Wall Street.....	Wall St. and Broadway.
.70	3	3	Fulton Street ²	Fulton St. and Broadway.
.80	4	4	City Hall.....	City Hall Park.
1.00	4	4	Brooklyn Bridge.....	Park Row and Centre St.
1.10	5	5	Worth Street.....	Worth and Elm Streets.
1.20	6	6	Canal Street.....	Canal and Elm Streets.
1.30	7	7	Spring Street.....	Spring and Elm Streets.
1.40	8	8	Bleecker Street.....	Bleecker and Elm Streets.
1.50	9	9	Amor Place.....	Amor Place and 4th Ave.
1.60	10	10	Fourteenth Street.....	14th Street and 4th Ave.
1.70	11	11	Eighteenth Street.....	18th Street and 4th Ave.
1.80	12	12	Twenty-third Street.....	23d Street and 4th Ave.
1.90	13	13	Twenty-eighth Street.....	28th Street and 4th Ave.
2.00	14	14	Thirty-third Street.....	33d Street and 4th Ave.
2.10	15	15	Grand Cent. Station ³	42d Street and 4th Ave.
2.20	16	16	Times Square.....	42d Street and Broadway.
2.30	17	17	Fiftieth Street.....	50th Street and Broadway.
2.40	18	18	Columbus Circle.....	59th Street and Broadway.
2.50	19	19	Seventy-second Street.....	72d Street and Broadway.
2.60	20	20	Eighty-sixth Street.....	86th Street and Broadway.
2.70	21	21	Ninety-sixth Street.....	96th Street and Broadway.
2.80	22	22	102d Street.....	102d Street and Broadway.
2.90	23	23	104th Street.....	104th St. and Broadway.
3.00	24	24	106th Street.....	106th St. and Broadway.
3.10	25	25	108th Street.....	108th St. and Broadway.
3.20	26	26	110th Street.....	110th St. and Broadway.
3.30	27	27	112th Street.....	112th St. and Broadway.
3.40	28	28	114th Street.....	114th St. and Broadway.
3.50	29	29	116th Street.....	116th St. and Broadway.
3.60	30	30	118th Street.....	118th St. and Broadway.
3.70	31	31	120th Street.....	120th St. and Broadway.
3.80	32	32	122nd Street.....	122d St. and Broadway.
3.90	33	33	124th Street.....	124th St. and Broadway.
4.00	34	34	126th Street.....	126th St. and Broadway.
4.10	35	35	128th Street.....	128th St. and Broadway.
4.20	36	36	130th Street.....	130th St. and Broadway.
4.30	37	37	132nd Street.....	132d St. and Broadway.
4.40	38	38	134th Street.....	134th St. and Broadway.
4.50	39	39	136th Street.....	136th St. and Broadway.
4.60	40	40	138th Street.....	138th St. and Broadway.
4.70	41	41	140th Street.....	140th St. and Broadway.
4.80	42	42	142nd Street.....	142d St. and Broadway.
4.90	43	43	144th Street.....	144th St. and Broadway.
5.00	44	44	146th Street.....	146th St. and Broadway.
5.10	45	45	148th Street.....	148th St. and Broadway.
5.20	46	46	150th Street.....	150th St. and Broadway.
5.30	47	47	152nd Street.....	152d St. and Broadway.
5.40	48	48	154th Street.....	154th St. and Broadway.
5.50	49	49	156th Street.....	156th St. and Broadway.
5.60	50	50	158th Street.....	158th St. and Broadway.
5.70	51	51	160th Street.....	160th St. and Broadway.
5.80	52	52	162nd Street.....	162d St. and Broadway.
5.90	53	53	164th Street.....	164th St. and Broadway.
6.00	54	54	166th Street.....	166th St. and Broadway.
6.10	55	55	168th Street.....	168th St. and Broadway.
6.20	56	56	170th Street.....	170th St. and Broadway.
6.30	57	57	172nd Street.....	172d St. and Broadway.
6.40	58	58	174th Street.....	174th St. and Broadway.
6.50	59	59	176th Street.....	176th St. and Broadway.
6.60	60	60	178th Street.....	178th St. and Broadway.
6.70	61	61	180th Street.....	180th St. and Broadway.
6.80	62	62	182nd Street.....	182d St. and Broadway.
6.90	63	63	184th Street.....	184th St. and Broadway.
7.00	64	64	186th Street.....	186th St. and Broadway.
7.10	65	65	188th Street.....	188th St. and Broadway.
7.20	66	66	190th Street.....	190th St. and Broadway.
7.30	67	67	192nd Street.....	192d St. and Broadway.
7.40	68	68	194th Street.....	194th St. and Broadway.
7.50	69	69	196th Street.....	196th St. and Broadway.
7.60	70	70	198th Street.....	198th St. and Broadway.
7.70	71	71	200th Street.....	200th St. and Broadway.
7.80	72	72	202nd Street.....	202d St. and Broadway.
7.90	73	73	204th Street.....	204th St. and Broadway.
