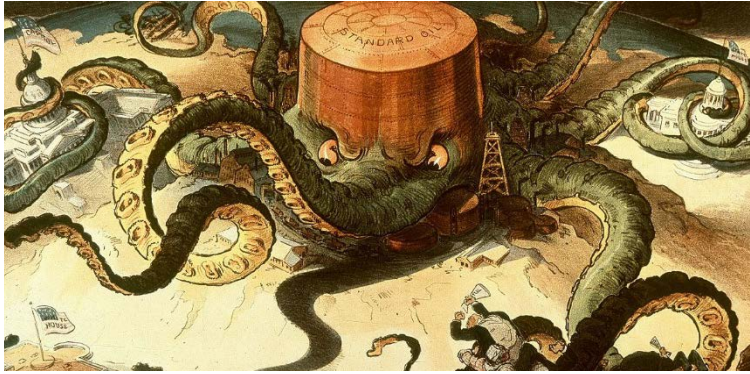
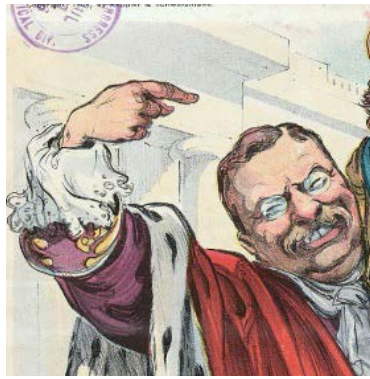
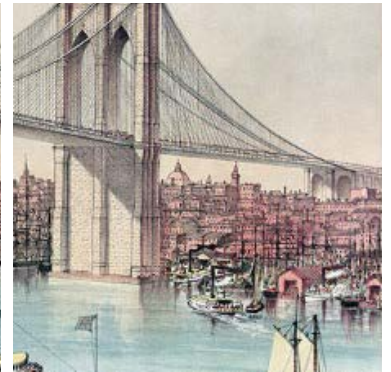
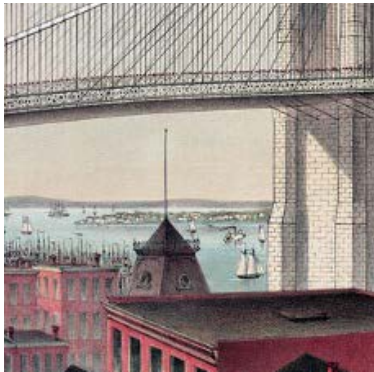


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# IS GREED GOOD?





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Q u e s t i o n N i n e

# IS GREED GOOD?

EXPLORING AMERICA'S HISTORY THROUGH COMPELLING QUESTIONS

## SUPPORTING QUESTIONS

- 1 WERE THEY CAPTAINS OF INDUSTRY OR ROBBER BARONS?
- 2 DOES MONEY MAKE YOU POWERFUL?
- 3 WHO SHOULD BE IN CHARGE, WORKERS OR OWNERS?
- 4 HOW SHOULD GOVERNMENT BALANCE THE POWER OF SOCIAL CLASSES?

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## Q u e s t i o n N i n e

# IS GREED GOOD?

The 40 years that followed the Civil War has often been referred to by historians and the Gilded Age. During this time, America saw impressive economic growth and the unprecedented expansion of major cities, especially in the North and West.

Technological innovations of the time included the telephone, skyscraper, refrigerator, car, linotype machine, electric lightbulb, typewriter, and electric motor. These inventions provided the bases for modern consumerism and industrial productivity.

In the two decades after the Civil War, the 1870s and 1880s, the economy rose at the fastest rate in its history. By the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, per capita income and industrial production in the United States led the world, with per capita incomes double those of Germany or France, and 50% higher than those of Britain.

The businessmen of the era created industrial towns and cities in the Northeast with new factories, and hired an ethnically diverse industrial working class, many of them new immigrants from Europe.

All of this growth was driven by individuals who wanted to make better lives for themselves and their families. This drive, to make money, created opportunities and remade America. In this sense, greed is positive. However, industrial leaders often manipulated their workers, keeping more profits for themselves. Long-suffering workers went on strike, or boycotted business. Labor unrest and violence were the result of this side of greed. This leads us to our question. Is greed good?

历史学家和镀金时代经常提到内战后的 40 年。在此期间，美国经济增长惊人，主要城市空前扩张，特别是在北方和西方。

当时的技术创新包括电话，摩天大楼，冰箱，汽车，线型机，电灯泡，打字机和电动机。这些发明为现代消费主义和工业生产力提供了基础。

在南北战争后的二十年，即 19 世纪 70 年代和 1880 年代，经济以其历史上最快的速度增长。到 20 世纪初，美国的人均收入和工业生产领先于世界，人均收入是德国或法国的两倍，比英国的人均收入高 50%。

这个时代的商人用新工厂创造了东北的工业城镇，并雇了一个种族多元化的工业工人阶级，其中许多是来自欧洲的新移民。

所有这些增长都是由那些想为自己和家人过上更好生活的人所驱动的。为了赚钱，这种动力创造了机会并重塑了美国。从这个意义上说，贪婪是积极的。然而，工业领袖经常操纵他们的工人，为自己保留更多的利润。长期受苦的工人罢工或抵制生意。工党骚乱和暴力是这方面贪婪的结果。这引出了我们的问题。贪婪好吗？



# 1

## F I R S T Q U E S T I O N WERE THEY CAPTAINS OF INDUSTRY OR ROBBER BARONS?

IS GREED  
GOOD?

### INTRODUCTION

The great industrialists of the Gilded Age remade America. They built great transportation networks, powered the industrial revolution with oil, provided the steel needed for skyscrapers, bridges, and railroads, and financed all this growth. In this sense, they are rightly admired and the small collection of men who led the industries of the time are called captains of industry.

But another name has also been applied to the same group of men. The super-rich industrialists and financiers were called robber barons by the workers they manipulated, and the voters who watched them bribe public officials.

What follows is an introduction to a few of the great industrialists. It is up to you to decide. Were they captains of industry who benefited society, or robber barons who ultimately had a negative effect on America?

### 介绍

镀金时代的伟大工业家重塑了美国。他们建立了良好的交通网络，为石油工业革命提供动力，提供摩天大楼，桥梁和铁路所需的钢铁，并为这一增长提供资金。从这个意义上讲，他们是正确的钦佩，而那些领导当时行业的少数人被称为工业领袖。

但另一个名字也适用于同一群人。超级富豪的工业家和金融家被操纵的工人称为强盗贵族，而观看他们的选民则贿赂公职人员。

以下是一些伟大的工业家的介绍。由你来决定。他们是工业领袖为了社会而受益，还是最终对美国产生负面影响的强盗贵族？

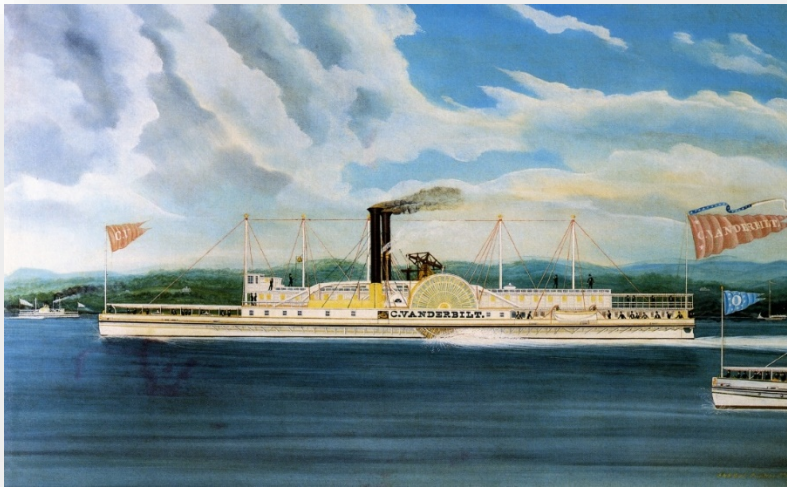
## CORNELIUS VANDERBILT

**Cornelius Vanderbilt** was the first great American industrialist. He was born in New York in 1794, just two years before the Declaration of Independence was signed. He grew up without much formal education, but went to work in the shipping industry. Nicknamed “The Commodore” he successfully built an empire in transportation.

His first ventures in steamships proved profitable, especially because of the demand for shipping that resulted from the California Gold Rush and the Civil War. After the war, he turned his attention to railroads. He bought out competitors and assembled the New York Central Railroad. His Grand Central Depot in New York City is still one of the most impressive railroad stations in the world.

In his later years, he established a pattern of **philanthropy** that other industrialists would follow. With his fortune, he founded Vanderbilt University in Nashville, Tennessee.

His grandson eventually used the family money to build one of America’s largest private homes, the Biltmore Estate.



## CORNELIUS VANDERBILT

Cornelius Vanderbilt 是第一位伟大的美国实业家。他于 1794 年出生于纽约，距离独立宣言签署仅两年。他在没有接受过正规教育的情况下长大，但后来在航运业工作。绰号“准将”，他成功地建立了一个交通帝国。他于 1794 年出生于纽约，距离独立宣言签署仅两年。他在没有接受过正规教育的情况下长大，但后来在航运业工作。绰号“准将”，他成功地建立了一个交通帝国。

他在蒸汽船上的第一次投资证明是有利可图的，特别是因为加州淘金热和内战带来的航运需求。战争结束后，他把注意力转向了铁路。他买断了竞争对手并组装了纽约中央铁路。他在纽约市的大中央车站仍然是世界上最令人印象深刻的火车站之一。

在他晚年，他建立了其他工业家将遵循的慈善模式。凭借自己的财富，他在田纳西州纳什维尔成立了范德比尔特大学。

他的孙子最终用家里的钱建造了美国最大的私人住宅之一 - 比尔特莫庄园。

### Primary Source: Painting

Vanderbilt’s steamship, which he named after himself.

### 主要来源：绘画

范德比尔特的轮船，他以自己的名字命名。



# 1 WERE THEY CAPTAINS OF INDUSTRY OR ROBBER BARONS?

## ANDREW CARNEGIE

Oil was not the only commodity in great demand during the Gilded Age. The nation also needed steel.

The railroads needed steel for their rails and cars, the navy needed steel for its new naval fleet, and cities needed steel to build skyscrapers. Every factory in America needed steel for their physical plant and machinery. Andrew Carnegie saw this demand and seized the moment.

Like other industrialists, **Andrew Carnegie** was not born into wealth. When he was 13, his family came to the United States from Scotland and settled in Allegheny, Pennsylvania, a small town near **Pittsburgh**. His first job was in a cotton mill, where he earned \$1.20 per week.

His talents were soon recognized and Carnegie found himself promoted to the bookkeeping side of the business. An avid reader, Carnegie spent his Saturdays in the homes of wealthy citizens who were gracious enough to allow him access to their private libraries. After becoming a telegrapher for a short while, he met the head of a railroad company who asked his services as a personal secretary.

## ANDREW CARNEGIE

在镀金时代，石油并不是唯一需求旺盛的商品。国家也需要钢铁。

铁路需要用于铁路和汽车的钢铁，海军需要钢铁用于新的海军舰队，而城市需要钢铁来建造摩天大楼。美国的每个工厂都需要用于实体工厂和机械的钢材。安德鲁卡内基看到了这种需求并抓住了这一时刻。

像其他工业家一样，安德鲁卡内基并非出生于财富。当他 13 岁时，他的家人从苏格兰来到美国，定居在宾夕法尼亚州的阿勒格尼，这是匹兹堡附近的一个小镇。他的第一份工作是在一家棉纺厂工作，每周收入 1.20 美元。

他的才能很快得到了认可，卡内基发现自己被提升到了公司的记账方面。作为一名狂热的读者，卡内基在周六度过了富裕公民的家园，他们非常慷慨地允许他进入他们的私人图书馆。在成为一名电报员之后，他遇到了一家铁路公司的负责人，该公司要求他担任私人秘书。



### Primary Source: Photograph

Inside Carnegie's Homestead Steel Mill near Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.

### 主要来源：照片

在宾夕法尼亚州匹兹堡附近的卡内基家园钢铁厂内。

# 1 WERE THEY CAPTAINS OF INDUSTRY OR ROBBER BARONS?

Carnegie became a tycoon because of shrewd business tactics. Rockefeller often bought other oil companies to eliminate competition. This is a process known as **horizontal integration**. Carnegie also created a **vertical integration**. He bought railroad companies and iron mines. If he owned the rails and the mines, he could reduce his costs and produce cheaper steel.

Carnegie was a good judge of talent. His assistant, **Henry Clay Frick**, helped manage the **Carnegie Steel Company** on its way to success. Carnegie also wanted productive workers. He wanted them to feel that they had a vested interest in company prosperity so he initiated a profit-sharing plan.

All these tactics made the Carnegie Steel Company a multi-million dollar corporation. In 1901, he sold his interests to J.P. Morgan, who paid him 500 million dollars to create U.S. Steel.

## ANDREW MELLON

The son of a banker and judge, **Andrew Mellon** showed remarkable talent for investment and banking at an early age. In 1872, his father set him up in a lumber and coal business, which he soon turned into a profitable enterprise. He joined his father's banking firm, T. Mellon & Sons, in 1880 and two years later had ownership of the bank transferred to him. In 1889, Mellon helped organize the Union Trust Company and Union Savings Bank of Pittsburgh. He also branched into industrial activities: oil, steel, shipbuilding, and construction.

Areas where Mellon's backing created giant enterprises included aluminum, industrial abrasives, and coke. Mellon financed Charles Martin Hall, whose refinery grew into the Aluminum Company of America (Alcoa). He created an entire industry through his help to Heinrich Koppers, inventor of coke ovens, which transformed industrial waste into usable products such as coal-gas, coal-tar, and sulfur. Mellon also became an early investor in the New York Shipbuilding Corporation.

Mellon was one of the wealthiest people in the United States, the third-highest income-tax payer in the mid-1920s, behind John D. Rockefeller and Henry Ford.

Unlike other industrialists of his time, Andrew Mellon also served in government. He was Secretary of the Treasury throughout the 1920s under presidents Harding, Coolidge and Hoover.

由于精明的商业策略，卡内基成为了一名大亨。洛克菲勒经常购买其他石油公司以消除竞争。这是一个称为横向整合的过程。卡内基还创建了垂直整合。他买了铁路公司和铁矿。如果他拥有铁路和矿井，他可以降低成本并生产更便宜的钢材。

卡内基是一个很好的人才判断。他的助手 Henry Clay Frick 帮助管理卡内基钢铁公司走向成功的道路。卡内基还想要有生产力的工人。他希望他们觉得他们对公司的繁荣有着既得利益，所以他启动了一个利润分享计划。

所有这些策略使卡内基钢铁公司成为价值数百万美元的公司。1901年，他将自己的利益卖给了 J.P. 摩根，后者向他支付了 5 亿美元来创建美国钢铁公司。

## 安德鲁梅伦

作为银行家和法官的儿子，安德鲁梅隆在很小的时候就表现出了非凡的投资和银行业才能。1872年，他的父亲将他安排在一家木材和煤炭企业，他很快就变成了一家有利可图的企业。他于 1880 年加入了他父亲的银行公司 T. Mellon & Sons，两年后将该银行的所有权转让给了他。1889 年，梅隆帮助组织了 Union Trust Company 和匹兹堡联盟储蓄银行。他还分为工业活动：石油，钢铁，造船和建筑。

梅隆公司支持创建大型企业的领域包括铝，工业磨料和焦炭。梅隆为 Charles Martin Hall 提供资金，其炼油厂成长为美国铝业公司 (Alcoa)。他通过帮助炼焦炉的发明者 Heinrich Koppers 创造了一个完整的行业，将工业废料转化为可用的产品，如煤气，煤焦油和硫磺。梅隆还成为纽约造船公司的早期投资者。

梅隆是美国最富有的人之一，是 20 世纪 20 年代中期第三高的所得税纳税人，仅次于约翰·D·洛克菲勒和亨利·福特。

与他那个时代的其他工业家不同，安德鲁梅隆也曾任政府任职。在 20 世纪 20 年代，他担任总统哈丁，柯立芝和胡佛的财政部长。

# 1 WERE THEY CAPTAINS OF INDUSTRY OR ROBBER BARONS?

Like Carnegie, Mellon also gave away large sums of his fortune. Carnegie-Mellon University was founded with the two men's money. Mellon also provided the money to establish the National Gallery of Art in Washington, DC.

## J. PIERPONT MORGAN

Not all of the tycoons of the Gilded Age were rags-to-riches stories. **J. Pierpont Morgan** was born into a family of great wealth. His father had already made a name for himself in the banking industry. With Morgan's family resources, he enjoyed the finest business education money could buy.

He did not scratch and claw his way to the top of any corporate ladder. His father arranged for an executive track position at one of New York's finest banks. Regardless of his family's advantages, Morgan had a great mind of his own. He set out to conquer the financial world, and conquer it he did.

Morgan's first business ventures were in banking. By 1860, he had already established his own foreign exchange office. He knew the power of investment. Not content to control just the banking industry, he bought many smaller ventures to make money.

During the Civil War, he paid the legally allowed fee to purchase a substitute soldier and evaded military service. Morgan made handsome profits by providing war materials.

After the war, he set out to corner the nation's financial markets. When the Panic of 1873 rocked the nation's economy, Morgan protected himself wisely and emerged in the aftermath as the king of American finance.

Despite his label as a robber baron, Morgan felt his investments benefited America. His railroad dealings helped consolidate many smaller, mismanaged firms, resulting in shorter trips and more dependable service. Two times during financial panics he allowed the federal government to purchase his vast gold supplies to stop the spiral of deflation.

He owned a bridge company and a tubing company. His most renowned purchase was in 1901, when he bought the Carnegie Steel Company for \$500 million to create **U.S. Steel**. Within ten years U.S. Steel was worth over a billion dollars.

Morgan's actions marked a shift in thinking among American industrialists. He proved that it was not necessary to be a builder to be successful. Smart investment and efficient consolidation could

和卡内基一样，梅隆也放弃了大笔的财产。卡内基梅隆大学成立时带着两个男人的钱。梅隆还提供资金在华盛顿特区建立国家美术馆。

## J. PIERPONT MORGAN

不是所有镀金时代的大亨都是破烂不堪的故事。J. Pierpont Morgan 出生于一个富裕的家庭。他的父亲已经在银行界为自己取名。凭借摩根的家庭资源，他享受着可以买到的最好的商业教育。

他并没有划伤并抓住任何企业阶梯的顶峰。他的父亲安排在纽约最好的银行之一担任高管职位。无论他的家庭有什么优势，摩根都有自己的伟大思想。他开始征服金融世界，并征服了他。

摩根的第一批商业投资是银行业务。到 1860 年，他已经建立了自己的外汇办事处。他知道投资的力量。不满足于控制银行业，他买了许多小企业来赚钱。

在南北战争期间，他支付了合法允许的费用来购买替代士兵并逃避兵役。摩根通过提供战争物资赚取了可观的利润。

战争结束后，他开始着手改变国家的金融市场。当 1873 年的恐慌震动了国家的经济时，摩根保护自己，并作为美国金融之王出现在善后。

尽管他的标签是强盗男爵，但摩根认为他的投资使美国受益。他的铁路交易帮助巩固了许多规模较小，管理不善的公司，从而缩短了旅行时间，提供了更可靠的服务。在金融恐慌期间，他曾两次允许联邦政府购买他庞大的黄金供应，以阻止通货紧缩。

他拥有一家桥梁公司和一家管材公司。他最著名的收购是在 1901 年，当时他以 5 亿美元的价格收购了卡内基钢铁公司，以创建美国钢铁公司。十年内，美国钢铁公司的价值超过十亿美元。

摩根的行动标志着美国工业家的思维转变。他证明没有必要成为一个成功的建设者。聪明的投资和高效的整合可以带来巨额利润。年轻的企业家

# 1 WERE THEY CAPTAINS OF INDUSTRY OR ROBBER BARONS?

yield massive profits. Young entrepreneurs shifted their goals to banking in the hopes of mirroring Morgan's success.



