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## THE GILDED AGE IN PENNSYLVANIA

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AS DR. KLEIN has told you, it is the custom of this Association once every three years to offer up a sacrificial lamb in the person of its president, whose age now approaching sixty and whose thinning locks may seem to accent the incongruity of his being supposed to possess lamb-like qualities. By the terms of our unwritten constitution, the president is called upon sometime during his three-year term of office to present his views to this organization about some topic related to the history of the Commonwealth, and in token of this fact I have elected to speak to you tonight on the subject of "The Gilded Age in Pennsylvania."

In view of my interest in the Civil War, I was disposed at one point to prepare an address on "Pennsylvania during the American Civil War"; but after four years of the Civil War Centennial with its prospect that the celebration of gory events would cause the Civil War to break out all over again, I thought you might have become a little weary of hearing about Abraham Lincoln and Robert E. Lee and that you might prefer a different cast of characters. I then considered choosing as my theme the need for more research and writing in the field of Pennsylvania history since 1865, until it was brought to my attention that the presiding officer who has just introduced me had beaten me to the draw by his very penetrating and thought-provoking remarks on this subject in his presidential address of 1957 in Philadelphia. As I re-read his address in a back issue of our magazine some time ago, I came across two statements which put me on the track of what I am going to speak about tonight. He said—and I quote—"Pennsylvania historians know almost nothing about their state since the end of the Civil War, and do not seem to be doing very much about it." He added: "I think our task is . . . [to] write increas-

\*This was Dr. Andrews's presidential address delivered at the dinner session of the annual meeting of the Pennsylvania Historical Association at Lebanon, October 21, 1966. Dr. Andrews is professor of history at Chatham College and the author of *The Pittsburgh Post-Gazette* and *The North Reports the Civil War*.

ingly of the years since 1865 in order to learn what we do not now know: the aspect and shape of the Pennsylvania tradition of today.”<sup>1</sup> And so, taking into account the disproportionate amount of attention that has been given by Pennsylvania historians to the colonial and early national period of our state history, I have decided to take Phil Klein’s advice and do a little digging in the rich vein of the Pennsylvania heritage that has been laid down during the past hundred years.

As a history teacher during the last thirty-five years, I have sometimes been called upon to explain to college students why history is a required course in the college curriculum. This was particularly true of my early years as a college instructor when most of my students were enrolled in the engineering school. But one hardly needs to justify to an audience such as this the value of the study of Pennsylvania history, whether it is viewed as a branch of local history or as a study in depth of our national development. I am aware, however, that for some of our younger Ph.D.’s in American history, who were fledged in a period when more and more of the decision-making that affects the future of all of us is being done in Washington rather than in Harrisburg, Albany, or Boston, the study of local history, even state history, may seem parochial. Probably they would appreciate the satire in a story I once heard about a Sunday School teacher in a Pennsylvania town not very far from here where most of the population consisted of railroad employees. For a couple of weeks this Sunday school teacher had been trying to impress upon his class the story of Bethlehem. On the third Sunday he asked of the docile young faces before him:

“And where was Jesus born?”

“Mauch Chunk,” answered one bright lad promptly.

“Why, no,” answered the teacher horror-stricken. “The very idea! Jesus was born in Bethlehem.”

“Oh, yes,” responded the offender. “I knew it was some place on the Lehigh Valley Railroad.”

Leaving Pennsylvania history in the twentieth century for some future president of the Pennsylvania Historical Association to talk about, I propose to concentrate on the period after the Civil War,

<sup>1</sup> Philip S. Klein, “Our Pennsylvania Heritage, Yesterday and Tomorrow,” *Pennsylvania History*, XXV (1958), 7-8.

which some historians have referred to as the Gilded Age, and to stress some of its highlights with respect to Pennsylvania. The whole concept of historical periods is of course something of an oversimplification on the part of historians. To an increasing extent in recent years, authors in the fields of history and literature have adapted the concept of historical periods to their treatment of the American scene; the fruits have been books on the Age of Innocence, the Age of Jackson, the Jazz Age, the Aspirin Age, or in the case of particular decades, the Mauve Decade, the Fabulous Forties, or the Golden Twenties.

It was, to be sure, Mark Twain who first coined the term "Gilded Age," as the title of a novel which he published in 1873 in collaboration with Charles Dudley Warner to describe a period in which all classes of American society were affected by the impulse to get rich through speculation, by loose business and political morality, and by flashy manners. Twain's *Gilded Age* described the manners and mores of the period from the end of the Civil War until the Panic of September, 1873. During the present century historical scholars like Charles A. Beard, Vernon L. Parrington, and Matthew Josephson have applied the term rather more broadly to the period from 1865 to the 1890's, but for them as for Twain it is descriptive of a period of our history that was crassly materialistic, wasteful, corrupt, and lacking in good taste. Since the 1930's, the Gilded Age has provided an opportunity for historical revisionism. Historians like H. Wayne Morgan have contended that reformers and reform movements, the use of large accumulations of wealth for philanthropic purposes, and cultural achievement were quite as much a product of these years as Credit Mobilier and the spoils system.