8.00	74	74	206th Street.....	206th St. and Broadway.
8.10	75	75	208th Street.....	208th St. and Broadway.
8.20	76	76	210th Street.....	210th St. and Broadway.
8.30	77	77	212nd Street.....	212d St. and Broadway.
8.40	78	78	214th Street.....	214th St. and Broadway.
8.50	79	79	216th Street.....	216th St. and Broadway.
8.60	80	80	218th Street.....	218th St. and Broadway.
8.70	81	81	220th Street.....	220th St. and Broadway.
8.80	82	82	222nd Street.....	222d St. and Broadway.
8.90	83	83	224th Street.....	224th St. and Broadway.
9.00	84	84	226th Street.....	226th St. and Broadway.
9.10	85	85	228th Street.....	228th St. and Broadway.
9.20	86	86	230th Street.....	230th St. and Broadway.
9.30	87	87	232nd Street.....	232d St. and Broadway.
9.40	88	88	234th Street.....	234th St. and Broadway.
9.50	89	89	236th Street.....	236th St. and Broadway.
9.60	90	90	238th Street.....	238th St. and Broadway.
9.70	91	91	240th Street.....	240th St. and Broadway.
9.80	92	92	242nd Street.....	242d St. and Broadway.
9.90	93	93	244th Street.....	244th St. and Broadway.
10.00	94	94	246th Street.....	246th St. and Broadway.
10.10	95	95	248th Street.....	248th St. and Broadway.
10.20	96	96	250th Street.....	250th St. and Broadway.
10.30	97	97	252nd Street.....	252d St. and Broadway.
10.40	98	98	254th Street.....	254th St. and Broadway.
10.50	99	99	256th Street.....	256th St. and Broadway.
10.60	100	100	258th Street.....	258th St. and Broadway.
10.70	101	101	260th Street.....	260th St. and Broadway.
10.80	102	102	262nd Street.....	262d St. and Broadway.
10.90	103	103	264th Street.....	264th St. and Broadway.
11.00	104	104	266th Street.....	266th St. and Broadway.
11.10	105	105	268th Street.....	268th St. and Broadway.
11.20	106	106	270th Street.....	270th St. and Broadway.
11.30	107	107	272nd Street.....	272d St. and Broadway.
11.40	108	108	274th Street.....	274th St. and Broadway.
11.50	109	109	276th Street.....	276th St. and Broadway.
11.60	110	110	278th Street.....	278th St. and Broadway.
11.70	111	111	280th Street.....	280th St. and Broadway.
11.80	112	112	282nd Street.....	282d St. and Broadway.
11.90	113	113	284th Street.....	284th St. and Broadway.
12.00	114	114	286th Street.....	286th St. and Broadway.
12.10	115	115	288th Street.....	288th St. and Broadway.
12.20	116	116	290th Street.....	290th St. and Broadway.
12.30	117	117	292nd Street.....	292d St. and Broadway.
12.40	118	118	294th Street.....	294th St. and Broadway.
12.50	119	119	296th Street.....	296th St. and Broadway.
12.60	120	120	298th Street.....	298th St. and Broadway.
12.70	121	121	300th Street.....	300th St. and Broadway.
12.80	122	122	302nd Street.....	302d St. and Broadway.
12.90	123	123	304th Street.....	304th St. and Broadway.
13.00	124	124	306th Street.....	306th St. and Broadway.
13.10	125	125	308th Street.....	308th St. and Broadway.
13.20	126	126	310th Street.....	310th St. and Broadway.
13.30	127	127	312nd Street.....	312d St. and Broadway.
13.40	128	128	314th Street.....	314th St. and Broadway.
13.50	129	129	316th Street.....	316th St. and Broadway.
13.60	130	130	318th Street.....	318th St. and Broadway.
13.70	131	131	320th Street.....	320th St. and Broadway.
13.80	132	132	322nd Street.....	322d St. and Broadway.
13.90	133	133	324th Street.....	324th St. and Broadway.
14.00	134	134	326th Street.....	326th St. and Broadway.
14.10	135	135	328th Street.....	328th St. and Broadway.
14.20	136	136	330th Street.....	330th St. and Broadway.
14.30	137	137	332nd Street.....	332d St. and Broadway.
14.40	138	138	334th Street.....	334th St. and Broadway.
14.50	139	139	336th Street.....	336th St. and Broadway.
14.60	140	140	338th Street.....	338th St. and Broadway.
14.70	141	141	340th Street.....	340th St. and Broadway.
14.80	142	142	342nd Street.....	342d St. and Broadway.
14.90	143	143	344th Street.....	344th St. and Broadway.
15.00	144	144	346th Street.....	346th St. and Broadway.