将他们的目标转向银行业务，以期反映摩根的成功。

## Primary Source: Photograph

The Homestead steelworks. It was the center of Carnegie Steel and the U.S. Steel after J.P. Morgan purchased the company.

## 主要来源：照片

Homestead 钢铁厂。在 J.P. Morgan 收购该公司后，它是卡内基钢铁公司和美国钢铁公司的中心。

For all his accomplishments, he was harshly criticized. The first decade of the twentieth century brought challenges to Morgan from the government. His Northern Securities Railroad company was deemed illegal under federal antitrust law, the first such action by the national government. He was investigated by Congress for his control of the financial markets. Even U.S. Steel was forced to relinquish its monopoly.

Jaded by the criticism, Morgan moved to Europe, where he lived his final days. He was a favorite target of intellectuals who claimed that such tycoons robbed the poor of their deserved wealth. He was a hero to enterprising financiers across the land who dreamed of following his example. That is, of course, unless they were destroyed by his shrewd, fierce tactics.

By the time of his death, J. P. Morgan owned or partially owned multiple railroads, General Electric, the American Bridge Company, and AT&T. His investment bank survives today in the form of MorganStanley.

## JOHN D. ROCKEFELLER

He was America's first billionaire.

尽管他取得了所有成就，但他受到了严厉的批评。二十世纪的第一个十年给摩根带来了政府的挑战。根据联邦反托拉斯法，他的北方证券铁路公司被认为是非法的，这是国家政府的第一次此类诉讼。他被国会调查，因为他控制着金融市场。甚至美国钢铁也被迫放弃垄断。

受到批评的影响，摩根搬到了欧洲，在那里度过了最后的日子。他是知识分子最喜欢的目标，他们声称这些大亨们剥夺了穷人的应得财富。他是整个土地上富有进取心的金融家的英雄，他们梦想着追随他的榜样。当然，除非他们被他精明，激烈的战术所摧毁。

到他去世时，J. P. Morgan 拥有或部分拥有多条铁路，通用电气，美国桥梁公司和 AT&T。他的投资银行今天以 MorganStanley 的形式存活下来。

## JOHN D. ROCKEFELLER

他是美国的第一位亿万富翁。



# 1 WERE THEY CAPTAINS OF INDUSTRY OR ROBBER BARONS?

In a pure sense, the goal of any capitalist is to make money. And **John D. Rockefeller** could serve as the poster child for capitalism. Overcoming humble beginnings, Rockefeller had the vision and the drive to become the richest person in America.

At the turn of the century, when the average worker earned \$8 to \$10 per week, Rockefeller was worth millions.

Whatever conclusions can be drawn, Rockefeller's impact on the American economy demands recognition.

Rockefeller was born in 1839 in Moravia, a small town in western New York. His father practiced herbal medicine, professing to cure patients with remedies he had created from plants in the area. John's mother instilled a devout Baptist faith in the boy, a belief system he took to his grave. After graduating from high school in 1855, his family sent him to a Cleveland business school.

Young John Rockefeller entered the workforce on the bottom rung of the ladder as a clerk in a Cleveland shipping firm. Always thrifty, he saved enough money to start his own business in produce sales. When the Civil War came, the demand for his goods increased dramatically. Rockefeller took advantage of the opportunity and amassed himself a small fortune.

He took advantage of the loophole in the Union draft law by purchasing a substitute to avoid military service. When Edwin Drake discovered oil in 1859 in **Titusville, Pennsylvania**, Rockefeller saw the future. He slowly sold off his other interests and became convinced that refining oil would bring him great wealth.

Rockefeller introduced techniques that totally reshaped the oil industry. In the mid-19th century, the chief demand was for kerosene. In the refining process, there are many by-products when crude oil is converted to kerosene. What others saw as waste, Rockefeller saw as gold. He sold one byproduct, paraffin to candle makers, and another byproduct, petroleum jelly, to medical supply companies. He even sold off other "waste" as paving materials for roads. He shipped so many goods that railroad companies drooled over the prospect of getting his business.

Rockefeller demanded **rebates**, or discounted rates, from the railroads. In exchange, he offered guaranteed the friendly railroad the right to ship his oil. He used all these methods to reduce the price of oil to his consumers. His profits soared and his competitors were

从纯粹意义上说，任何资本家的目标都是赚钱。约翰·洛克菲勒可以担任资本主义的典型代表。克服这些谦逊的开端，洛克菲勒有了成为美国最富有的人的愿景和动力。

在世纪之交，当普通工人每周赚 8 到 10 美元时，洛克菲勒价值数百万。

无论得出什么结论，洛克菲勒对美国的影响都需要得到认可。

洛克菲勒于 1839 年出生于纽约西部的一个小镇摩拉维亚。他的父亲从事草药治疗，自称治疗患者，他使用该地区的植物创造了补救措施。约翰的母亲向这个男孩灌输了虔诚的浸信会信仰，这是他带到坟墓的信仰体系。1855 年高中毕业后，他的家人将他送到克利夫兰商学院。

年轻的约翰洛克菲勒作为一名克利夫兰航运公司的职员进入梯级底部的工作人员。总是节俭，他节省了足够的钱，开始自己的农产品销售业务。当南北战争来临时，他对货物的需求急剧增加。洛克菲勒利用这个机会，积累了一笔不小的财富。

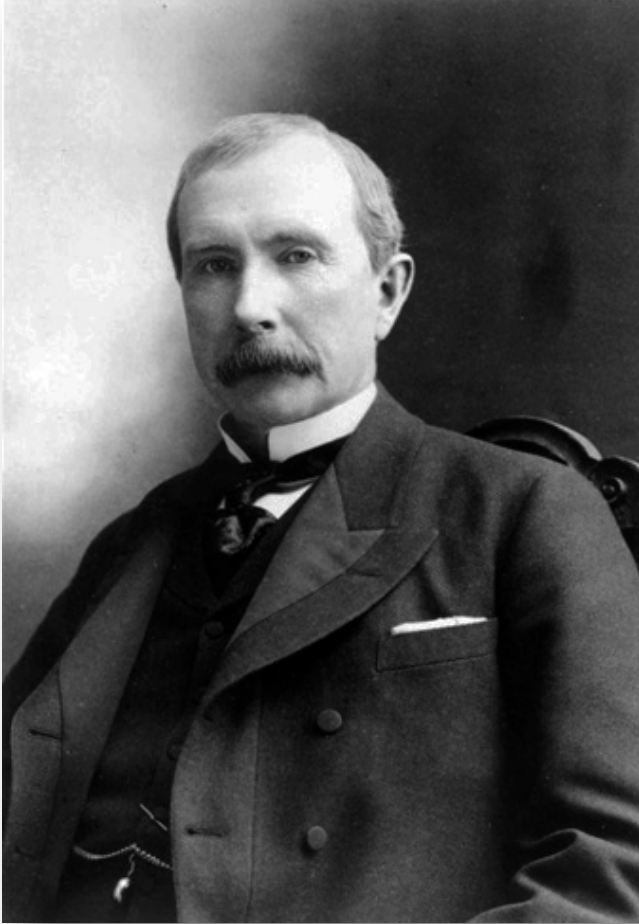
他利用联盟法律草案中的漏洞购买替代品以避免服兵役。当埃德温德雷克于 1859 年在宾夕法尼亚州泰特斯维尔发现石油时，洛克菲勒看到了未来。他慢慢卖掉了他的其他利益，并开始相信炼油会给他带来巨大的财富。

洛克菲勒介绍了完全重塑石油工业的技术。在 19 世纪中叶，主要需求是煤油。在精炼过程中，当原油转化为煤油时，有许多副产物。其他人认为浪费，洛克菲勒认为是黄金。他向医疗供应公司出售了一种副产品，石蜡给蜡烛制造商和另一种副产品，凡士林。他甚至将其他“废物”作为道路铺路材料出售。他运送了很多货物，以至于铁路公司为了获得业务而前所未有。

洛克菲勒要求铁路公司提供折扣或折扣。作为交换，他提出保证友好铁路有权运送他的石油。他用所有这些方法来降低他的消费者的石油价格。他的利润飙升，他的竞争对手被逐一粉碎。洛克菲勒迫使较小的公司将其股票交给他控制。



crushed one by one. Rockefeller forced smaller companies to surrender their stock to his control.



**Primary Source: Photograph**

John D. Rockefeller at the height of his power and influence. In later years he turned control of his company over to his sons and lieutenants. He became an avid golfer and retired to Florida.

**主要来源：照片**

约翰·D·洛克菲勒在他的力量和影响力的高度。在后来的几年里，他把自己公司的控制权交给了他的儿子和中尉。他成为一名狂热的高尔夫球手，并退休到佛罗里达州。

Instead of buying his competitors, Rockefeller bought their stock. In this way, he controlled all of the business without consumers knowing who was really benefiting from their patronage. Also, Rockefeller did not have to do the day-to-day work of managing all of the businesses he controlled. However, by eliminating competition, he could guarantee profits.

This sort of arrangement is called a **trust**. A trust is a combination of firms formed by legal agreement. Trusts often reduce fair business competition. As a result of Rockefeller's shrewd business practices, his large corporation, the **Standard Oil Corporation**, became the largest business in America.

As the new century dawned, Rockefeller's investments mushroomed. With the advent of the automobile, gasoline replaced kerosene as the number one petroleum product. Rockefeller was a bona fide

洛克菲勒没有购买竞争对手，而是购买了他们的股票。通过这种方式，他控制了所有业务，而消费者并不知道谁真正受益于他们的赞助。此外，洛克菲勒没有必要管理他控制的所有业务的日常工作。但是，通过消除竞争，他可以保证利润。

这种安排称为信任。信托是由法律协议形成的公司的组合。信托通常会减少公平的商业竞争。由于洛克菲勒精明的商业行为，他的大公司标准石油公司成为美国最大的企业。

随着新世纪的到来，洛克菲勒的投资如雨后春笋般涌现。随着汽车的问世，汽油取代了煤油作为头号石油产品。洛克菲勒是一位真正的亿万富

## 1 WERE THEY CAPTAINS OF INDUSTRY OR ROBBER BARONS?

billionaire. Critics charged that his labor practices were unfair. Employees pointed out that he could have paid his workers a fairer wage and settled for being a half-billionaire.

Before his death in 1937, Rockefeller gave away nearly half of his fortune. Churches, medical foundations, universities, and centers for the arts received hefty sums of oil money. Whether he was driven by good will, conscience, or his devout faith in God is unknown. Regardless, he became a hero to many enterprising Americans.



翁。批评者指责他的劳工做法不公平。员工们指出，他本可以向工人支付更公平的工资，并为半亿万富翁定居。

在他 1937 年去世前，洛克菲勒放弃了将近一半的财产。教堂，医疗基金会，大学和艺术中心收到了大量的石油资金。他是出于良好的意志，良心，还是他对上帝的虔诚信仰，都是未知的。无论如何，他成为许多有进取心的美国人的英雄。

### Primary Source: Photograph

William Clark's mansion on 5<sup>th</sup> Avenue in New York City. The stretch of road became known as "Millionaires' Row" because of the numerous mansions build there by the super-rich of the Gilded Age.

### 主要来源：照片

威廉克拉克在纽约市第五大道的豪宅。这段路被称为“百万富翁之行”，因为镀金时代的超级富豪建造了众多的豪宅。

### OTHER INDUSTRIALISTS

**Marshall Field** of Chicago was the founder of Marshall Field and Company, a major department store chain. His business was renowned for its then-exceptional level of quality and customer service. Eventually, his company merged with Macy's. Field is also

### 其他工业用户

芝加哥马歇尔菲尔德是 Marshall Field and Company 的创始人，Marshall Field and Company 是一家大型百货连锁店。他的业务以其卓越的质量和客户服务水平而闻名。最终，他的

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known for some of his philanthropic donations, providing funding for the Field Museum of Natural History and donating land for the campus of the University of Chicago.

**Leland Stanford** was an industrialist and politician who migrated to California from New York at the time of the Gold Rush. He became a successful merchant and wholesaler, and built a business empire. He spent one two-year term as Governor of California after his election in 1861, and later eight years as a senator from the state. As president of Southern Pacific Railroad and, beginning in 1861, Central Pacific, he had tremendous power in the region and a lasting impact on California. He and his wife founded Stanford University.

**William Clark** started his career as a miner and merchant during the heady days of the gold rush. Eventually, he made his way to Butte, Montana, where he built a mining empire based on copper. Known as the “Copper King,” Clark eventually also became a senator, although it was widely known that he had purchased the honor by bribing Montana legislators.

## CONCLUSION

They built the industrial America that we know today. In that sense, they can rightly be heralded as **captain of industry**. They certainly demonstrated impressive talent for business, leadership and investment, and many of them gave away large portions of their fortunes to benefit society. Or, should he be demonized as a **robber barons** who exploited poor immigrant workers, unjustly enriched themselves, and manipulated government to their advantage?

What do you think? Were they robber barons or captains of industry?

公司与梅西百货合并。菲尔德也因其一些慈善捐赠而闻名，为菲尔德自然历史博物馆提供资金，并为芝加哥大学校园捐赠土地。

利兰·斯坦福 (Leland Stanford) 是一位工业家和政治家，在淘金热时期从纽约移民到加利福尼亚。他成为了一个成功的商人和批发商，并建立了一个商业帝国。他在 1861 年当选后担任加利福尼亚州州长，任期两年，后来担任该州参议员八年。作为南太平洋铁路公司的总裁，从 1861 年开始，他在中太平洋地区拥有巨大的力量，并对加州产生了持久的影响。他和他的妻子创立了斯坦福大学。

在淘金热的令人兴奋的日子里，威廉·克拉克开始了他作为矿工和商人的职业生涯。最终，他前往蒙大拿州的 Butte，在那里建立了一个以铜为基础的采矿帝国。被称为“铜王”的克拉克最终也成为了参议员，尽管人们普遍知道他是通过贿赂蒙大拿立法者来购买这一荣誉的。

## 结论

他们建立了我们今天所知的工业美国。从这个意义上说，他们可以被正当地称为工业上尉。他们当然在商业，领导力和投资方面表现出了令人印象深刻的才能，其中许多人为了社会而放弃了大部分财富。或者，他是否应该被妖魔化为强盗贵族，剥削贫穷的移民工人，不公正地丰富自己，并操纵政府对他们有利？

你怎么看？他们在哪里是强奸男爵或工业领袖？

## SUMMARY

In the decades after the Civil War, the industrial revolution exploded in the North. This period saw a rise in consolidation and the development of monopolies dominated by extraordinarily wealthy industrialists.

Cornelius Vanderbilt dominated the transportation industry. He started with ferries, but later owned the New York Central Railroad. He was the first to start giving away his fortune. His money built Vanderbilt University.

Andrew Carnegie consolidated the steel industry. Pittsburg grew as the center of the steel industry. Carnegie sold his steel empire to J.P. Morgan in 1901. He gave his money away to build libraries, universities and Carnegie Hall in New York City.

Andrew Mellon was a leader in the banking industry. He also served in government as Secretary of the Treasury. He gave his money to build the National Art Gallery in Washington, DC.

J.P. Morgan was also a banker. He bought Carnegie's steel company and renamed it US Steel. He also owned controlling stakes in General Electric, AT&T and numerous railroads.

John D. Rockefeller was the nation's richest man. He owned Standard Oil. He pioneered the use of trusts as a way to avoid antitrust laws. Rockefeller gave his money away to build universities and hospitals.

Other great industrialists of the time included Marshall Field who owned a department store chain and Leland Stanford who owned land and railroads in California. Stanford University was built with his money. William Clark dominated copper mining.

People who admired these men called them captains of industry. Those who criticized them for their underhanded competitive tactics and mistreatment of workers called them robber barons.

Some of these industrialists tried to dominate all of one stage of a business. For example, Clark bought all of the copper mines. This is a horizontal monopoly. Others bought one company at each stage of business. Carnegie bought a steel mine, iron ore mine, railroad and ships. This is a vertical monopoly. Rockefeller used trusts to high his businesses. In this way, he controlled many companies that the public thought were competitors.

在南北战争后的几十年里，工业革命在北方爆发。这一时期的合并有所增加，垄断的发展由其富有的工业家主导。

Cornelius Vanderbilt 主导了运输业。他盯着渡轮，但后来拥有纽约中央铁路。他是第一个开始放弃财富的人。他的钱建立了范德比尔特大学。

安德鲁卡内基巩固了钢铁业。匹兹堡成为钢铁工业的中心。卡内基于 1901 年将他的钢铁帝国卖给了 J.P.摩根。他把钱捐给纽约市的图书馆，大学和卡内基音乐厅。

Andrew Mellon 是银行业的领导者。他还在政府担任财政部长。他把钱捐给华盛顿特区的国家美术馆。

J.P.摩根也是银行家。他买下了卡内基的钢铁公司，并将其更名为美国钢铁公司。他还拥有通用电气，AT&T 和众多铁路公司的控股权。

约翰·D·洛克菲勒是这个国家最富有的人。他拥有标准石油公司。他率先使用信托作为避免反托拉斯法的一种方式。洛克菲勒把钱捐给大学和医院。

当时其他伟大的工业家包括拥有百货连锁店的马歇尔菲尔德和在加利福尼亚拥有土地和铁路的利兰斯坦福。斯坦福大学是用他的钱建造的。威廉克拉克主导铜矿开采。

钦佩这些人的人称他们为工业领袖。那些批评他们的卑鄙的竞争策略和虐待工人的人称他们为强盗贵族。

其中一些工业家试图统治一个企业的所有阶段。例如，克拉克购买了所有的铜矿。这是一种横向垄断。其他人在每个业务阶段都买了一家公司。卡内基购买了钢铁矿，铁矿，铁路和船舶。这是一种纵向垄断。洛克菲勒利用信任来推动他的业务。通过这种方式，他控制了许多公众认为是竞争对手的公司。



## KEY CONCEPTS

**Philanthropy:** Giving money. For example, Carnegie donated much of his fortune to build libraries around the world.

**Horizontal Integration:** A type of monopoly in which one business controls all of one stage of an industry. For example: Carnegie owned all of the steel mills.

**Vertical Integration:** A type of monopoly in which a business undercuts its competitors by owning a company at each stage of an industry. For example: Carnegie owned mines, ships, railroads, and steel mills.

**Rebate:** Money paid back as an incentive. For example, railroad companies gave Rockefeller these in exchange for the exclusive right to ship his oil.

**Trust:** A legal business entity that owns other companies. Industrialists used these to avoid taxes, laws restricting business practices, and to hide the integration of the many elements of their empires.

**Captain of Industry:** Nickname for the industrialists of the Gilded Age. It alludes to the fact that they led great enterprises and advanced the quality of life for many Americans.

**Robber Baron:** Derogatory nickname for the industrialists of the Gilded Age. It refers to the unfair business practices they engaged in and their mistreatment of workers.



## PEOPLE AND GROUPS

**Cornelius Vanderbilt:** American business leader who made a fortune in the shipping and railroad business in the 1800s. Known as the Commodore, he owned the New York Central Railroad and built New York City's Grand Central Terminal.

**Andrew Carnegie:** Industrialist who monopolized the steel industry.

**Henry Clay Frick:** Carnegie's top assistant. An industrialist in his own right, he owned the coke mines used to power the Carnegie steel operation.

**Andrew Mellon:** American financier. He was so wealthy he bailed out the U.S. government during financial crisis.

**J.P. Morgan:** American financier who purchased Carnegie Steel. His businesses were the target of antitrust lawsuits.

**John D. Rockefeller:** American industrialist who dominated the oil business. He was the richest man in America.

**Marshall Field:** American industrialist who dominated the department store industry. His chain of stores was based in Chicago, Illinois.

**Leland Stanford:** Industrialist and politician who made his fortune in California during the Gold Rush. He went on to be president of the Southern Pacific Railroad and Governor of California.

**William Clark:** Industrialist who dominated the copper mining industry. He was known as the "Copper King."



## LOCATIONS

**Pittsburg, Pennsylvania:** City in western Pennsylvania that was home to America's steel industry.

**Titusville, Pennsylvania:** Site of the first oil wells in America. Rockefeller got his start refining the oil found here.



## COMPANIES

**Carnegie Steel Company:** Andrew Carnegie's steel business. Later known as U.S. Steel after it was purchased by J.P. Morgan.

**U.S. Steel:** Name given to Carnegie Steel after it was purchased by J.P. Morgan.

**Standard Oil Corporation:** John D. Rockefeller's petroleum business.



# 2

## S E C O N D Q U E S T I O N DOES MONEY MAKE YOU POWERFUL?

IS GREED  
GOOD?

### INTRODUCTION

The Gilded Age was a time during which a few people controlled most of America's money. This inequality has repeated itself a various times in America's history, including in the present. Wealth is often seen as a mark of success and the industrialists were either looked up to or reviled for their extravagant wealth, but certainly respected for the power their wealth bought.

Politicians in the Gilded Age understood the power of money. Many of them took money for business owners in exchange for favors. Bribery was common, and corruption in city government was so prevalent that it was practiced openly.

But the great monopolies of the past do not exist today, and although there are still dishonest politicians who take bribes for favors, our current situation is far better than the days of the Gilded Age. So, money did not always win out.

What do you think? Does money make you powerful?

### 介绍

镀金时代是少数人控制美国大部分资金的时期。这种不平等在美国的历史中不断重演，包括现在。财富往往被视为成功的标志，而工业家要么因为奢侈的财富而受到尊重或辱骂，但他们的财富所获得的权力肯定受到尊重。

镀金时代的政治家了解金钱的力量。他们中的许多人为企业主拿钱以换取恩惠。贿赂很常见，市政府的腐败现象如此普遍，以至于公开实行。

但是，过去的大垄断现在并不存在，虽然仍然有不诚实的政客贿赂恩惠，但我们目前的情况远比镀金时代好。所以，钱并不总能赢得胜利。

你怎么看？金钱会让你变得强大吗？

### THE FORGETTABLE PRESIDENTS

The Gilded Age is usually remembered for the accomplishments of thousands of American thinkers, inventors, entrepreneurs, writers, and promoters of social justice. Few politicians had an impact on the tremendous change transforming America. The Presidency was at an all-time low in power and influence, and the Congress was rife with corruption. State and city leaders shared in the graft, and the public was kept largely unaware. Much like in the colonial days, Americans were not taking their orders from the top; rather, they were building a new society from its foundation.

The American Presidents who resided in the White House from the end of the Civil War until the 1890s are sometimes called the Forgettable Presidents. A case-by-case study helps illustrate this point.

Andrew Johnson was so hated he was impeached and would have been removed from office were it not for a single Senate vote.

**Ulysses S. Grant** was a war hero but was unprepared for public office. He had not held a single elected office prior to the Presidency and was totally naive to the workings of Washington. He relied heavily on the advice of insiders who were stealing public money. His secretary of war sold Native American land to investors and pocketed public money. His private secretary worked with officials in the Treasury Department to steal money raised from the tax on whiskey.

Many members of his Administration were implicated in the **Crédit Mobilier Scandal**, which defrauded the American public of common land. Grant himself seemed above these scandals, but lacked the political skill to control his staff or replace them with officers of integrity.

His successor was **Rutherford B. Hayes**. Hayes himself had tremendous integrity, but his Presidency was weakened by the means of his election. After the electoral votes were counted, his opponent, Samuel Tilden, already claimed a majority of the popular vote and needed just one electoral vote to win. Hayes needed twenty. Precisely twenty electoral votes were in dispute because the states submitted double returns — one proclaiming Hayes the victor, the other Tilden. A Republican-biased electoral commission awarded all 20 electoral votes to the Republican Hayes, and he won by just one electoral vote.

While he was able to claim the White House, many considered his election a fraud, and his power to rule was diminished.

### 难忘的总统

通常会记住镀金时代的成千上万美国思想家、发明家、企业家、作家和社会正义的推动者。很少有政客对改变美国的巨大变化产生影响。总统职位的权力和影响力一直处于历史最低水平，国会充斥着腐败。州和市领导分享贪污，公众基本上没有意识到。就像殖民时代的情况一样，美国人并没有从顶层接受命令；相反，他们正在建立一个新的社会。

从内战结束到 19 世纪 90 年代居住在白宫的美国总统有时被称为忘记总统。逐案研究有助于说明这一点。

安德鲁约翰逊非常讨厌他被弹劾，如果没有单一的参议院投票，就会被免职。

尤利西斯·S·格兰特 (Ulysses S. Grant) 是一名战争英雄，但却没有为公职做好准备他在总统任期之前没有任过一个民选职位，对华盛顿的运作完全天真。他严重依赖窃取公款的内部人士的建议。他的战争部长向投资者出售美国本土土地并将公共资金收入囊中。他的私人秘书与财政部官员合作，窃取了对威士忌征税的资金。

他的政府许多成员都参与了 **Crédit Mobilier** 丑闻，该丑闻欺骗了美国公众的共同土地。格兰特本人似乎高于这些丑闻，但缺乏控制其员工或用诚信官员取代他们的政治技巧。

他的继任者是卢瑟福·B·海耶斯。海耶斯本人有着极大的正直，但他的总统职位因他的当选而受到削弱。在计票后，他的对手塞缪尔蒂尔登已经宣布了大多数民众投票，只需要一次选举投票即可获胜。海耶斯需要二十个。准确地说，有二十张选举人票存在争议，因为各州提交了双重回报——一方宣布海耶斯为胜利者，另一方宣告另一方为蒂尔登。一个共和党有偏见的选举委员会向共和党人海耶斯颁发了所有 20 张选举人票，他只赢得了一次选举投票。

虽然他能够要求白宫，但许多人认为他的选举是欺诈行为，而他的统治权力却被削弱了。

**James Garfield** succeeded Hayes to the Presidency. After only four months, his life was cut short by an assassin's bullet. Charles Guiteau, the killer, was so upset with Garfield for overlooking him for a political job that he shot the President in cold blood on the platform of the Baltimore and Potomac train station.



詹姆斯加菲尔德接替海耶斯担任总统。仅仅四个月之后，刺客的子弹就缩短了他的生命。凶手查尔斯·吉托（Charles Guiteau）对加菲尔德非常沮丧，因为他在巴尔的摩和波托马克（Pottimc）火车站的平台上以冷酷的血液射杀了总统。

### Secondary Source: Lithograph

An artists' rendition of the assassination of President Garfield by Charles Guiteau.

### 次要来源：石版画

艺术家对 Charles Guiteau 暗杀加菲尔德总统的演绎。

Vice-President **Chester Arthur** became the next leader. Although his political history was largely composed of appointments of friends, the tragedy that befell his predecessor led him to believe that the system had gone bad. He signed into law the **Pendleton Civil Service Act**, which opened many jobs to competitive exam rather than political connections. The Republican Party rewarded him by refusing his nomination for the Presidency in 1884.

副总统切斯特亚瑟成为下一任领导人。虽然他的政治历史主要是由朋友的任命组成，但是他前任所遭受的悲剧使他相信这个制度已经变坏了。他签署了彭德尔顿公务员法案，该法案为竞争性考试开辟了许多工作，而不是政治关系。共和党通过在 1884 年拒绝提名总统职位来奖励他。

One President impeached, one President drowning in corruption, one President elected by possible fraud, one President assassinated, and one disgraced by his own party for doing what he thought was right. Clearly, this was not a good time in Presidential history.

一名总统被弹劾，一名总统溺水贪污，一名总统因可能的欺诈而被选中，一名总统被暗杀，另一名被他自己的政党羞辱，因为他做了他认为正确的事。显然，这不是总统历史上的好时机。

### POLITICAL CORRUPTION

This was an era of congressional supremacy. The Republican Party dominated the Presidency and the Congress for most of these years. Both houses of Congress were full of representatives owned by big business. That is to say, big business owners donated such large sums of money to the politicians that the people's elected leaders listened more carefully to their corporate supporters than to the voters themselves.

### 政治腐败

这是一个国会霸权的时代。共和党在这些年中的大部分时间里一直统治着总统和国会。国会两院都有大企业所有的代表。也就是说，大企业主向政客们捐出如此巨额的资金，以致人民当选领导人更加谨慎地倾听他们的企业支持者而非选民本身。

Laws regulating campaigns were minimal and big money bought a government that would not interfere. Similar conditions existed in the states. City governments were dominated by political machines.

规范竞选的法律很少，大笔资金购买了一个不会干涉的政府。各州也存在类似的情况。城市政府由政治机器主导。一个小型网络的成员获得了权

## 2 DOES MONEY MAKE YOU POWERFUL?

Members of a small network gained power and used the public treasury to stay in power — and grow fabulously rich in the process.

Becoming **mayor** of a big city in the Gilded Age was like walking into a cyclone. Demands swirled around city leaders. Better sewers, cleaner water, new bridges, more efficient transit, improved schools, and suitable aid to the sick and needy were some of the more common demands coming from a wide range of interest groups.

To cope with the city's problems, government officials had a limited resources and personnel. Democracy did not flourish in this environment. To bring order out of the chaos of the nation's cities, political bosses emerged who did not shrink from corrupt deals if they could increase their power bases. The people and institutions the bosses controlled were called the **political machine**.

Personal politics can at once seem simple and complex. To maintain power, a **boss** had to keep his constituents happy. Most political bosses appealed to the newest, most desperate part of the growing populace — the immigrants. Occasionally bosses would provide relief kitchens to receive votes. Individuals who were leaders in local neighborhoods were sometimes rewarded city jobs in return for the loyalty of their constituents.

Bosses knew they also had to placate big business, and did so by rewarding them with lucrative contracts for construction of factories or public works. These industries would then pump large sums into keeping the political machine in office. It seemed simple: "You scratch my back and I'll scratch yours." However, bringing diverse interests together in a city as large as New York, Philadelphia, or Chicago required hours of legwork and great political skill.

All the activities mentioned so far seem at least semi-legitimate. The problem was that many political machines broke their own laws to suit their purposes. As contracts were awarded to legal business entities, they were likewise awarded to illegal gambling and prostitution rings. Often profits from these unlawful enterprises lined the pockets of city officials. Public tax money and **bribes** from the business sector increased the bank accounts of these corrupt leaders.

**Voter fraud** was widespread. Political bosses arranged to have voter lists expanded to include many phony names. In one district, a four-year-old child was registered to vote. In another, a dog's name appeared on the polling lists. Members of the machine would "vote early and often," traveling from polling place to polling place to place illegal votes. One district in New York one time reported more votes than it had residents.

力并利用公共财政部门掌权 - 并且在这个过程中变得非常富有。

在镀金时代成为一个大城市的市长就像走进一个旋风。围绕城市领导人的需求在旋转。更好的下水道, 更清洁的水, 新的桥梁, 更高效的交通, 改善的学校, 以及对病人和有需要的人的适当援助是来自各种利益集团的一些更常见的要求。

为了应对城市的问题, 政府官员的资源和人员有限。在这种环境下, 民主并没有蓬勃发展。为了摆脱国家城市的混乱秩序, 政治老板出现了, 如果他们可以增加他们的权力基础, 他们不会从腐败交易中畏缩。老板控制的人和机构被称为政治机器。

个人政治可以看起来既简单又复杂。为了保持权力, 老板不得不让他的选民感到高兴。大多数政治老板都呼吁不断增长的民众中最新, 最绝望的部分 - 移民。偶尔老板会提供救济厨房来接受投票。作为当地社区领导者的个人有时会获得城市工作奖励, 以换取其选民的忠诚度。

老板知道他们也必须安抚大企业, 并通过与工厂或公共工程建设有利可图的合同来奖励他们。然后, 这些行业将投入大量资金来保持政治机器的执政。这看起来很简单: "你抓我的背, 我会抓你的。"然而, 在纽约, 费城或芝加哥等大城市中将不同的兴趣聚集在一起需要数小时的腿部工作和出色的政治技巧。

到目前为止提到的所有活动似乎至少是半合法的。问题在于许多政治机器违反了他们自己的法律以适应他们的目的。由于合同授予合法商业实体, 他们同样被授予非法赌博和卖淫戒指。这些非法企业的利润往往排在城市官员的口袋里。公共税收和商业部门的贿赂增加了这些腐败领导人的银行账户。

选民欺诈很普遍。政治老板安排选民名单扩大到包括许多假名。在一个地区, 一名四岁儿童登记投票。另一方面, 一条狗的名字出现在投票名单上。该机器的成员将"提前和经常投票", 从投票站到投票站进行非法投票。纽约的一个地区一次报告的选票多于居民。





The most notorious political boss of the age was **William “Boss” Tweed** of New York’s **Tammany Hall**. For twelve years, Tweed ruled New York. He gave generously to the poor and authorized the handouts of Christmas turkeys and winter coal to prospective supporters. In the process, he fleeced the public out of millions of taxpayer money, which went into the coffers of Tweed and his associates.

Attention was brought to Tweed’s corruption by political cartoonist **Thomas Nast**. Nast’s pictures were worth more than words as many illiterate and semi-literate New Yorkers were exposed to Tweed’s graft. A zealous attorney named Samuel Tilden convicted Tweed and his rule came to an end in 1876. Mysteriously, Tweed escaped from prison and traveled to Spain, where he was spotted by someone who recognized his face from Nast’s cartoons. He died in prison in 1878.

Not until the dawn of the 20th century would serious attempts be made to correct the abuses of Gilded Age government.

### Primary Source: Editorial Cartoon

In this cartoon, Boss Tweed is depicted guarding the ballot box. This is critical of the role he and political machines played in manipulating elections to their advantage.

### 主要来源：社论卡通

在这张漫画中，Boss Tweed 被描绘成守卫投票箱。这对他和政治机器在操纵选举中发挥的作用至关重要。

这个时代最臭名昭着的政治老板是纽约 Tammany Hall 的 William “Boss” Tweed。特威德十二年统治纽约。他慷慨地向穷人慷慨解囊，并向未来的支持者授权赠送圣诞火鸡和冬季煤炭。在这个过程中，他从数百万纳税人的钱中掠夺了公众，这些钱进入了 Tweed 及其同事的金库。

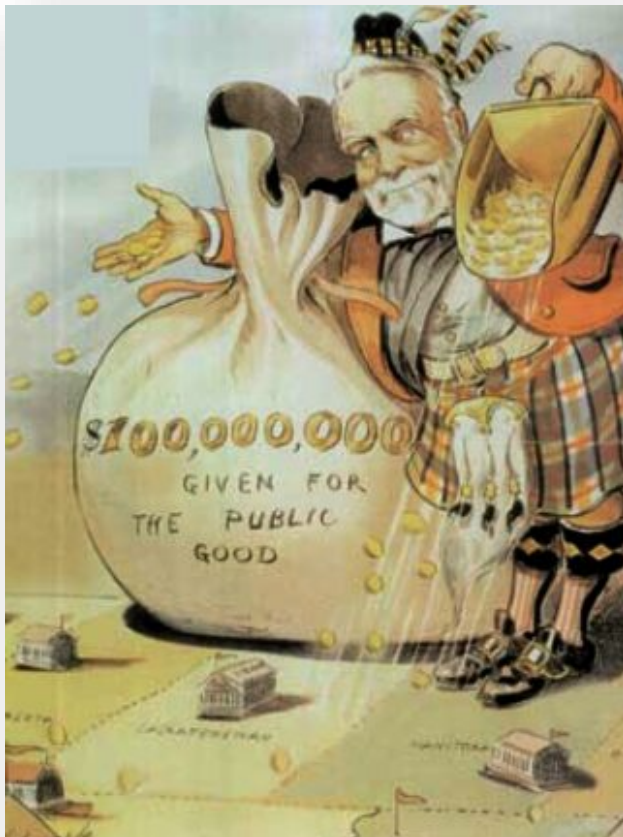
政治漫画家托马斯纳斯特对特威德的腐败事件给予了关注。纳斯特的照片不仅仅是文字，因为许多文盲和半识字的纽约人都接触过特威德的贪污。一位名叫 Samuel Tilden 的热心律师判定 Tweed 犯规，他的统治于 1876 年结束。神秘地，Tweed 逃离监狱并前往西班牙，在那里他被 Nast 的漫画认出了他的脸。他于 1878 年在监狱中去世。

直到 20 世纪初，才会认真考虑纠正镀金时代政府的滥用。



### THE GOSPEL OF WEALTH

From these examples of graft in business and government, it would seem that men with wealth and positions of authority during the Gilded Age only thought of enriching themselves. However, this was not always the case. As mentioned earlier, many of the great industrialists of the era gave away huge sums of money. Steel magnate Andrew Carnegie is remembered for articulating this philosophy.



Carnegie put his ideas into print in 1889 in an article entitled "Wealth", or as it is more commonly known, "The Gospel of Wealth". In it, Carnegie describes the responsibility of the new upper class of self-made rich. He proposed that the best way of dealing with the new phenomenon of wealth inequality was for the wealthy to redistribute their surplus means in a responsible and thoughtful manner. Normally, wealthy families passed their fortunes down to the children, such as was the case in Europe. Carnegie disliked this idea arguing that dependents should be supported by their work, not with their parents' money.