15.10	145	145	348th Street.....	348th St. and Broadway.
15.20	146	146	350th Street.....	350th St. and Broadway.
15.30	147	147	352nd Street.....	352d St. and Broadway.
15.40	148	148	354th Street.....	354th St. and Broadway.
15.50	149	149	356th Street.....	356th St. and Broadway.
15.60	150	150	358th Street.....	358th St. and Broadway.
15.70	151	151	360th Street.....	360th St. and Broadway.
15.80	152	152	362nd Street.....	362d St. and Broadway.
15.90	153	153	364th Street.....	364th St. and Broadway.
16.00	154	154	366th Street.....	366th St. and Broadway.
16.10	155	155	368th Street.....	368th St. and Broadway.
16.20	156	156	370th Street.....	370th St. and Broadway.
16.30	157	157	372nd Street.....	372d St. and Broadway.
16.40	158	158	374th Street.....	374th St. and Broadway.
16.50	159	159	376th Street.....	376th St. and Broadway.
16.60	160	160	378th Street.....	378th St. and Broadway.
16.70	161	161	380th Street.....	380th St. and Broadway.
16.80	162	162	382nd Street.....	382d St. and Broadway.
16.90	163	163	384th Street.....	384th St. and Broadway.
17.00	164	164	386th Street.....	386th St. and Broadway.
17.10	165	165	388th Street.....	388th St. and Broadway.
17.20	166	166	390th Street.....	390th St. and Broadway.
17.30	167	167	392nd Street.....	392d St. and Broadway.
17.40	168	168	394th Street.....	394th St. and Broadway.
17.50	169	169	396th Street.....	396th St. and Broadway.
17.60	170	170	398th Street.....	398th St. and Broadway.
17.70	171	171	400th Street.....	400th St. and Broadway.
17.80	172	172	402nd Street.....	402d St. and Broadway.
17.90	173	173	404th Street.....	404th St. and Broadway.
18.00	174	174	406th Street.....	406th St. and Broadway.
18.10	175	175	408th Street.....	408th St. and Broadway.
18.20	176	176	410th Street.....	410th St. and Broadway.
18.30	177	177	412nd Street.....	412d St. and Broadway.
18.40	178	178	414th Street.....	414th St. and Broadway.
18.50	179	179	416th Street.....	416th St. and Broadway.
18.60	180	180	418th Street.....	418th St. and Broadway.
18.70	181	181	420th Street.....	420th St. and Broadway.
18.80	182	182	422nd Street.....	422d St. and Broadway.
18.90	183	183	424th Street.....	424th St. and Broadway.
19.00	184	184	426th Street.....	426th St. and Broadway.
19.10	185	185	428th Street.....	428th St. and Broadway.
19.20	186	186	430th Street.....	430th St. and Broadway.
19.30	187	187	432nd Street.....	432d St. and Broadway.
19.40	188	188	434th Street.....	434th St. and Broadway.
19.50	189	189	436th Street.....	436th St. and Broadway.
19.60	190	190	438th Street.....	438th St. and Broadway.
19.70	191	191	440th Street.....	440th St. and Broadway.
19.80	192	192	442nd Street.....	442d St. and Broadway.
19.90	193	193	444th Street.....	444th St. and Broadway.
20.00	194	194	446th Street.....	446th St. and Broadway.
20.10	195	195	448th Street.....	448th St. and Broadway.
20.20	196	196	450th Street.....	450th St. and Broadway.
20.30	197	197	452nd Street.....	452d St. and Broadway.
20.40	198	198	454th Street.....	454th St. and Broadway.
20.50	199	199	456th Street.....	456th St. and Broadway.
20.60	200	200	458th Street.....	458th St. and Broadway.
20.70	201	201	460th Street.....	460th St. and Broadway.
20.80	202	202	462nd Street.....	462d St. and Broadway.
20.90	203	203	464th Street.....	464th St. and Broadway.
21.00	204	204	466th Street.....	466th St. and Broadway.
21.10	205	205	468th Street.....	468th St. and Broadway.
21.20	206	206	470th Street.....	470th St. and Broadway.
21.30	207	207	472nd Street.....	472d St. and Broadway.
21.40	208	208	474th Street.....	474th St. and Broadway.
21.50	209	209	476th Street.....	476th St. and Broadway.
21.60	210	210	478th Street.....	478th St. and Broadway.
21.70	211	211	480th Street.....	480th St. and Broadway.
21.80	212	212	482nd Street.....	482d St. and Broadway.
21.90	213	213	484th Street.....	484th St. and Broadway.
22.00	214	214	486th Street.....	486th St. and Broadway.



Biltmore Estate, Asheville, North Carolina Built 1895 250 rooms

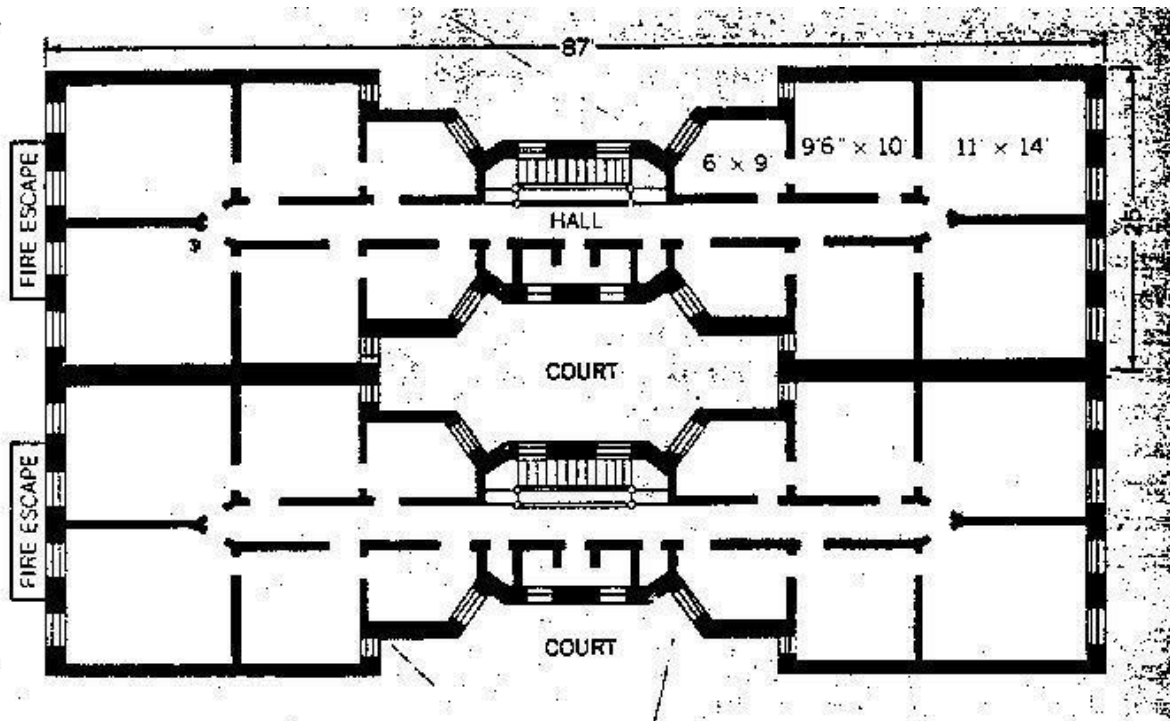


NYC Tenement, circa 1900



IMMIGRATION TO THE UNITED STATES BY DECADE, 1880–1930

1881–1890	5,246,613
1891–1900	3,687,564
1901–1910	8,795,386
1911–1920	5,735,811
1921–1930	4,107,209



Sometimes a whole family was crowded into a single room.

Figure 1 Dumbbell tenement floor plan



Figure 2 Boss Tweed