### 财富的福音

从这些商业和政府中的贪污案例来看，在镀金时代，拥有财富和权威地位的人似乎只想要丰富自己。然而，情况并非总是如此。如前所述，这个时代的许多伟大的工业家都捐出了巨额资金。钢铁巨头安德鲁卡内基因为阐明这一理念而被人们铭记。

#### Primary Source: Editorial Cartoon

In this cartoon, Carnegie is seen giving away his fortune to build libraries. It reflects the positive view of the industrialists as generous philanthropists.

#### 主要来源：社论卡通

在这幅漫画中，卡内基被视为放弃建造图书馆的财富。它反映了工业家作为慷慨的慈善家的积极看法。

卡内基在 1889 年的一篇名为“财富”的文章中将他的想法印刷出来，或者更为人所知的是“财富福音”。在其中，卡内基描述了新一代自制富人的责任。他提出，处理财富不平等新现象的最佳方法是让富人以负责任和深思熟虑的方式重新分配他们的剩余手段。通常情况下，富裕的家庭将他们的财富传给孩子们，例如欧洲的情况。卡内基不喜欢这个想法，认为家属应该得到他们工作的支持，而不是他们父母的钱。

## 2 DOES MONEY MAKE YOU POWERFUL?

In *The Gospel of Wealth*, Carnegie asserted that hard work and perseverance lead to wealth, and made it clear that the duty of the rich was to live modest lifestyles. Carnegie argued that surplus wealth is put to best use when it is administered carefully by the wealthy. Carnegie also argued against wasteful use of capital in the form of extravagance, irresponsible spending, or self-indulgence, instead promoting the administration of money over the course of one's lifetime toward the cause of reducing the difference between the rich and poor.

Carnegie himself gave away his fortune building libraries across the nation. Some 2,509 libraries were built around the world with his money. In many towns, the main library is still known as the **Carnegie Library**. Carnegie-Mellon University and Carnegie Hall in New York City were also established with his financial support.

### CONCLUSION

The influence of money in politics is not a story that is restricted to the Gilded Age. Of course, people with money have advantages that the poor do not, and one of these advantages is the ability to use money to influence others.

Sometimes, business owners manipulated politicians. Sometimes they used money to buy votes and became politicians themselves. In cities, elected officials formed political machines and used their access to tax money to enrich themselves and be reelected.

At the same time, however, men like Andrew Carnegie used some of their financial power to benefit humanity through philanthropy.

As you will learn in later readings, the corruption that was rampant in the Gilded Age was outlawed when voters acted together to make change. Instead of a few individuals with access to money, the collective power of the common citizen won out. Some would argue that we are again in a time when the 1%, the few super-rich, are again making decisions and influencing politics.

Based on what you know of the Gilded Age, what do you think? Does money make you powerful?

在“财富福音”中，卡内基断言，努力工作和坚持不懈导致财富，并明确表示富人的责任是过上适度的生活方式。卡内基认为，当富人谨慎管理剩余财富时，它会得到最佳利用。卡内基还反对以奢侈，不负责任的开支或自我放纵的形式浪费资本的使用，而是在一生的过程中促进资金管理，以减少贫富差距。

卡内基自己在全国范围内放弃了他的财富建筑图书馆。他的钱在世界各地建立了大约 2,509 个图书馆。在许多城镇，主图书馆仍被称为卡内基图书馆。卡内基梅隆大学和纽约市的卡内基音乐厅也得到了他的财政支持。

### 结论

金钱在政治中的影响并不是一个仅限于镀金时代的故事。当然，有钱的人有穷人没有的优势，其中一个好处就是有钱用钱来影响他人。

有时，企业主操纵政治家。有时他们用钱买票并自己成为政治家。在城市中，民选官员组建了政治机器，利用他们获得税收的途径来丰富自己并重新当选。

然而，与此同时，像安德鲁卡内基这样的人利用他们的一些经济实力，通过慈善事业使人类受益。

正如你将在后面的读物中了解到的那样，当选民共同行动改变时，在镀金时代猖獗的腐败被取缔。普通公民的集体力量胜出了，而不是少数能够获得金钱的人。有人会争辩说，我们再次处于 1%，少数超级富豪再次做出决策和影响政治的时代。

根据您对镀金时代的了解，您如何看待？金钱会让你变得强大吗？

### SUMMARY

The years after the Civil War saw a series of forgettable presidents who did not have much power relative to Congress. One thing government dealt with was corruption. The Pendleton Civil Service Act made many government jobs open to candidates based on competitive exams. This helped limit the spoils system of giving jobs as rewards for supporting political candidates.

This period was also a time of corruption in city governments. Big city mayors used their power to give jobs and contracts to friends. In exchange they bought votes, stayed in power, took bribes, and became rich. These political machines were common. The most famous was nicknamed Tammany Hall in New York.

Money was not always as source of corruption and evil. Andrew Carnegie's essay the Gospel of Wealth encouraged the wealthy to use their money to benefit humanity.

内战结束后的几年里，一系列相对于国会而言没有多少权力的遗忘总统。政府处理的一件事是腐败。彭德尔顿公务员法案根据竞争性考试向候选人开放了许多政府职位。这有助于限制作业的战利品制度作为支持政治候选人的奖励。

这段时期也是城市政府腐败的时期。大城市市长利用他们的权力为朋友提供工作和合同。作为交换，他们买票，保持权力，收受贿赂，并变得富有。这些政治机器很常见。最著名的是在纽约绰号 Tammany Hall。

金钱并不总是腐败和邪恶的根源。安德鲁卡内基的文章“财富福音”鼓励富人用他们的钱来造福人类。



## KEY CONCEPTS

**Mayor:** The elected chief executive of a city.

**Political Machine:** A system set up in cities in which elected leaders buy or manipulate votes. They accepted bribes and stole government money. In exchange, they lavished favors on friends who protected and supported them. The most famous was Tammany Hall in New York City.

**Boss:** Leader of a political machine. The most famous was William Tweed of Tammany Hall in New York City.

**Bribe:** Money paid to a government official in exchange for a favor. For example, business leaders paid members of congress to pass or not pass certain legislation.

**Voter Fraud:** Any method of manipulating elections including, voting multiple times, voting in someone else's name, or purposefully not counting some votes.

**The Gospel of Wealth:** Article by Andrew Carnegie. In it he argued that making money was noble but that wealthy people should give away their fortunes to the benefit of mankind.

**Carnegie Library:** Name for libraries built with Andrew Carnegie's financial support. Some are still officially called by this name, such as in Pittsburg, Pennsylvania.



## LAWS

**Pendleton Civil Service Act:** 1883 law limiting the spoils system by requiring that many government employees pass an exam. This helped establish a group of professional government employees outside the influence of politics. It was passed after the assassination of President Garfield by a disgruntled job seeker.



## PEOPLE AND GROUPS

**Ulysses S. Grant:** General and hero of the Civil War who became president. Although honest, he was a poor politician. His administration was weakened by the Crédit Mobilier Scandal.

**Rutherford B. Hayes:** Republican President elected in 1877 as part of a compromise that ended Reconstruction in the South. His influence was weakened by the circumstances of his election.

**James Garfield:** Republican president who was assassinated by Charles Guiteau, who was angry that he had not received a government job.

**Chester Arthur:** Vice-president who ascended to the presidency when James Garfield was assassinated. He signed the Pendleton Civil Service Act which limited the spoils system.

**William "Boss" Tweed:** Famous boss of the Tammany Hall political machine.

**Tammany Hall:** Nickname for Boss Tweed's political machine in New York City.

**Thomas Nast:** Cartoonist whose drawings criticized Boss Tweed and the Tammany Hall political machine.



## EVENTS

**Crédit Mobilier Scandal:** Political scandal during Grant's presidency. His aids enriched themselves with the sale of public land.





# 3

## T H I R D Q U E S T I O N WHO SHOULD BE IN CHARGE, WORKERS OR OWNERS?

IS GREED  
GOOD?

### INTRODUCTION

Organized labor brought tremendous positive change to working Americans. Today, many workers enjoy higher wages, better hours, and safer working conditions. Employers often pay for medical coverage and several weeks' vacation.

These changes were hard-won. Jobs and lives were lost in the epic struggle for a fair share. The fight sprouted during the Gilded Age, when labor took its first steps toward unity.

But of course, when workers united, they took away some of the power of industrialists to control their own businesses. How can a captain of industry be the most successful possible if the workers are interfering by striking? This power sharing can be difficult, messy, and sometimes ends up hurting a business.

In a purely socialist society, workers are in total control. Those who do the work, share in the benefits. America has never tried such a system, but we know from the 20<sup>th</sup> century that it failed in other countries.

What do you think? Who should be in charge, workers or owners?

### 介绍

有组织的劳工给在职美国人带来了巨大的积极变化。如今，许多工人享受更高的工资，更好的工作时间和更安全的工作条件。雇主经常支付医疗保险费和数周的假期。

这些变化来之不易。在争取公平分享的史诗般的斗争中失去了工作和生活。在镀金时代，当劳动迈出统一的第一步时，战斗就萌芽了。

但当然，当工人团结起来时，他们夺走了一些工业家的权力来控制自己的企业。如果工人干涉罢工，工业船长如何才能成功？这种权力分享可能很困难，混乱，有时最终会伤害企业。

在纯粹的社会主义社会中，工人完全掌控着。那些做这项工作，分享利益的人。美国从来没有尝试过这样一个系统，但我们从20世纪就知道它在其他国家失败了。

你怎么看？谁应该负责，工人或所有者？

#### ORGANIZED LABOR

In the mid-19th century, the vast majority of American work was still done on the farm. By the turn of the 20th century, the United States economy revolved around the factory.

Most Americans living in the Gilded Age knew nothing of the life of millionaires such as Rockefeller, Carnegie and Morgan. They worked 10-hour shifts, 6 days a week, for wages barely enough to survive. Children as young as eight years old worked instead of attending school. Men and women worked until their bodies could stand no more, only to be released from employment without retirement benefits. Medical coverage did not exist. Women who became pregnant were often fired. Compensation for being hurt while on the job was zero.

Laborers realized that they needed to unite to demand change. Even though they lacked money, education, or political power, they knew one critical thing. There were simply more workers than there were owners.

**Unions** did not emerge overnight. Despite their legal right to exist, bosses often took extreme measures, including intimidation and violence, to prevent a union from taking hold. Workers, too, often chose the sword when peaceful measures failed.

Many Americans believed that a violent revolution would take place in America. How long would so many stand to be poor? Industrial titans including John Rockefeller arranged for mighty castles to be built as fortresses to stand against the upheaval they were sure was coming.

Slowly but surely unions did grow. Efforts to form nationwide organizations faced even greater difficulties. Federal troops were sometimes called to block their efforts. Judges almost always ruled in favor of the bosses.

Often, workers could not agree on common goals. Some flirted with extreme ideas like Marxism. Others simply wanted a nickel more per hour. Fights erupted over whether or not to admit women or African Americans into the ranks of union membership.

#### THE GREAT UPHEAVAL

It started with a 10% pay cut. When leaders of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company ordered this second reduction in less than eight months, railroad workers in Martinsburg, West Virginia decided they had had enough. On July 16, 1877, workers in that town drove all the engines into the roundhouse and boldly declared that no train

#### 有组织的劳动力

在 19 世纪中期，绝大多数美国人的工作仍在农场完成。到了 20 世纪初，美国经济围绕着工厂。

生活在镀金时代的大多数美国人对洛克菲勒，卡内基和摩根等百万富翁的生活一无所知。他们每周工作 6 天，每天工作 10 小时，工资几乎不足以生存。年仅 8 岁的孩子工作而不是上学。男人和女人一直工作，直到他们的身体不再能够站立，只有在没有退休福利的情况下被解雇。医疗保险不存在。怀孕的妇女经常被解雇。在工作中受伤的补偿是零。

劳动者意识到他们需要联合起来要求改变。即使他们缺乏资金，教育或政治权力，他们也知道一件至关重要的事情。只有业主才有更多的工人。

工会没有在一夜之间出现。尽管他们有合法的生存权，但老板经常采取极端措施，包括恐吓和暴力，以防止工会陷入困境。和平措施失败时，工人也常常选择剑。

许多美国人认为，美国将发生暴力革命。这么多人多久会变穷？包括约翰洛克菲勒在内的工业巨头安排将强大的城堡建成堡垒，以抵抗他们肯定会发生的剧变。

工会慢慢地但肯定地确实增长了。组建全国性组织的努力面临更大的困难。联邦军队有时被要求阻止他们的努力。法官几乎总是支持老板。

通常，工人无法就共同目标达成一致。有些人对马克思主义这样的极端思想感到不满。其他人只想每小时更多镍。关于是否允许女性或非裔美国人加入工会会员队伍的斗争爆发了。

#### 伟大的上升

它开始时减薪 10%。当巴尔的摩和俄亥俄铁路公司的领导人在不到 8 个月的时间内下令进行第二次减少时，西弗吉尼亚州马丁斯堡的铁路工人决定他们已经受够了。1877 年 7 月 16 日，该镇的工人将所有发动机驶入圆屋，并大胆宣布，在业主恢复工资

### 3 WHO SHOULD BE IN CHARGE, WORKERS OR OWNERS?

would leave until the owners restored their pay. The local townspeople gathered at the railyard to show their support for the strikers. A great showdown was on.

Strikes or other actions seen as disturbances are usually handled at the local level. The mayor of Martinsburg tried in vain to threaten the striking workers, but the crowd merely laughed and booed. The local police were far too insubstantial to match the numbers of the rabble. In desperation, the mayor turned to the governor of West Virginia for support. The governor sent units of the National Guard to Martinsburg to accompany the trains out of town by force of arms. There was little support for the effort among the Guardsmen. The majority of them were railroad workers themselves. After two people were killed in the standoff, the Guard simply lay down their weapons and began chatting with members of the crowd.

Only when federal troops sent by President Hayes arrived did the trains leave the station. Even then they were sabotaged and harassed along their routes. Only one train reached its destination.



The Martinsburg Strike might have gone down in history as one of many small local strikes put down by force, but this time the strike spread. Soon other B&O units joined the Martinsburg strike. The movement spread into Pennsylvania, when workers on the Pennsylvania and Reading Railroads joined their compatriots. Pittsburgh is the gateway to the Midwest, and so the strike widened to that region.

之前，不会有火车离开。当地市民聚集在铁路上，表示他们对罢工者的支持。一场精彩的摊牌正在进行中。

罢工或其他被视为干扰的行动通常在当地处理。马丁斯堡市长徒劳地试图威胁罢工工人，但人群只是嘲笑和嘘声。当地警察太过于无足轻重，无法与歹徒的数量相提并论。无奈之下，市长转向西弗吉尼亚州州长寻求支持。州长派遣国民警卫队的部队前往马丁斯堡，乘坐武力将火车带出城外。卫兵们的努力几乎没有得到支持。他们大多数都是铁路工人。在两人在对峙中丧生之后，卫兵只是放下武器，开始与人群聊天。

只有当海耶斯总统派出的联邦军队到达时，火车才会离开火车站。即使这样，他们也被沿着他们的路线遭到破坏和骚扰。只有一列火车到达目的地。

#### Primary Source: Print

An artist's depiction of the destruction of the railroad depot at Harpers Ferry, West Virginia during the Great Upheaval.

#### 主要来源：打印

在大剧变期间，一位艺术家描绘了西弗吉尼亚州哈珀斯费里铁路车站的毁坏。

马丁斯堡罢工可能已经成为历史上许多小规模的地方罢工之一，但这次罢工蔓延。不久，其他 B&O 部队加入了马丁斯堡罢工。当宾夕法尼亚州和雷丁铁路的工人加入他们的同胞时，这场运动蔓延到了宾夕法尼亚州。匹兹堡是通往中西部的门户，因此罢工扩大到该地区。

### 3 WHO SHOULD BE IN CHARGE, WORKERS OR OWNERS?

The police, the National Guard, and the United States Army clashed with angry mobs throughout America. Throughout the land, wealthy individuals feared that the worst had finally come. A violent revolution seemed to be sweeping the nation.

But then it stopped. In some cases the strikes were ended by force. In others, the strikers simply gave up. After all, most workers were not trying to overthrow the government or the social order. They simply wanted higher wages and more time to spend with their families. The **Great Upheaval** was not the first strike in American History; it was the first mass strike to involve so many different workers separated by so much space.

What did this mean for America? From a distance, the strike seems to have failed. However, in many cases, workers did have their demands met. There is no telling how many future pay cuts were avoided because of fear of reprisal from the laborers.

The Great Upheaval was spontaneous. There was absolutely no advanced planning, showing how many rank and file workers had the same concerns about quality of life, as well as the same anger at those who controlled the wealth. More than 100,000 workers had gone on strike, shutting down nearly half of the nation's rail systems.

When the strike ended in the first week in August, over 100 people had been killed and a thousand more were imprisoned. Untold millions of dollars of damage was caused to rail lines, cars, and roundhouses. The fight was over, but America had not seen the last of the **mass strike**.

#### LABOR VS. MANAGEMENT

The battle lines were clearly drawn. People were either workers or bosses, and with that strong identity often came an equally strong dislike for those who were on the other side. As the number of self-employed Americans dwindled in the Gilded Age, workers began to feel strength in their numbers and were greater and greater demands of their bosses. When those demands were rejected, they plotted schemes to win their cases.

Those who managed factories developed strategies to counteract those of labor. At times the relationship between the camps was as intellectual and tense as a tough chess match. Other times it was as ugly as a schoolyard fight.

The most frequently employed technique of workers was the strike. Refusing to work would, in theory, force the company to suffer great enough financial losses that they would agree to worker terms.

警察，国民警卫队和美国陆军在整个美国与愤怒的暴徒发生冲突。在整个土地上，富裕的人担心最坏的情况终于来了。暴力革命似乎席卷全国。

但后来它停了下来。在某些情况下，罢工以武力结束。在其他人中，罢工者只是放弃了。毕竟，大多数工人并没有试图推翻政府或社会秩序。他们只想要更高的工资和更多的时间与家人共度。伟大的剧变不是美国历史上的第一次罢工，这是第一次涉及如此多空间的众多不同工人的大规模罢工。

这对美国意味着什么？从远处看，罢工似乎失败了。但是，在许多情况下，工人确实满足了他们的要求。由于担心工人的报复，没有人知道未来会有多少减薪。

伟大的剧变是自发的。绝对没有先进的计划，显示有多少普通员工对生活质量有同样的担忧，对控制财富的人也有同样的愤怒。超过 10 万名工人罢工，关闭了全国近一半的铁路系统。

当罢工在 8 月的第一周结束时，超过 100 人被杀，还有一千人被监禁。铁路线，汽车和圆屋造成数百万美元的损失。战斗结束了，但美国没有看到最后的大规模罢工。

#### 劳工 VS. 管理

战斗线条清晰可见。人们要么是工人，要么是老板，而那些强烈的身份往往对那些在另一边的人同样强烈不喜欢。随着自营职业美国人在镀金时代的数量逐渐减少，工人开始感受到他们的数量上的力量，并且他们对老板的要求越来越高。当这些要求被拒绝时，他们制定计划以赢得他们的案件。

那些管理工厂的人制定了抵制劳动力的策略。有时，难民营之间的关系与强硬的国际象棋比赛一样具有智力和紧张感。其他时候它像校园战斗一样难看。

最常用的工人技术是罢工。从理论上讲，拒绝工作会迫使公司遭受足够的经济损失，他们会同意工人



### 3 WHO SHOULD BE IN CHARGE, WORKERS OR OWNERS?

Strikes had been known in America since the colonial age, but their numbers grew larger in the Gilded Age.

Because of poor organization and government support for owners, 19th century strikes were not successful, so unions thought of other means. If the workers at a shoe factory could garner enough sympathy from the local townspeople, a **boycott** could achieve desirable results. The union would make its case to the town in the hope that no one would buy any shoes from the factory until the owners agreed to a pay raise. Boycotts could be successful in a small community where the factory was dependent upon the business of a group of people in close proximity

In desperate times, workers would also resort to illegal means if necessary. For example, **sabotage** of factory equipment was not unknown. Occasionally, the foreman or the owner might even be the victims of worker-sponsored violence.

Owners had strategies of their own. If a company found itself with a high inventory, the boss might afford to enact a **lockout**, which is a reverse strike. In this case, the owner tells the employees not to bother showing up until they agree to a pay cut. Sometimes when a new worker was hired the employee was forced to sign a **yellow-dog contract**, or an ironclad oath swearing that the employee would never join a union.

Strikes could be countered in a variety of ways. The first measure was usually to hire strikebreakers, or **scabs**, to take the place of the regular labor force. Here things often turned violent. The crowded cities always seemed to have someone hopeless enough to cross the **picket line** during a strike. The striking workers often responded with fists, occasionally even leading to death.

Prior to the 20th century the government never sided with the union in a labor dispute. Bosses persuaded the courts to issue injunctions to declare strikes illegal. If the strike continued, the participants would be thrown in prison. When all these efforts failed to break a strike, the government at all levels would be willing to send a militia to regulate as in the case of the Great Upheaval.

的条款。自殖民时代以来，罢工在美国就已为人所知，但在镀金时代，罢工人数却越来越多。

由于组织和政府对业主的支持不力，19世纪的罢工并不成功，因此工会想到了其他方式。如果鞋厂的工人能够从当地市民那里获得足够的同情，抵制可以取得理想的结果。工会将向镇上提出诉讼，希望在业主同意加薪之前，没有人会从工厂买鞋。在一个小型社区中，抵制可能是成功的，工厂依赖于一群人的业务

在绝望的时候，如有必要，工人也会采取非法手段。例如，工厂设备的破坏并不为人所知。有时，工头或所有者甚至可能成为工人主导的暴力的受害者。

业主有自己的策略。如果一家公司发现自己的库存很高，那么老板可能会设法实施停工，这是一次反向打击。在这种情况下，业主告诉员工在他们同意减薪之前不要再费心出现。有时当一名新员工被雇用，该员工被迫签署了一份黄狗合同，或者一份铁定誓言宣誓该雇员永远不会加入工会。

罢工可以通过各种方式加以应对。第一项措施通常是雇用罢工破坏者或结痂，以取代正规劳动力。这里的事情经常变得暴力。在罢工期间，拥挤的城市似乎总有一些人无法穿过警戒线。罢工的工人经常用拳头回应，偶尔甚至会导致死亡。

在20世纪之前，政府在劳资纠纷中从不支持工会。老板们说服法院发布禁令，宣布罢工是非法的。如果罢工继续，参与者将被投入监狱。当所有这些努力未能打破罢工时，各级政府都愿意派遣民兵进行监管，就像大剧变一样。





**Primary Source: Drawing**

An artist's rendition of the arrival of the National Guard to break the Homestead Strike.

**主要来源：绘图**

艺术家对国民警卫队的到来打破家园罢工的演绎。

What was at stake? Each side felt they were fighting literally for survival. The owners felt if they could not keep costs down to beat the competition, they would be forced to close the factory altogether. They said they could not meet the workers' unreasonable demands.

What were the employees demanding? In the entire history of labor strife, most goals of labor can be reduced to two overarching issues: higher wages and better working conditions. In the beginning, management would have the upper hand. But the sheer numbers of the American workforce was gaining momentum as the century neared its conclusion.

#### EARLY NATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

Divide and conquer. That simple strategy gave the owners the advantage over labor until the dawn of the 20th century. Laborers did not all have the same goals. By favoring one group over another, the bosses could create internal dissent in any union. Unions were spread from town to town. Unity among them might make a more effective boycott or strike, but bringing diverse groups together across a large area was extremely difficult.

Owners were smart enough to circulate **blacklists**. These lists contained the names of any workers active in the union. If anyone on the list would show up in another town trying to get hired (or to start another union), the employers would refuse to give them a job. Still, the ratio of labor to management was so large that national organizations were inevitable. The first group to clear the hurdles was the National Labor Union.

危在旦夕的是什么？每一方都觉得他们为了生存而战斗。业主们觉得如果他们不能降低成本以击败竞争对手，他们将被迫完全关闭工厂。他们说他们无法满足工人的无理要求。

员工要求什么？在整个劳资冲突的历史中，大多数劳动目标可以减少到两个首要问题：更高的工资和更好的工作条件。一开始，管理层将占上风。但随着世纪接近尾声，美国劳动力的绝对数量正在增加。

#### 早期的国家组织

分而治之。直到 20 世纪初，这种简单的策略使业主优于劳动力。劳动者并非都有相同的目标。通过支持一个群体而不是另一个群体，老板可以在任何联盟中产生内部异议。工会从一个城镇传播到另一个城镇。他们之间的团结可能会更有效地抵制或罢工，但是将不同的群体聚集在一起是非常困难的。

业主足够聪明，可以传播黑名单。这些列表包含工会中活跃的所有工人的姓名。如果名单上的任何人出现在另一个试图被雇用的城镇（或开始另一个工会），雇主就会拒绝给他们一份工作。然而，劳动力与管理的比例如此之大，以至于国家组织不可避免。清除障碍的第一组是全国工会。

By 1866, there were about 200,000 workers in local unions across the United States. William Sylvis seized the opportunity presented by these numbers and established the first nationwide labor organization, named the **National Labor Union**. Sylvis had very ambitious goals. Not only did the NLU fight for higher wages and shorter hours, Sylvis took labor activity into the political arena. The NLU supported legislation banning prison labor, land reform laws to keep public holdings out of the hands of speculators, and national currency reform to raise farm prices.

It brought together skilled and unskilled workers, as well as farmers. The National Labor Union stopped short of admitting African Americans. Racist tendencies of the times prevailed, despite the wisdom of bringing as many workers as possible into the fold. Unfortunately, for the NLU, it tried to represent too many different groups. Farmers had their own agenda, and skilled workers often had different realities than the unskilled. When the Panic of 1873 hit America, the union was severely disabled. Soon after, the National Labor Union withered away.

#### THE KNIGHTS OF LABOR

The **Knights of Labor** soon inherited the mantle of organized labor. Begun by Uriah Stephens as a secret society in 1869, the Knights admitted all wage earners into their ranks, including women and African Americans. The philosophy was simple: class was more important than race or gender. For such a group to influence the federal government, complete solidarity would be required.

The Knights supported the entire political agenda of the NLU and more. They advocated limits on immigration, restrictions on child labor, and government ownership of railroads, telegraphs, and telephones. At the height of its membership in 1886, the Knights boasted 750,000 workers. Then disaster struck.

On May 1, 1886, International Workers Day, local chapters of the Knights went on strike demanding an eight-hour day for all laborers. At a rally in **Haymarket Square** in Chicago on May 4, someone threw a bomb into the crowd. One police officer died and several crowd members sustained injuries.

It was impossible to be sure who was responsible, but the American press, government, and general public blamed the Knights of Labor. Leader Terence Powderly condemned the bombing to no avail. Americans associated labor activity with anarchists and mob violence. Membership began to fall. Soon the Knights were merely a shadow of their former size. But labor leaders had learned some valuable lessons. The next national organization of workers would endure.

到 1866 年，美国各地的工会大约有 20 万名工人。威廉·西尔维斯抓住了这些数字提供的机会，并建立了第一个全国性的劳工组织，命名为全国工会。西尔维斯的目标非常雄心勃勃。不仅 NLU 争取更高的工资和更短的时间，Sylvis 将劳工活动带入政治舞台。国家联盟支持立法禁止监狱劳工，土地改革法律将公共控股权交给投机者，以及国家货币改革以提高农产品价格。

它汇集了熟练和非熟练工人以及农民。全国工会没有接纳非洲裔美国人。尽管有尽可能多的工人进入这个世界的智慧，但时代的种族主义倾向占了上风。不幸的是，对于 NLU，它试图代表太多不同的群体。农民有自己的议程，技术工人往往有不同的现实而不是非技术工人。当 1873 年的恐慌袭击美国时，工会严重残疾。不久之后，全国工会逐渐消失。

#### 劳动者的角色

工党骑士很快就继承了有组织的劳动力。在 1869 年由 Uriah Stephens 作为一个秘密社团开始，骑士们承认所有的工薪阶层，包括女性和非洲裔美国人。哲学很简单：课堂比种族或性别更重要。要让这样一个群体影响联邦政府，就需要完全团结一致。

骑士团支持 NLU 的整个政治议程等等。他们主张限制移民，限制童工，政府拥有铁路，电报和电话。在其成立于 1886 年的高峰时期，骑士拥有 75 万名工人。灾难来袭了。

1886 年 5 月 1 日，国际工人日，骑士的地方分会罢工要求所有劳动者每天工作 8 小时。5 月 4 日，在芝加哥 Haymarket 广场的一次集会上，有人向人群投掷炸弹。一名警察死亡，几名人群众受伤。

不可能确定谁负责，但美国新闻界，政府和一般公众指责工党骑士团。领导人特伦斯·鲍威莱谴责这起爆炸事件无济于事。美国人将劳动活动与无政府主义者和暴民暴力联系起来会员资格开始下降。很快，骑士只是他们以前身材的阴影。但劳工领袖已经学到了一些宝贵的经验。下一个全国工人组织将会持久。



#### Primary Source: Drawing

An artist's rendition of the explosion at Haymarket Square in Chicago, Illinois on May 4, 1886. One police officer was killed. The violence turned many Americans against the labor movement and limited support for the Knights of Labor.

#### 主要来源：绘图

1886年5月4日，一位艺术家在伊利诺伊州芝加哥的干草市场广场发生爆炸事件。一名警官遇难。暴力事件使许多美国人反对劳工运动，并对劳工骑士团的支持有限。

#### AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

Keep it simple. That was the mantra of labor leader **Samuel Gompers**. He was a diehard capitalist and saw no need for a radical restructuring of America. Gompers learned that the issues that workers cared about most deeply were personal. They wanted higher wages and better working conditions. These **bread and butter issues** would always unite the labor class. By keeping it simple, unions could avoid the pitfalls that had drawn the life from the National Labor Union and the Knights of Labor.

In December of 1886, the same year the Knights of Labor was dealt its fatal blow at Haymarket Square, Gompers met with the leaders of other craft unions to form the **American Federation of Labor**. The AFL was a loose grouping of smaller craft unions, such as the masons' union, the hat makers' union or Gompers's own cigar makers' union. Every member of the AFL was therefore a skilled worker.

Gompers had no visions of uniting the entire working class. Tradespeople were in greater demand and already earned higher wages than their unskilled counterparts. Gompers knew that the AFL would have more political and economic power if unskilled workers were excluded. He served as president of the union every year except one until his death in 1924.

Although conservative in nature, Gompers was not afraid to call for a strike or a boycott. The larger AFL could be used to support these actions, as well as provide relief for members engaged in a work stoppage. By refusing to pursue a radical program for political change, Gompers maintained the support of the American

#### 美国劳工联合会

把事情简单化。这是劳工领袖 Samuel Gompers 的口头禅。他是一个顽固的资本家，并没有必要对美国进行彻底的重组。Gompers 了解到，工人最关心的是个人问题。他们想要更高的工资和更好的工作条件。这些面包和黄油问题总是会使得劳动阶级团结起来。通过保持简单，工会可以避免从全国工会和劳工骑士那里汲取生活的陷阱。

1886年12月，同年劳动骑士团在 Haymarket 广场遭受了致命打击，Gompers 与其他工会的领导人会面，组成了美国劳工联合会。AFL 是一个松散的小型工艺联盟，如泥瓦匠工会，帽子制造商工会或 Gompers 自己的雪茄制造商工会。因此，AFL 的每个成员都是技术工人。

Gompers 没有团结整个工人阶级的愿景。商人的需求量更大，而且他们的工资已经高于非技术人员。Gompers 知道如果不熟练的工人被排除在外，AFL 将拥有更多的政治和经济权力。除了一直到 1924 年去世之前，他每年都担任工会主席。

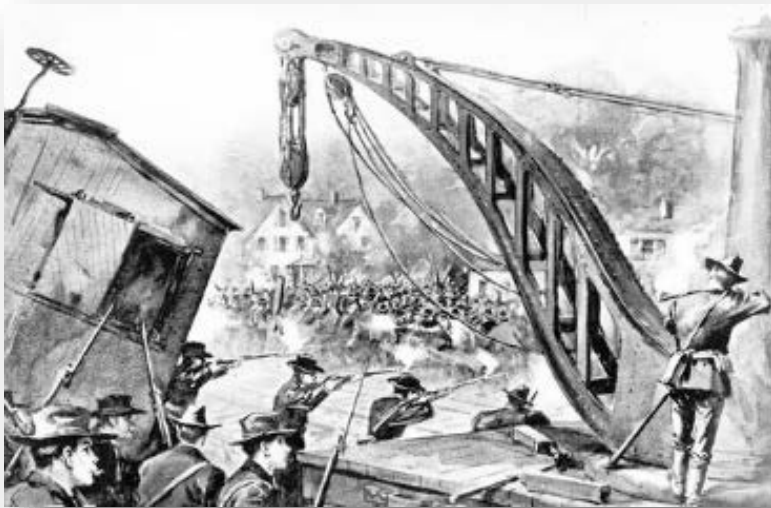
虽然性质保守，但 Gompers 并不害怕要求罢工或抵制。较大的 AFL 可用于支持这些行动，并为从事停工的成员提供救济。通过拒绝采取激进的政治变革计划，Gompers 得到了美国政府和公众的支持。到



### 3 WHO SHOULD BE IN CHARGE, WORKERS OR OWNERS?

government and public. By 1900, the ranks of the AFL swelled to over 500,000 tradespeople. Gompers was seen as the unofficial leader of the labor world in America.

Simplicity worked. Although the bosses still had the upper hand with the government, unions were growing in size and status. There were over 20,000 strikes in America in the last two decades of the 19th century. Workers lost about half, but in many cases their demands were completely or partially met. The AFL served as the preeminent national labor organization until the Great Depression when unskilled workers finally came together. Smart leadership, patience, and realistic goals made life better for the hundreds of thousands of working Americans it served.



1900年，AFL的队伍膨胀到超过500,000名商人。Gompers被视为美国劳工界的非官方领导者。

简单有效。尽管老板们仍然在政府中占了上风，但工会的规模和地位正在不断提高。在19世纪的最后二十年里，美国有超过20,000次罢工。工人失去了大约一半，但在许多情况下，他们的要求完全或部分得到满足。AFL在大萧条之前一直是卓越的国家劳工组织，当时非技术工人最终聚集在一起。聪明的领导力，耐心和现实的目标使其服务的数十万工作美国人的生活更美好。

#### Primary Source: Drawing

An artist's rendition of the violent clash between the National Guard and striking Pullman Car Company workers.

#### 主要来源：绘图

一位艺术家对国民警卫队和引人注目的普尔曼汽车公司工人之间的暴力冲突的演绎。

#### EUGENE V. DEBS AND AMERICAN SOCIALISM

Despite the success of the American Federation of Labor, American radicalism was not dead. The number of those who felt the American capitalist system was fundamentally flawed was in fact growing fast.

American **socialists** based their beliefs on the writings of Karl Marx, the German philosopher. Many asked why so many working Americans should have so little while a few owners grew incredibly wealthy. No wealth could exist without the sweat and blood of its workforce. They suggested that the government should own all industries and divide the profits among those who actually created the products. While the current management class would stand to lose, many more people would gain. These radicals grew in number as industries spread. But their enemies were legion.

#### EUGENE V. DEBS AND AMERICAN SOCIALISM

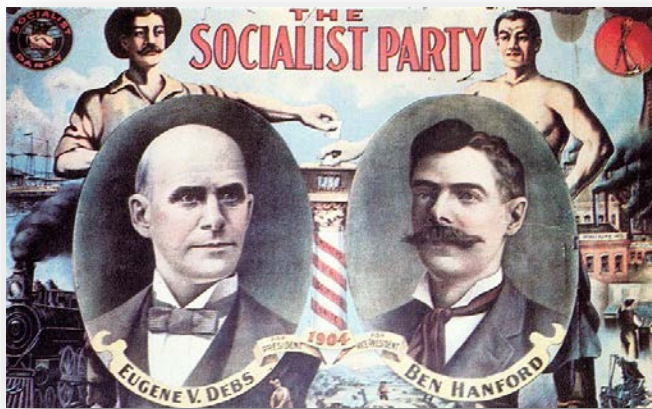
尽管美国劳工联合会取得了成功，但美国的激进主义并未消亡。那些认为美国资本主义制度存在根本缺陷的人数实际上正在快速增长。

美国社会主义者的信仰建立在德国哲学家卡尔·马克思的著作之上。许多人问为什么这么多美国工作人员应该这么少，而一些业主却变得非常富有。没有劳动力的汗水和血液，就不会有财富存在。他们建议政府应该拥有所有行业，并将利润分配给实际创造产品的人。虽然目前的管理阶层会失败，但会有更多人获益。随着行业的扩散，这些激进分子的数但他们的敌人是军团。

### 3 WHO SHOULD BE IN CHARGE, WORKERS OR OWNERS?

**Eugene Debs** was born in Terre Haute, Indiana in 1855 to a family of French immigrants. Making his way in the railroad industry, Debs formed the American Railway Union in 1892.

Two years later he found himself leading one of the largest strikes in American history, the great **Pullman Strike**. When its workers refused to accept a pay cut, The Pullman Car Company fired 5,000 employees. To show support, Debs called for the members of the American Railway Union to refrain from operating any trains that used Pullman cars. When the strike was declared illegal by a court injunction, chaos erupted. President Cleveland ordered federal troops to quell the strikers and Debs was arrested. Order was restored and the strike failed.



Debs was not originally a socialist, but his experience with the Pullman Strike and his subsequent six-month jail term led him to believe that drastic action was necessary. Debs chose to confine his activity to the political arena. In 1900 he ran for President as a socialist and garnered some 87,000 votes.

The following year, leading sympathizers joined with him to form the **Socialist Party**. At its height, the party numbered over 100,000 active members. Debs ran for President four more times. In the election of 1912 he received over 900,000 votes. After being arrested for antiwar activities during World War I, he ran for President from his jail cell and polled 919,000 votes. Debs died in 1926 having never won an election, but over one thousand Socialist Party members were elected to state and city governments.

#### THE WOBBLIES

Even more radical than the Socialists were the members of the **Industrial Workers of the World**. This union believed that

尤金·德布斯于1855年出生于印第安纳州特雷霍特，是一个法国移民家庭。德布斯在铁路行业取得了成功，于1892年成立了美国铁路联盟。

两年后，他发现自己领导了美国历史上最大的罢工之一，即伟大的铂尔曼罢工。当工人拒绝接受减薪时，普尔曼汽车公司解雇了5000名员工。为了表示支持，德布斯呼吁美国铁路联盟的成员不要使用任何使用普尔曼汽车的列车。当罢工被法院禁令宣布为非法时，混乱就爆发了。克利夫兰总统命令联邦军队平息罢工者，而德布斯则被捕。订单已恢复，罢工失败。

#### Primary Source: Campaign Poster

1904 poster celebrating Socialist Party candidate Eugene Debs.

#### 主要来源：竞选海报

1904年海报庆祝社会党候选人尤金德布斯。

德布斯本来不是社会主义者，但他在普尔曼罢工和随后的六个月监禁期间的经历使他相信必须采取激烈的行动。德布斯选择将他的活动限制在政治舞台上。1900年，他作为社会主义者竞选总统，并获得了大约87,000票。

次年，主要的同情者与他一起组建了社会党。在其高度，该党有超过100,000名活跃成员。德布斯再次竞选总统四次。在1912年的选举中，他获得了超过90万张选票。在第一次世界大战期间因反战活动被捕后，他从监狱中竞选总统，并对919,000票进行了调查。德布斯于1926年去世，从未赢得大选，但有超过一千名社会党成员当选为州和市政府。

#### WOBBLIES

比社会主义者更激进的是世界工业工人的成员。这个联盟认为与业主妥协是没有办法解决的。成立于



### 3 WHO SHOULD BE IN CHARGE, WORKERS OR OWNERS?

compromise with owners was no solution. Founded in 1905 and led by **William “Big Bill” Haywood**, the Wobblies as they were called, encouraged their members to fight for justice directly against their employers. Although small in number, they led hundreds of strikes across America, calling for the overthrow of the capitalist system. The IWW won few battles, but their efforts sent a strong message across America that workers were being mistreated.

When the United States entered World War I, the Wobblies launched an active antiwar movement. Many were arrested or beaten. One unlucky member in Oregon was tied to the front end of an automobile with his knees touching the ground and driven until his flesh was torn to the bone. Membership declined after the war, but for two decades the IWW was the anchor of radical American activism.

1905 年，由 William “Big Bill” Haywood 领导，他们被称为 Wobblies，鼓励他们的成员直接针对他们的雇主争取正义。尽管数量很少，但他们在美国各地引发了数百起罢工，要求推翻资本主义制度。IWW 赢得了几场战斗，但他们的努力在美国发出了一个强烈的信息，即工人们受到了虐待。

当美国进入第一次世界大战时，Wobblies 发起了一场积极的反战运动。许多人被捕或遭到殴打。俄勒冈州的一个不幸的成员被绑在汽车的前端，他的膝盖接触地面，直到他的肉被撕成骨头为止。战争结束后，会员资格有所下降，但二十年来，IWW 成为激进的美国激进主义的支柱。



Primary Source: Editorial Cartoon

A cartoon critical of the IWW and destroyers of America.

主要来源：社论卡通

一幅批评 IWW 和美国驱逐舰的漫画。

#### THEODORE ROOSEVELT

Workers rarely found a helping hand in the White House. President Hayes ordered the army to break the Great Railroad Strike of 1877. President Cleveland ordered federal troops to disrupt the Pullman Strike of 1894. Governors and mayors used the National Guard and police to confront workers on strike.

When Pennsylvania coal miners went on strike in 1902, there was no reason to believe anything had changed. But this time things were different. Teddy Roosevelt was in the White House.

John Mitchell, president of the United Mine Workers, represented the miners. He was soft-spoken, yet determined. Many compared his manner to Abraham Lincoln's. In the spring of 1902, Mitchell placed a demand on the coal operators for better wages, shorter hours, and recognition of the union. The owners, led by George Baer, flatly refused. On May 12, 1902, 140,000 miners walked off the job, and the strike was on.

Mitchell worked diligently behind the scenes to negotiate with Baer, but his efforts were rejected. According to Baer, there would be no compromise. Even luminaries such Mark Hanna and J.P. Morgan prevailed in vain on the owners to open talks. As the days passed, the workers began to feel the pinch of the strike, and violence began to erupt.

As summer melted into fall, and President Roosevelt wondered what the angry workers and a colder public would do if the strike lasted into the bitter days of winter. He decided to lend a hand in settling the strike.

No President had ever tried to negotiate a strike settlement before. Roosevelt invited Mitchell and Baer to the White House on October 3 to hammer out a compromise. Mitchell proposed to submit to an arbitration commission. In **arbitration**, all sides presented their arguments to an outside person, the arbitrator, and then agree to abide by the arbitrator's decision. Baer resented the summons by the President to meet a "common criminal" like Mitchell, and refused any sort of concession.

Roosevelt despaired that the violence would increase and spiral dangerously toward a class-based civil war. After the mine operators left Washington, he vowed to end the strike. He was impressed by Mitchell's gentlemanly demeanor and irritated by Baer's insolence. Roosevelt remarked that if he weren't president, he would have thrown Baer out of a White House window.

#### 西奥多·罗斯福

工人很少在白宫找到帮手。海耶斯总统命令军队打破 1877 年的大铁路罢工。总统克利夫兰下令联邦军队破坏 1894 年的普尔曼罢工。州长和市长使用国民警卫队和警察对抗罢工工人。

当宾夕法尼亚州的煤矿工人在 1902 年罢工时，没有理由相信任何改变。但这一次情况有所不同。泰迪罗斯福在白宫。

联合矿工总裁约翰米切尔代表矿工。他说话温和，但很有决心。许多人比较了他对亚伯拉罕林肯的态度。在 1902 年春天，米切尔向煤炭经营者提出了要求提高工资，缩短工时和承认工会的要求。由乔治贝尔领导的业主断然拒绝。1902 年 5 月 12 日，有 140,000 名矿工离开工作岗位，罢工已经开始。

米切尔在幕后努力工作，与贝尔谈判，但他的努力被拒绝了。根据贝尔的说法，不会妥协。甚至连马克·汉纳 (Mark Hanna) 和 J.P. 摩根这样的名人都对业主公开谈判徒劳无功。随着时间的流逝，工人开始感受到罢工的压力，暴力开始爆发。

随着夏天融入堕落，罗斯福总统想知道如果罢工持续到冬天的痛苦日子，愤怒的工人和冷酷的公众将会做些什么。他决定帮助解决罢工问题。

以前没有任何总统试图通过谈判达成罢工。10 月 3 日，罗斯福邀请米切尔和贝尔前往白宫，以达成妥协。米切尔建议提交仲裁委员会。在仲裁中，各方向外界人士，仲裁员提出了他们的论点，然后同意遵守仲裁员的决定。贝尔对总统的传票感到不满，以便与米切尔这样的“普通罪犯”会面，并拒绝任何形式的让步。

罗斯福绝望地认为暴力事件会增加，并且会危险地推动以阶级为基础的内战。在矿工离开华盛顿后，他发誓要结束罢工。他对米切尔的绅士风度印象深刻，并对贝尔的傲慢感到恼火。罗斯福说，如果他不是总统，他就会把贝尔赶出白宫的窗户。

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He summoned Secretary of War Elihu Root, and ordered him to prepare the army. This time, however, the army would not be used against the strikers. The coal operators were informed that if no settlement were reached, the army would seize the mines and make coal available to the public. Roosevelt did not seem to mind that he had no constitutional authority to do any such thing.

J.P. Morgan finally convinced Baer and the other owners to submit the dispute to a commission. On October 15, the strike ended. The following March, a decision was reached by the mediators. The miners were awarded a 10 percent pay increase, and their workday was reduced to eight or nine hours. In exchange, the owners were not forced to recognize the United Mine Workers.

Workers across America cheered Roosevelt for standing up to the mine operators. It surely seemed like the White House would lend a helping hand to the labor movement.

#### CONCLUSION

Owners held the upper hand that the start of the Gilded Age, but as they grew in number, workers began to form unions and fought for more control over their pay and working conditions. In the beginning, government usually supported the owners, but by the 1900s, politicians viewed themselves as arbitrators, trying to help the two sides come to agreement.

There were other options. Men like Eugene Debs wanted to eliminate owners entirely and give all the profits to the workers. These socialists never won enough support to put their ideas into practice in America, but they offered an alternative.

What do you think? Who should be in charge, workers or owners?

他召集了战争部长以利户根，命令他准备军队。然而，这一次，军队不会被用来对抗罢工者。煤炭运营商获悉，如果没有达成解决方案，军队将抓住地雷并向公众提供煤炭。罗斯福似乎并不介意他没有宪法权力去做任何这样的事情。

J.P. Morgan 最终说服 Baer 和其他所有者将争议提交给委员会。10月15日，罢工结束。接下来的三月，调解员达成了一项决定。矿工获得了10%的加薪，他们的工作日减少到八九个小时。作为交换，业主没有被迫承认联合矿工。

美国各地的工人欢呼罗斯福站在矿山经营者面前。肯定看起来白宫会帮助劳工运动。

#### 结论

业主在镀金时代的开始占据上风，但随着他们数量的增加，工人们开始组建工会并争取更多地控制他们的工资和工作条件。一开始，政府通常支持所有者，但到了20世纪初，政客们认为自己是仲裁员，试图帮助双方达成协议。

还有其他选择。像尤金·德布斯这样的人想要彻底消灭所有者并将所有利润分给工人。这些社会主义者从未获得足够的支持，无法将他们的想法付诸实践，但他们提供了另一种选择。

你怎么看？谁应该负责，工人或所有者？

#### SUMMARY

The period after the Civil War saw a growth of labor unions. The Great Upheaval of 1877 was the nation's first mass strike as workers in the railroad industry started a strike that spread and was supported by striking workers across the nation.

Labor unions used boycotts and strikes to stop work and try to force owners to meet their demands. Owners locked out workers and hired scabs to break strikes. Most strikes in the late 1800s went badly for workers. A large number of immigrants were willing to work for low wages and take the place of striking workers. Government usually supported owners and the police and army broke strikes at Carnegie's steel plant in Pittsburg and a strike at the Pullman railroad car factory in Chicago.

The first major union was the Knights of Labor. They lost support after the Haymarket Square Riot.

A new union grew as the Knights of Labor fell out of favor. The American Federation of Labor was led by Samuel Gompers and focused on basic issues like wages and working conditions instead of political reform. The AFL was a composite of many smaller craft unions, so they did not represent unskilled workers.

Eugene Debs led the American Socialist Party. This group wanted to change America's system of government. They wanted to take leadership of the nation's industries away for the rich. Although they were popular with workers, they never gained the support of more than a small percentage of all Americans.

A more extreme group were the Industrial Workers of the World. They wanted a violent revolution to take power away for the wealthy and the overthrow the government. Although Americans rejected these ideas, they eventually caught on in Russia and led to the Communist Revolution there in 1917.

内战结束后，工会逐渐增多。1877 年的大剧变是全国第一次大规模罢工，因为铁路行业的工人开始罢工，并得到全国罢工工人的支持。

工会使用抵制和罢工来停止工作，并试图强迫业主满足他们的要求。业主锁定了工人并雇用了结痂以打破罢工。19 世纪后期的大多数罢工对工人来说都很糟糕。许多移民愿意以低工资工作，取代罢工工人。政府通常支持所有者，警察和军队在卡内基的匹兹堡钢铁厂罢工，并在芝加哥的普尔曼铁路车厂罢工。

第一个主要的工会是劳工骑士团。在 Haymarket Square Riot 之后，他们失去了支持。

随着工党骑士团的失宠，一个新的工会逐渐增多。美国劳工联合会由 Samuel Gompers 领导，专注于工资和工作条件等基本问题，而不是政治改革。AFL 是许多小型工会的组合，所以他们并不代表非熟练工人。

尤金·德布斯领导美国社会党。该组织希望改变美国的政府体制。他们希望为富人带领国家的产业。虽然他们受到工人的欢迎，但他们从来没有获得超过一小部分美国人的支持。

一个更极端的群体是世界工业工人。他们想要一场暴力革命，为富人夺取权力，推翻政府。虽然美国人拒绝这些观点，但他们最终在俄罗斯流行并在 1917 年导致了共产主义革命。



## KEY CONCEPTS

**Union:** An organization of workers. They work together to negotiate for better pay, hours, working conditions, etc. Sometimes they organize strikes or other forms of protest.

**Mass Strike:** A strike in which the workers in many locations stop work at the same time. One example was the Great Upheaval in 1877 when nearly all railroad operations in America stopped.

**Boycott:** When workers convince consumers to not purchase goods from a particular business. If it succeeds, the business owners capitulate to the workers' demands because of the fear of lost revenue.

**Sabotage:** Purposeful destruction of property as a form of protest.

**Lockout:** When owners close the doors to their business and refuse to let workers in. It is a way of limiting the power of unions.

**Yellow-Dog Contract:** An agreement a worker must sign when starting a job agreeing not to join a union.

**Scab:** A replacement worker hired during a strike.

**Picket Line:** The line made up of striking workers outside a business. Workers usually carry signs, chant, and try to prevent scabs from entering to take their jobs.

**Blacklist:** A list of union leaders passed around among business owners. These men and women would not be hired because they might cause problems for the owners.

**Bread and Butter Issues:** Nickname for the basic concerns of workers such as better pay, fewer working hours, and safety. In contrast to larger concerns such as racial or gender equality.

**Socialist:** A follower of Karl Marx. They believed that workers should share the financial rewards of their labor and companies should be owned collectively.

**Arbitration:** A way of solving disputes in which both sides agree to abide by the decision of an outside, non-biased party.



## PEOPLE AND GROUPS

**National Labor Union:** Early national union formed in 1866. It failed because the organizers tried to include too many different workers who did not always agree on objectives or strategy.

**Knights of Labor:** Early successful union formed by Uriah Stephens. They admitted all wage earners including African Americans and women. They grew in popularity but weakened after the Haymarket Square incident in 1886.

**Samuel Gompers:** Founder of the American Federation of Labor

**American Federation of Labor:** Labor union founded by Samuel Gompers in 1886. It was formed by joining smaller unions of skilled workers.

**Eugene Debs:** Socialist union leader. He led the Pullman strike and ran unsuccessfully for president as a Socialist Party candidate.

**Socialist Party:** Small political party in America that was popular for a short time in the late 1800s. Eugene Debs led the party and ran for president as its candidate.

**Industrial Workers of the World:** Socialist political party led by Big Bill Haywood. Nicknamed the Wobblies, they advocated violent overthrow of the government and capitalist system.

**William "Big Bill" Haywood:** Founder and leader of the International Workers of the World.



## EVENTS

**Great Upheaval:** Mass strike in 1877 that started in West Virginia but spread as many railroad workers went on strike.

**Haymarket Square Incident:** Sometimes called a riot, it was a labor rally in Chicago in 1886 in which a bomb exploded killing a police officer and injuring many others. Labor leaders were blamed for the violence and it led to reduced public support for unions, and especially for the Knights of Labor.

**Pullman Strike:** Strike by workers at the Pullman Car Company (which built railway cars) in 1894. It turned violent and failed when the government ordered federal troops to end the strike.





# 4

## F O U R T H Q U E S T I O N HOW SHOULD GOVERNMENT BALANCE THE POWER OF THE SOCIAL CLASSES?

IS GREED  
GOOD?

### INTRODUCTION

The politics of the first few years of our nation's history were dominated by heroic presidents – Washington, Adams, Jefferson. And as the years went on, other dynamic men had a tremendous effect on America – Jackson, Polk, Lincoln.

Then, after the Civil War, power moved to the Capitol Building and Congress set the nation's agenda. As the industrial revolution transformed American cities and the lives of workers, the White House did little to guide reform or protect Americans from corruption and mistreatment.

That changed in 1901 when Theodore Roosevelt stepped into the Oval Office. He used his position to promote an active government that protected the interests of the people over big business. The Progressive movement finally had an ally in the White House. The Progressive lock on the Presidency did not end with Theodore Roosevelt. His popularity secured the election in 1908 of his handpicked successor, William Howard Taft, and in 1912, a Democrat, Woodrow Wilson was elected, but he too embraced much of the Progressive agenda.

The two halves of the Gilded Age give us window into the role government has to play in balancing the interests of workers and owners. Before Roosevelt's presidency, government pursued policies that favored business, and business boomed. Once the Progressives moved into the White House, laws were passed that protected workers, and the wild growth slowed.

What do you think? How should government balance the power of the social classes?

### 介绍

我们国家历史最初几年的政治主要是英雄总统 - 华盛顿, 亚当斯, 杰斐逊。随着岁月的流逝, 其他有活力的人对美国产生了巨大的影响 - 杰克逊, 波尔克, 林肯。

然后, 内战结束后, 权力转移到国会大厦, 国会制定了国家议程。随着工业革命改变了美国城市和工人的生活, 白宫几乎没有指导改革或保护美国人免受腐败和虐待。

1901年, 当西奥多罗斯福进入椭圆形办公室时, 情况发生了变化。他利用自己的地位来推动一个保护人民利益而不是大企业的积极政府。进步运动最终在白宫有了一个盟友。对总统职位的进步锁定并没有以西奥多·罗斯福结束。他的受欢迎程度确保了1908年他精心挑选的继任者威廉·霍华德·塔夫脱的选举, 1912年, 民主党人伍德罗·威尔逊当选, 但他也接受了进步议程的大部分内容。

镀金时代的两半让我们了解政府在平衡工人和业主利益方面所扮演的角色。在罗斯福担任总统之前, 政府奉行有利于商业的政策, 商业蓬勃发展。一旦进步人士进入白宫, 就通过了保护工人的法律, 野外增长放缓。

你怎么看? 政府应该如何平衡社会阶层的力量?

## PROGRESSIVES IN THE WHITE HOUSE

Theodore Roosevelt was born in 1858 to a wealthy New York banker and the daughter of a prosperous Georgia planter. He was anything but the model physical specimen. His eyesight was poor. He wore thick glasses his entire life. As a child he was small and weak. He suffered from acute asthma, which contributed to his frailty.

Taking his father's advice, he dedicated himself to physical fitness, without which he believed there could be no mental fitness. His hard work paid off, and as he entered Harvard with a muscular frame, his condition bothered him less and less.

He met Alice Hathaway Lee. Although he believed her to be the most unobtainable woman around, he was determined to marry her. Again, he was successful, but his life with Alice was short-lived. In 1884, four years after his graduation, Alice delivered a daughter. Owing to complications, she died in childbirth on the very same day as the death of Roosevelt's mother.

## 白宫的进步

西奥多·罗斯福于 1858 年出生于于一位富有的纽约银行家和一位繁荣的乔治亚州种植园的女儿。他不是模型物理标本。他的视力很差。他一生都戴着厚厚的眼镜。小时候，他小而弱。他患有急性哮喘，导致他的虚弱。

根据父亲的建议，他致力于身体健康，没有健身，他相信没有心理健康。他的辛勤工作得到了回报，当他以强硬的框架进入哈佛时，他的状况越来越困扰他。

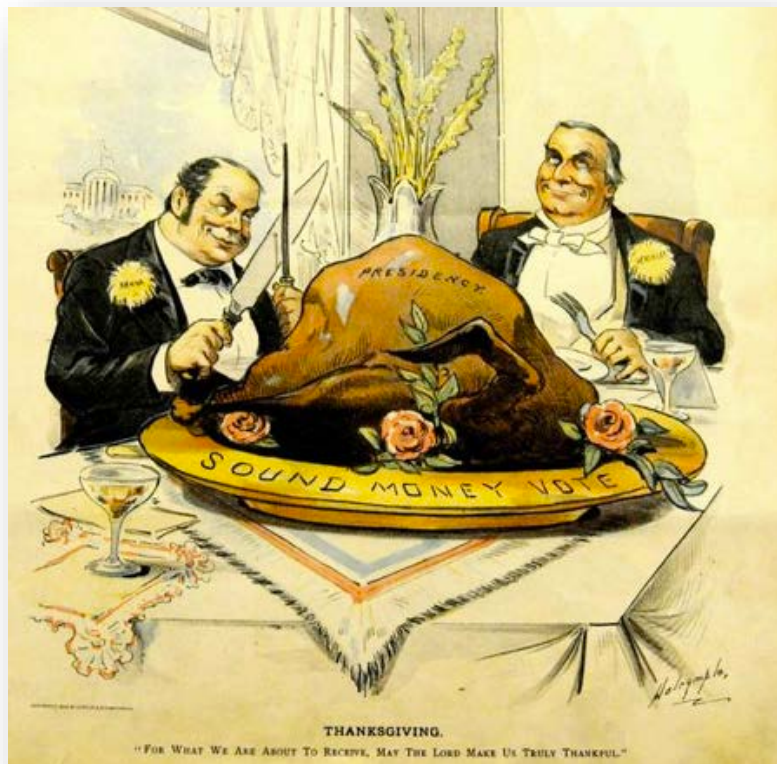
他遇到了 Alice Hathaway Lee。虽然他相信她是周围最无法获得的女人，但他决心娶她为妻。再次，他成功了，但他与爱丽丝的生活是短暂的。1884 年，毕业四年后，爱丽丝送了一个女儿。由于并发症，她在与罗斯福母亲去世的同一天死于分娩。

## Primary Source: Editorial Cartoon

In this cartoon, President McKinley (right) and his advisor Mark Hanna are seen carving up the benefits of power. It depicts Hanna as equal in power to the president.

## 主要来源：社论卡通

在这部动画片中，麦金莱总统（右）和他的顾问马克汉纳被认为正在彰显权力的好处。它描绘了汉娜与总统的权力平等。



Devastated, he withdrew to North Dakota Territory, but could not live without the New York pace for long. Returning to New York in 1886, Roosevelt remarried and dedicated his life to public service.

Theodore Roosevelt was never supposed to be President. Many in the Republican Party leadership saw him as a reckless cowboy, especially Senator **Mark Hanna**, President McKinley's campaign manager. As his popularity soared, he became more and more of a threat. His success with the Rough Riders in Cuba made him a war hero in the eyes of many Americans. Riding this wave, he was elected governor of New York.

During the campaign of 1900, Hanna decided that nominating Roosevelt for the Vice-Presidency would serve two purposes. First, his popularity would surely help President McKinley's reelection bid. Second, moving him to the Vice-Presidency might decrease his power, since the Constitution gives very little authority to the vice-president.

他被摧毁了，他退出了北达科他州领土，但是没有纽约的步伐，他们就无法生存。罗斯福于 1886 年回到纽约，改嫁并献身于公共服务。

西奥多罗斯福从未被视为总统。共和党领导层中的许多人认为他是一个鲁莽的牛仔，特别是参议员马克汉纳，麦金莱总统的竞选经理。随着他的人气飙升，他变得越来越威胁。他在古巴的粗鲁骑士的成功使他成为许多美国人眼中的战争英雄。在这次浪潮中，他被选为纽约州州长。

在 1900 年的竞选期间，汉纳决定提名罗斯福担任副总统职位将有两个目的。首先，他的受欢迎程度肯定会帮助麦金莱总统再次竞选。其次，将他移到副总统职位可能会降低他的权力，因为宪法赋予副总统很少的权力。



**Primary Source: Photograph**

Teddy Roosevelt during his time as governor of New York. This well-known photograph captures Roosevelt's zeal and charismatic personality.

**主要来源：照片**

泰迪罗斯福在他担任纽约州长期间。这张著名的照片捕捉了罗斯福的热情和魅力。

Vice-Presidents had gone on to the White House only if the sitting President died in office. The last Vice-President elected in his own right had been Martin Van Buren in 1837. Many conservative Republicans believed Roosevelt could do less harm as vice-president than as governor of New York.

McKinley and Roosevelt won the election, and all was proceeding according to plan until an assassin's bullet ended McKinley's life in September 1901.

There had never been a President like him. At only 42-years-old, Roosevelt was the youngest president ever. His energy was contagious, and the whole country was electrified by their new leader.

Soon it was clear that a new type of President was in town. Since Lincoln's death in 1865, Congress seemed to be running the government, and big business seemed to be running Congress. Philosophically, Roosevelt was outraged by these realities. Although he himself hailed from the wealthy classes, he strongly believed that no individual, no matter how rich and powerful, should control the people's representatives.

Furthermore, Roosevelt was convinced that if abuse of workers continued to go unchecked, a violent revolution would sweep the nation. An outspoken foe of socialism, Roosevelt believed that capitalism would be preserved with a little restraint and common sense. Within months he began to wield his newfound power.

Roosevelt changed the office in other important ways. He never went anywhere without his photographer. He wanted Americans to see a rough and tumble leader who was unafraid to get his hands dirty. He became the first President to travel out of the country while in office and the first to win the Nobel Prize.

Unlike his quieter predecessors, Roosevelt knew that if the Washington politicians resisted change, he would have to take his case to the people directly. He traveled often and spoke with confidence and enthusiasm. Americans received him warmly.

The country was thirsting for leadership and Roosevelt became a political and popular hero. Merchandise was sold in his likeness, paintings and lithographs created in his honor, and even a film was produced portraying him as a fairy-tale hero. The White House was finally back in business.

只有当现任总统在任期间去世时，副总统才进入白宫。1837年，马丁·范布伦（Martin Van Buren）自己选出的最后一位副总统就是马丁·范布伦（Martin Van Buren）。许多保守的共和党人认为，作为副总统，罗斯福可以减少对纽约总督的伤害。

麦金莱和罗斯福在选举中获胜，所有人都按照计划进行，直到1901年刺客的子弹结束了麦金莱的生命。

从来没有像他这样的总统。罗斯福年仅42岁，是有史以来最年轻的总统。他的能量具有传染性，整个国家都被他们的新领导人电气化。

很快很明显，一位新型总统在镇上。自林肯于1865年去世以来，国会似乎正在管理政府，而大企业似乎正在运行国会。哲学上，罗斯福对这些现实感到愤怒。尽管他本人也是从富裕的阶层中受到欢迎，但他坚信，任何个人，无论多么富有和强大，都不应该控制人民的代表。

此外，罗斯福深信，如果滥用工人继续不加制止，一场暴力革命将席卷整个国家。作为一个直言不讳的社会主义敌人，罗斯福相信资本主义会得到一点克制和常识。几个月后，他开始使用他新发现的力量。

罗斯福以其他重要方式改变了办公室。没有摄影师，他从未去过任何地方。他希望美国人能够看到一个粗暴无助的领导者，他无所畏惧。他成为第一位在国外旅行的总统，也是第一位获得诺贝尔奖的总统。

与他更安静的前辈不同，罗斯福知道，如果华盛顿政客抵制变革，他将不得不直接向人民提起诉讼。他经常旅行，充满自信和热情。美国人热情地接待了他。

这个国家渴望领导，罗斯福成为政治和流行的英雄。商品以他的形象出售，以他的名义创作的绘画和石版画，甚至还制作了一部电影，描绘了他作为童话故事英雄。白宫终于重新开始营业。



## THE TRUST BUSTER

Teddy Roosevelt was one American who believed a revolution was coming. He believed Wall Street fanciers and powerful trust titans to be acting foolishly. While they were eating off fancy china on mahogany tables in marble dining rooms, the masses were roughing it. There seemed to be no limit to greed. If docking wages would increase profits, it was done. If higher railroad rates put more gold in their coffers, it was done. How much was enough, Roosevelt wondered?

Although he himself was a man of means, he criticized the wealthy class of Americans on two counts. First, continued exploitation of the public could result in a violent uprising that could destroy the whole system. Second, the captains of industry were arrogant enough to believe themselves superior to the elected government. Now that he was President, Roosevelt went on the attack.



The President's weapon was the **Sherman Anti-Trust Act**, passed by Congress in 1890. This law declared illegal all combinations "in

## 信托巴士

泰迪罗斯福是一位相信革命即将来临的美国人。他认为华尔街的鸽友和强大的信托巨头都表现得很愚蠢。当他们在大理石餐厅的桃花心木桌子上吃着花哨的瓷器时，群众正在粗暴地吃它。贪婪似乎没有限制。如果对接工会增加利润，那就完成了。如果更高的铁路费率为他们的金库增加了更多的黄金，那就完成了。罗斯福想知道多少钱够了？

虽然他本人是一个有钱人，但他批评了富裕阶层的两类美国人。首先，继续剥削公众可能导致暴力起义，可能破坏整个系统。其次，工业界的队长傲慢到足以相信自己优于民选政府。现在他是总统，罗斯福继续进攻。

## Primary Source: Editorial Cartoon

President Roosevelt is seen here controlling the trusts, deciding between good trusts and bad. The use of bears is significant. A widely circulated story about Roosevelt is that he was on a hunting trip. When he was given the opportunity to shoot a captive bear he refused. Since that time, stuffed toy bears are known as Teddy Bears.

## 主要来源：社论卡通

罗斯福总统在这里看到控制信托，决定好信任和坏信任。熊的使用是重要的。关于罗斯福的一则广为流传的故事是他正在狩猎之旅。当他有机会射杀一只俘虏的熊时，他拒绝了。从那时起，毛绒玩具熊被称为泰迪熊。

总统的武器是 1890 年国会通过的“谢尔曼反托拉斯法”。这项法律宣布非法组织“限制贸易”。在其存在

restraint of trade.” For the first twelve years of its existence, the Sherman Act was a paper tiger. United States courts routinely sided with business when any enforcement of the Act was attempted.

For example, the American Sugar Refining Company controlled 98% of the sugar industry. Despite this virtual monopoly, the Supreme Court refused to dissolve the corporation in an 1895 ruling. The only time an organization was deemed in restraint of trade was when the court ruled against a labor union.

Roosevelt knew that no new legislation was necessary. When he sensed that he had a sympathetic Court, he sprang into action. The first trust giant to fall victim to Roosevelt’s assault was none other than the most powerful industrialist in the country, J. Pierpont Morgan.

Morgan controlled a railroad company known as Northern Securities. In combination with railroad moguls James J. Hill and E. H. Harriman, Morgan controlled the bulk of railroad shipping across the northern United States.

Morgan was enjoying a peaceful dinner at his New York home on February 19, 1902, when his telephone rang. He was furious to learn that Roosevelt’s Attorney General was bringing suit against the Northern Securities Company. Stunned, he muttered to his equally shocked dinner guests about how rude it was to file such a suit without warning.

Four days later, Morgan was at the White House with the President. Morgan bellowed that he was being treated like a common criminal. The President informed Morgan that no compromise could be reached, and the matter would be settled by the courts. Morgan inquired if his other interests were at risk, too. Roosevelt told him only the ones that had done anything wrong would be prosecuted.

This was the core of Theodore Roosevelt’s leadership. He boiled everything down to a case of right versus wrong and good versus bad. If a trust controlled an entire industry but provided good service at reasonable rates, it was a “good” trust to be left alone. Only the “bad” trusts that jacked up rates and exploited consumers would come under attack. Who would decide the difference between right and wrong? The occupant of the White House trusted only himself to make this decision in the interests of the people.

The American public cheered Roosevelt’s new offensive. The Supreme Court, in a narrow 5 to 4 decision, agreed and dissolved the Northern Securities Company. Roosevelt said confidently that no man, no matter how powerful, was above the law. As he landed

的头 12 年里，谢尔曼法案是一只纸老虎。当试图执行该法案时，美国法院通常会支持商业。

例如，美国糖业公司控制了 98% 的制糖业。尽管存在这种虚拟垄断，但最高法院拒绝在 1895 年的裁决中解散该公司。一个组织被视为限制贸易的唯一时间是法院对工会的裁决。

罗斯福知道不需要新的立法。当他感觉到他有一个富有同情心的法庭时，他就开始行动了。第一个成为罗斯福袭击受害者的信托巨头正是该国最强大的实业家 J. Pierpont Morgan。

摩根控制了一家名为 Northern Securities 的铁路公司。与铁路大亨 James J. Hill 和 E. H. Harriman 合作，摩根控制了美国北部的大部分铁路运输。

1902 年 2 月 19 日，当他的电话响起时，摩根正在纽约的家中享受一顿宁静的晚餐。他非常愤怒地得知罗斯福总检察长正在向北方证券公司提起诉讼。他惊呆了，他对他同样震惊的晚宴客人嘀咕道，在没有任何警告的情况下提出这样的诉讼是多么的粗鲁。

四天后，摩根与总统在白宫。摩根咆哮道，他被告作普通罪犯对待。总统告知摩根，无法达成妥协，此事将由法院解决。摩根询问他的其他利益是否存在风险。罗斯福告诉他，只有那些做错事的人才不会被起诉。

这是西奥多·罗斯福领导的核心。他将一切都归结为一个正确与错误，好与坏的案例。如果一个信托控制着整个行业，但以合理的价格提供了良好的服务，那么单独留下一个“好”的信任。只有那些抬高利率和剥削消费者的“坏”信托才会受到攻击。谁来决定是非之间的区别？白宫的占有者只相信自己为了人民的利益做出这个决定。

美国公众欢呼罗斯福的新攻势。最高法院以 5 比 4 的狭窄决定同意并解散了北方证券公司。罗斯福自信地说，没有人，无论多么强大，都凌驾于法律之上。随着他对其他“坏”信托的打击，他的声望越来越高。他获得了绰号“信托巴斯特”。

blows on other “bad” trusts, his popularity grew and grew. He gained the nickname, the “Trust Buster.”

### PASSING THE TORCH

1908 was not a good year for Teddy Roosevelt. The nation was recovering from a financial panic that had rocked Wall Street the previous year. Many leading industrialists unjustly blamed the crisis on the President. The Congress that he had finessed in his early term was now dominated by conservative Republicans who took joy at blocking the President’s initiatives. Now his time in the White House was coming to a close.

He had promised not to seek a third term when he was elected in 1904. No prior President had ever broken the two-term tradition. Roosevelt would keep his word.

He decided that if he could no longer serve as President, the next best option was to name a successor that would carry out his programs. He found the perfect candidate in **William Howard Taft**.

Taft and Roosevelt were best friends. When Roosevelt was sworn in as chief executive, Taft was serving as governor of the Philippines. Roosevelt offered his friend a seat on the Supreme Court, but his work in the Philippines and the ambitions of Mrs. Taft propelled him to decline. In 1904, he became Secretary of War and his friendship with Roosevelt grew stronger.

By 1908, Roosevelt was convinced that Taft would be the ideal successor. His support steamrolled Taft to the Republican nomination, and the fall election against William Jennings Bryan proved to be a landslide victory.

Upon leaving the White House, Roosevelt embarked on a worldwide tour, including an African safari and a sojourn through Europe. Taft was left to make his own mark on America.

But he lacked the political skill of his predecessor to keep both the progressive and conservative wings of his party happy. He ended up alienating both sides.

The defining moment came with the Payne-Aldrich Tariff. Progressives hated the measure, which raised rates, and conservatives lauded it. Taft signed the bill, and his progressive supporters were furious.

### 通过火炬

1908 年对于泰迪罗斯福来说并不是一个好年头。这个国家正在从前一年震撼华尔街的金融恐慌中恢复过来。许多主要的工业家不公正地将危机归咎于总统。他早年就已经成功的国会现在由保守的共和党人主导，他们对阻止总统的倡议感到高兴。现在他在白宫的时间即将结束。

他承诺在 1904 年当选时不会寻求第三个任期。以前的总统都没有打破过两个任期的传统。罗斯福会信守诺言。

他决定，如果他再也不能担任总统，那么下一个最好的选择是命名一个能够执行他的计划的继任者。他找到了 William Howard Taft 的完美候选人。

塔夫脱和罗斯福是最好的朋友。当罗斯福宣誓就任首席执行官时，塔夫脱担任菲律宾总督。罗斯福向他的朋友提供了最高法院的席位，但他在菲律宾的工作和塔夫脱夫人的野心促使他拒绝。1904 年，他成为战争部长，他与罗斯福的友谊越来越强大。

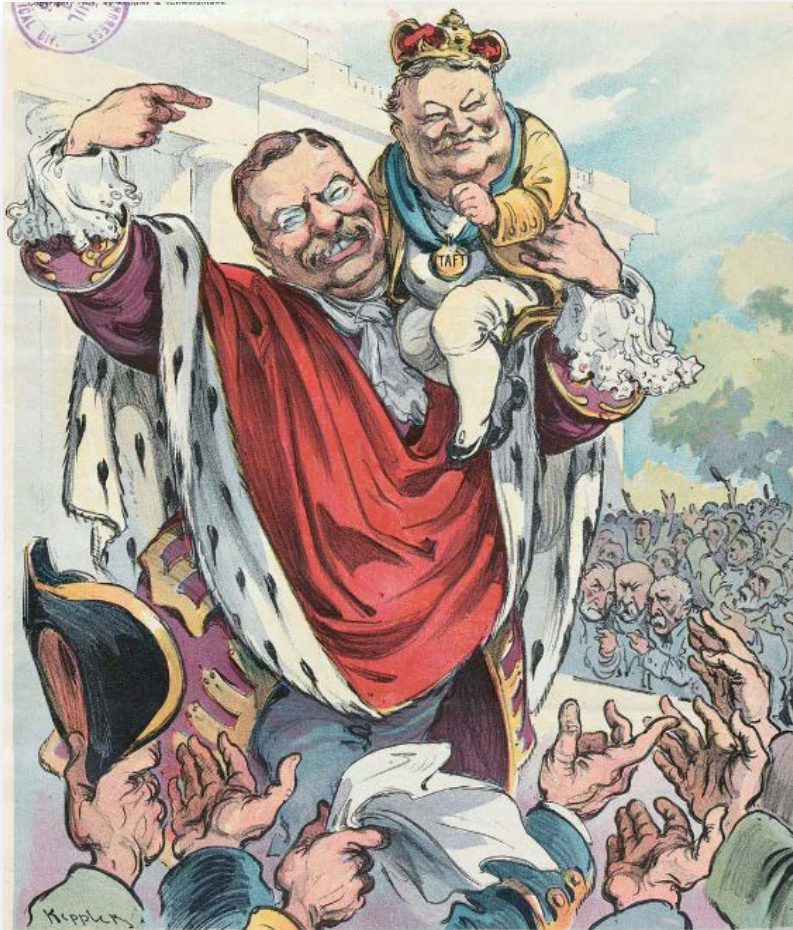
到 1908 年，罗斯福确信塔夫脱是理想的接班人。他的支持使塔夫脱获得了共和党的提名，而威廉詹宁斯布莱恩的秋季选举被证明是一场压倒性的胜利。

离开白宫后，罗斯福开始了全球巡演，包括非洲野生动物园和欧洲逗留。塔夫脱在美国留下了自己的印记。

但他缺乏前任的政治技巧，以保持党内的进步和保守的双翼幸福。他最终疏远了双方。

Payne-Aldrich 关税的决定性时刻来临。进步人士讨厌提高利率的措施，保守派称赞它。塔夫脱签署了这项法案，他的进步支持者也非常愤怒。



**Primary Source: Editorial Cartoon**

In this cartoon, President Roosevelt is holding his successor, William Howard Taft. Roosevelt's support for his friend helped secure his nomination from the Republican Party and his success in the general election.

**主要来源：社论卡通**

在这部动画片中，罗斯福总统正在接替他的继任者威廉霍华德塔夫脱。罗斯福对他的朋友的支持帮助他获得了共和党的提名和他在大选中的成功。

The rupture widened with the Ballinger-Pinchot controversy. Richard Ballinger was Taft's Secretary of the Interior. His appointment shocked Gifford Pinchot, the nation's chief forester and longtime companion of Theodore Roosevelt. Pinchot rightly saw that Ballinger was no friend to Roosevelt's conservation initiatives. When Pinchot publicly criticized Ballinger, Taft fired Pinchot, and progressives were again outraged. The two wings of the party were now firmly on a collision course.

Despite criticism from progressive Republicans, Taft did support many of their goals. He broke twice as many trusts in his one term as Roosevelt had broken in his two. Taft limited the workday of federal employees to 8 hours and supported the 16th Amendment to the Constitution, which empowered the Congress to levy a federal income tax. He created a Children's Bureau and supported the 17th Amendment, which allowed for senators to be directly elected by the people instead of the state legislatures.

随着 Ballinger-Pinchot 的争议，破裂扩大了。理查德·巴林杰是塔夫脱的内政部长。他的任命震惊了吉福德·平肖 (Gifford Pinchot)，他是全国的首席林务员，也是西奥多·罗斯福的长期伴侣。Pinchot 正确地看到 Ballinger 不是 Roosevelt 保护计划的朋友。当 Pinchot 公开批评 Ballinger 时，Taft 解雇了 Pinchot，进步人士再次愤怒。党的两翼现在坚定地处于碰撞过程中。

尽管进步的共和党人批评，塔夫脱确实支持他们的许多目标。罗斯福在他的两个任期内，他的信任次数是他信任的两倍。塔夫脱将联邦雇员的工作日限制在 8 小时，并支持宪法第 16 修正案，该修正案赋予国会征收联邦所得税的权力。他创建了儿童局并支持第 17 修正案，该修正案允许参议员由人民而不是州立法机构直接选举产生。

Still, when Roosevelt returned to America, progressives pressed him to challenge Taft for the party leadership. As 1912 approached, the fight was on.

### THE ELECTION OF 1912

Politics can sometimes turn the best of friends into the worst of enemies. Such was the fate for the relationship between Theodore Roosevelt and William Howard Taft.

Roosevelt's decision to challenge Taft for the Republican nomination in 1912 was most difficult. Historians disagree on his motives. Defenders of Roosevelt insist that Taft betrayed the progressive platform. When Roosevelt returned to the United States, he was pressured by thousands of progressives to lead them once more. Roosevelt believed that he could do a better job uniting the party than Taft. He felt a duty to the American people to run.

When progressive members of the Republican Party accused the conservatives at the party convention in Chicago of tampering with the vote, they convened in Chicago's Orchestra Hall, and formed the National Progressive Party. Later that summer, they nominated Roosevelt. Questioned by reporters, Roosevelt said he felt as strong as a "bull moose," giving the party the nickname the, **Bull Moose Party**.



Critics of Roosevelt are not quite so kind. Roosevelt had a huge ego, and his lust for power could not keep him on the sidelines. He stabbed his friend in the back and overlooked the positive sides of

然而，当罗斯福回到美国时，进步人士迫使他向塔夫脱挑战党的领导。随着 1912 年的临近，战斗开始了。

### 1912 年的选举

政治有时可以把最好的朋友变成最坏的敌人。这就是西奥多·罗斯福和威廉·霍华德·塔夫脱之间关系的命运。

罗斯福在 1912 年挑战塔夫脱共和党提名的决定是最困难的。历史学家不同意他的动机。罗斯福的捍卫者坚持认为塔夫脱背叛了进步的平台。当罗斯福回到美国时，他受到了数千名进步人士的压力，再次领导他们。罗斯福相信他能比塔夫脱更好地团结党。他觉得美国人民有责任参选。

当共和党的进步成员指责保守派在芝加哥的党代表大会上篡改投票时，他们在芝加哥的管弦乐团大厅召集，并组建了国家进步党。那个夏天晚些时候，他们提名了罗斯福。在接受记者询问后，罗斯福表示，他感觉自己像“公牛驼鹿”一样强壮，给这个党起了绰号“公牛驼鹿党”。

#### Primary Source: Editorial Cartoon

In this cartoon, President Taft is shown struggling to control the many problems that plagued his presidency. Meanwhile, a critical former president Roosevelt looks in disapprovingly, foreshadowing the contentious 1912 election.

#### 主要来源：社论卡通

在这部动画片中，塔夫脱总统表现出努力控制困扰他总统职位的许多问题。与此同时，一位关键的前总统罗斯福不以为然地看着，预示着有争议的 1912 年大选。

罗斯福的批评者并不那么善良。罗斯福有一个巨大的自我，他对权力的欲望无法使他保持观望。他在背后捅了他的朋友，忽略了塔夫脱总统的积极方



Taft's Presidency. Whatever the motive, the **election of 1912** would begin with two prominent Republican candidates.

The two former friends hurled insults at each other as the summer of 1912 drew near. Taft had the party leadership behind him, but Roosevelt had the people. Roosevelt spoke of a New Nationalism, a broad plan of social reform for America.

Rather than destroying every trust, Roosevelt supported the creation of a Federal Trade Commission to keep a watchful eye on unfair business practices. He proposed a minimum wage, a workers' compensation act, and a child labor law. He proposed a government pension for retirees and funds to assist Americans with health care costs. He supported the women's suffrage amendment. The time of laissez faire was over. The government must intervene to help its people Roosevelt and his progressive followers argued. Taft and his supporters disagreed, and the battle was left for the voters to decide.

#### WOODROW WILSON'S NEW FREEDOM

Progressives did not come only in the Republican flavor. Thomas **Woodrow Wilson** also saw the need for change. Born in Staunton, Virginia, Wilson served as president of Princeton University and governor of New Jersey. He combined a southern background with northern sensibilities.

His 1912 platform for change was called the **New Freedom**. Wilson was an admirer of Thomas Jefferson. The agrarian utopia of small, educated farmers envisioned by Jefferson struck a chord with Wilson. Of course, the advent of industry could not be denied, but a nation of small farmers and small businesspeople seemed entirely possible. The New Freedom sought to achieve this vision by attacking what Wilson called the triple wall of privilege: the tariff, the banks, and the trusts.

Tariffs protected the large industrialists at the expense of small farmers. Wilson signed the Underwood-Simmons Act into law in 1913, which reduced tariff rates. The banking system also pinched small farmers and entrepreneurs. The gold standard still made currency too tight, and loans were too expensive for the average American. Wilson signed the **Federal Reserve Act**, which made the nation's currency more flexible.

Unlike Roosevelt, Wilson did not distinguish between "good" trusts and "bad" trusts. Any trust by virtue of its large size was bad in Wilson's eyes. The **Clayton Antitrust Act** of 1914 clarified the Sherman Act by specifically naming certain business tactics illegal. This same act also exempted labor unions from antitrust suits, and

面。无论动机如何，1912 年的选举将从两位著名的共和党候选人开始。

随着 1912 年夏天临近，两位前朋友互相辱骂。塔夫脱在他身后有党的领导，但罗斯福有人民。罗斯福谈到了新民族主义，这是美国社会改革的一个广泛计划。

罗斯福并没有摧毁每一个信任，而是支持成立联邦贸易委员会，以密切关注不公平的商业行为。他提出了最低工资，工人赔偿法和童工法。他提出退休人员 and 基金的政府养老金，以帮助美国人获得医疗保健费用。他支持妇女的选举权修正案。自由放任的时代结束了。政府必须进行干预，以帮助罗斯福及其进步的追随者所争辩的人民。塔夫脱和他的支持者不同意，争斗留给选民决定。

#### WOODROW WILSON 的新自由

进步人士并非只有共和党的风格。Thomas Woodrow Wilson 也看到了改变的必要性。威尔逊出生于弗吉尼亚州斯汤顿，曾任普林斯顿大学校长和新泽西州州长。他将南方的背景与北方的情感结合起来。

他 1912 年的变革平台被称为新自由。威尔逊是托马斯杰斐逊的崇拜者。杰斐逊设想的受过良好教育的小农的农业乌托邦与威尔逊达成了共鸣。当然，工业的出现是不可否认的，但一个小农和小商人的国家似乎完全有可能。新自由试图通过攻击威尔逊所谓的三重特权墙来实现这一愿景：关税，银行和信托。

关税以牺牲小农为代价来保护大型工业家。威尔逊于 1913 年将 Underwood-Simmons 法案签署为法律，降低了关税税率。银行系统也挤压了小农和企业家。黄金标准仍然使货币过于紧张，而且普通美国人的贷款过于昂贵。威尔逊签署了“联邦储备法”，使该国的货币更加灵活。

与罗斯福不同，威尔逊没有区分“好”信任和“坏”信任。凭借其庞大的规模而获得的信任在威尔逊的眼中是不好的。1914 年的克莱顿反托拉斯法案明确规定某些商业策略是非法的，从而澄清了“谢尔曼法案”。同样的行为也使工会免受反托拉斯诉讼，

declared strikes, boycotts, and peaceful picketing legal. No longer could business owners use antitrust legislation against their workers.

In two years, he successfully attacked each wall of privilege. Now his eyes turned to greater concerns, particularly the outbreak of the First World War in Europe.



### APPEASING THE BULL MOOSE

When Wilson's first term expired, he felt he had to do more. The nation was on the brink of entering the First World War, bloodiest conflict in human history, and Wilson had definite ideas about how the postwar peace should look. But he would have to survive reelection first.

As an appeal to the Roosevelt progressives, he began to sign many legislative measures suggested by the Bull Moose campaign. He approved of the creation of a **Federal Trade Commission** to act as a watchdog over business. A child labor bill and a workers' compensation act became law. Wilson agreed to limit the workday of

并宣布罢工，抵制和平纠察合法。企业主不再能够对其工人使用反垄断立法。

两年后，他成功攻击了每一道特权。现在他的眼睛转向更大的担忧，特别是欧洲第一次世界大战的爆发。

#### Primary Source: Photograph

Woodrow Wilson during the 1912 election campaign. His academic appearance matched his idealistic personality.

#### 主要来源：照片

伍德罗威尔逊在 1912 年竞选期间。他的学术外表与他理想主义的个性相符。

### 发表了 BULL MOOSE

当威尔逊的第一个任期到期时，他觉得他必须做更多。这个国家正处于进入第一次世界大战的边缘，是人类历史上最血腥的冲突，威尔逊对战后的和平应该如何看待有明确的想法。但他必须首先在连任中度过难关。

作为对罗斯福进步人士的呼吁，他开始签署了公牛麋运动所提出的许多立法措施。他批准成立联邦贸易委员会，作为商业监督机构。童工法案和工人赔偿法案成为法律。威尔逊同意将州际铁路工人的工

interstate railroad workers to 8 hours. He signed a Federal Farm Loan Act to ease the pains of life on the farm.

Progressive Republicans in the Congress were pleased by Wilson's conversion to their brand of progressivism, and the American people showed their approval by electing him to a second term.

### CONCLUSION

So, clearly government has tremendous power to tip the scale of power between the wealthy and the workers. In the 1800s, government usually intervened on behalf of business owners, but in the 1900s, progressive presidents worked more aggressively to champion the concerns of workers.

Some would argue that America's political leaders did not go far enough, that they should have done more to distribute power and wealth among the people who labored every day to create that wealth. Moreover, this did not end after the Gilded Age. Throughout the Great Depression of the 1930s, and even within today's Occupy Wall Street movement, there are those who feel government has not done enough to redistribute wealth.

What do you think? How should government balance the power of the social classes?

作日限制在 8 小时。他签署了联邦农业贷款法案，以减轻农场生活的痛苦。

国会中的进步共和党人对威尔逊皈依他们的进步主义品牌感到高兴，美国人民通过选举他到第二任期表明了他们的认可。

### 结论

因此，显然政府有巨大的力量来提高富人和工人之间的权力范围。在 19 世纪，政府通常代表企业主进行干预，但在 20 世纪初，进步的总统更积极地进行工作以支持工人的关注。

有人会争辩说，美国的政治领导人还远远不够，他们应该做更多的工作，在每天努力创造财富的人们之间分配权力和财富。此外，在镀金时代之后，这并没有结束。在整个 20 世纪 30 年代的大萧条期间，甚至在今天的占领华尔街运动中，有些人认为政府在重新分配财富方面做得还不够。

你怎么看？政府应该如何平衡社会阶层的力量？

### SUMMARY

Theodore Roosevelt took an interesting road to the White House. He was born rich, became a national hero in the Spanish-American War, was briefly a cowboy, became Governor of New York, and eventually vice president. Republican leaders who didn't like Roosevelt chose him to be vice president on purpose, because they believed he would be sidelined and would have no influence. They didn't expect McKinley to be assassinated.

As president, Theodore Roosevelt wanted to balance the needs of workers and owners. When trusts were beneficial to the growth of the nation, he ignored them. When he thought business leaders were hurting people and the nation, he took them to court to break up their monopolies.

Roosevelt grew tired of the job and helped William Howard Taft win as his successor. Taft continued Roosevelt's trustbusting ways. In 1912, Roosevelt came back, this time with his own Bull Moose Party to try to win back his old job. Republicans were split between Taft and Roosevelt, giving the electoral win to Woodrow Wilson, a democrat.

Wilson was also a progressive, and used government's power to promote reform. During his time in office he created the Federal Reserve to stabilize the nation's banking system and the Federal Trade Commission to oversee business practices.

西奥多·罗斯福 (Theodore Roosevelt) 走上了一条通往白宫的有趣道路。他出身富裕，成为西班牙 - 美国战争中的民族英雄，曾短暂成为牛仔，成为纽约州长，并最终成为副总统。不喜欢罗斯福的共和党领导人故意选择他担任副总统，因为他们认为他会被边缘化并且没有影响力。他们没想到麦金莱会被暗杀。

作为总统，西奥多·罗斯福希望平衡工人和业主的需求。当信托有利于国家的发展时，他忽略了它们。当他认为商界领袖伤害了人民和国家时，他把他们告上法庭以打破他们的垄断。

罗斯福对这份工作感到厌倦，并帮助威廉·霍华德塔夫脱赢得了他的继任者。塔夫脱继续罗斯福的信任方式。1912年，罗斯福回来了，这次是他自己的公牛麋鹿党试图赢回他的旧工作。共和党人在塔夫脱和罗斯福之间分道扬，将选举权交给民主党人伍德罗威尔逊。

威尔逊也是一个进步的，并利用政府推动改革的力量。在他任职期间，他创建了美联储，以稳定国家的银行系统和联邦贸易委员会，以监督商业行为。



### KEY CONCEPTS

**Trust Buster:** Nickname for President Theodore Roosevelt, referring to the numerous lawsuits he filed against monopolies using the Sherman Anti-Trust Act.

**New Freedom:** President Wilson's campaign promise. He wanted to reduce tariffs and limit the power of banks and trusts.



### LAWS

**Sherman Anti-Trust Act:** 1890 law banning business combinations "in restraint of trade." Often used against unions, Theodore Roosevelt used it to take monopolies to court, giving him the nickname "Trustbuster."

**Clayton Antitrust Act:** 1914 law that clarified the Sherman Ant-Trust Act. It was used by President Wilson to continue antitrust court battles.



### PEOPLE AND GROUPS

**Mark Hanna:** President McKinley's campaign manager who disliked Theodore Roosevelt and arranged for his selection as McKinley running mate.

**William Howard Taft:** Republican president who succeeded Roosevelt. He had previously served as Governor of the Philippines. His presidency did not go well and he lost his bid for reelection after Roosevelt ran as an independent. He later served as Chief Justice of the Supreme Court.

**Bull Moose Party:** Nickname for the independent party that nominated former president Roosevelt in 1912 after he lost his bid for the Republican nomination.

**Woodrow Wilson:** Democratic president from New Jersey. He was president of Princeton University and governor of New Jersey. He defeated Roosevelt and Taft to win the presidency in 1912 and was president during World War One.



### EVENTS

**Election of 1912:** Presidential election in which Republican president Taft lost his bid for reelection when Roosevelt ran as an independent. Due to the split in the Republican Party, Democrat Woodrow Wilson won the presidency.



### GOVERNMENT AGENCIES

**Federal Reserve:** Government organization charged with maintaining a steady overall economy. They control the amount of money printed and in circulation. They also control the interest rates banks pay to borrow money.

**Federal Trade Commission:** Government organization charged with monitoring business activities, especially to limit the creation of monopolies.



## Q u e s t i o n N i n e

# IS GREED GOOD?

The Gilded Age was a time of economic growth, innovation and laid the groundwork for the look and feel of modern industrial America.

The captains of industry who made this possible, where the same robber barons who used their power and influence to enrich themselves at the expense of everyone else.

Greed, the desire for money, drove both the great industrialists and the poor alike. Immigrants, entrepreneurs and millions of everyday Americans hoped that through hard work and a bit of luck, they too might get ahead in the world. And, when things did not work out, of the masses of workers felt that they were being treated unjustly by industrialists who they felt were too greedy, they formed unions, and took action to make change.

It is time for you to decide what you think. Is greed good?

镀金时代是经济增长和创新的时期，为现代工业美国的外观和感觉奠定了基础。

工业的上尉使这成为可能，同样的强盗贵族利用他们的权力和影响力以牺牲其他人为代价来丰富自己。

贪婪，对金钱的渴望，驱使了伟大的工业家和穷人。移民，企业家和数百万日常美国人希望通过努力工作和一点运气，他们也可以在世界上取得领先。而且，当事情没有成功时，大多数工人认为他们被他们认为过于贪婪的工业家不公正地对待他们，他们组成了工会，并采取行动进行改变。

是时候决定你的想法了。贪婪好吗？



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