It is extremely difficult to test this hypothesis with respect to Pennsylvania because, as Professor Klein has pointed out and as Professor Alfred Sumberg reiterated at the Harrisburg Conference co-sponsored by this Association last spring, much of the basic research in Pennsylvania history from 1865 to 1890 still remains to be done. In part this is because our profession has been less active than it should have been in preserving and collecting historical materials pertaining to the lives of our grandfathers and great-grandfathers for the use of historical scholars. In the Historical Society of Pennsylvania in Philadelphia there are im-

portant manuscript collections such as the papers of William Bigler, Samuel R. Marshall, Wayne McVeagh, Charles J. Stillé, and Herbert Welsh which should prove invaluable for arriving at a more satisfactory interpretation of the Gilded Age in Pennsylvania. But Philadelphia is the focus, apparently, of most of the society's manuscript collections of the period from 1865 to 1890, and in the other historical societies of the state and in college and university libraries outside Philadelphia, the manuscript record of the post-Civil War generation is extremely meager. There are, to be sure, substantial files of important Pennsylvania daily newspapers of these years in the libraries of Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, and Harrisburg, but the files of some of the more important Pittsburgh papers are both spotty and scattered. The paucity also of autobiographies, memoirs, and published diaries written by prominent Pennsylvanians of the late nineteenth century has obliged historians to rely excessively on those few that exist. Perhaps it is still not too late for a determined effort to be made to bring to light unpublished material still in private hands that would illuminate the history of Pennsylvania during this period and to arrange for its deposit at the State Records Center in the William Penn Memorial Museum and Archives Building in Harrisburg or in some other historical library of the state. This is, as I conceive it, one of the unfinished tasks of the Pennsylvania Historical Association. I could well wish that a committee made up of some of the younger scholars belonging to this Association (it could well be our newly-organized Research Committee) would set to work aggressively and systematically to ferret out such materials and make them available to the historical profession.

The Proceedings of the Harrisburg Conference printed in the July issue of our magazine are full of fertile suggestions for research in the period of Pennsylvania's Gilded Age. But I have in mind a few other projects suitable for Ph.D. candidates or more mature scholars that could enrich our understanding of state history and perhaps of national history as well during the late nineteenth century. Some examples are the histories of specific Pennsylvania railroads like the Lehigh Valley and the Pittsburgh and Lake Erie; histories of important Pennsylvania industries such as lumber, glass, and natural gas; studies of particular ethnic groups

in this state belonging to the so-called New Immigration; large-scale cooperative histories of Philadelphia and Pittsburgh written by teams of professionally qualified urban historians and municipally financed; and histories of important Pennsylvania newspapers such as the *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, *Inquirer*, and *Ledger*, the *Pittsburgh Press* and *Dispatch*, and the *Oil City Derrick*. Further examples include a history of the labor movement in Pennsylvania since the Civil War; biographies of prominent Pennsylvanians like the Pennsylvania Railroad President Tom Scott, pro-tariff Congressmen "Pig Iron" Kelley and Samuel J. Randall, Governors John F. Hartranft and Robert E. Pattison, and the notable Philadelphia artist Thomas Eakins; and histories of music, tourism, public health, and public education in Pennsylvania since the Civil War. Indeed such a listing of rewarding topics for investigation could be indefinitely extended.

This Association is indebted of course to historians like S. K. Stevens and Paul Wallace for recent volumes on the history of Pennsylvania from colonial times to the present which provide meaningful syntheses of life in Pennsylvania between 1865 and 1890. I feel confident also that the preparation and publication of the "Dictionary of Pennsylvania Biography" which now appears to be in the making will bring to light a number of "lost men and women" of Pennsylvania history of the late 1800's and perhaps along with them some "finds" of old letters and other autobiographical material. But on the basis of the printed materials pertaining to the history of this state during the 1860's, '70's, and '80's, only tentative answers can be given to a number of questions that will have to be asked and answered before a definitive history of this state can be written.

As a social historian I should like to know, for example, whether the culture of Pennsylvania in the Gilded Age was as pluralistic as it has generally been assumed to have been and as it apparently was before the Civil War. Also I should like to know more about distinctions of race, class, and caste in Pennsylvania society during these years and about the opinions of journalists and other Pennsylvania writers concerning the culture of their own state and their national culture. To what extent were they complacent or critical? I should like to know more about migration patterns and business relationships between

Pennsylvania and neighboring states like Delaware, New Jersey, Maryland, West Virginia, and Ohio. To what degree, one wonders, were nativist attitudes toward the European immigrant in Pennsylvania more pronounced or less pronounced than elsewhere.<sup>1</sup> And how did the rise of New York City to metropolitan status contribute to the decline of Philadelphia as a cultural center after 1865?

I shall not attempt to answer these questions this evening, nor do I wish to imply that other questions that are equally meaningful could not be raised by historians whose areas of specialization are different from my own. Instead I should like to paint a picture of life in Pennsylvania during the days when our fathers and grandfathers were young. I cannot guarantee that the likeness will be pleasing or that it will bring to focus elements with which you are not already familiar. But it may awaken memories of an age that was lusty, vigorous, hopeful, and very much alive.

Let us look backward then to the days when the blue-clad soldiers of Pennsylvania came marching home from the Civil War to turn their swords into ploughshares or castings. They returned to a state with a population of approximately three and a half millions, about a half million of whom were foreign born. About twenty-nine percent of the population was urban, by which I mean that they resided in towns containing 8,000 people or more. Philadelphia, with a population not quite as large as that of Pittsburgh today, was the largest city in the state and the second largest in the United States. Pittsburgh, with a population about one-tenth of Philadelphia's 600,000, ranked second in size, followed by Allegheny City, Reading, Scranton, Erie, Harrisburg, Wilkes-Barre, Williamsport, and Allentown in that order.<sup>2</sup>

Although the railroad mileage within Pennsylvania in 1870 was about 6,000 in comparison with a national rail total of about 47,000 miles,<sup>3</sup> the pace at which most Pennsylvanians operated in their daily lives was regulated by the speed of a horse or

<sup>1</sup> Rosalind L. Branning, *Pennsylvania Constitutional Development* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1960), p. 52; *Compendium of the Ninth Census of the United States* (1870), p. 376. In 1870, the percentage of urban population in Pennsylvania was thirty-one percent as compared with twenty-seven percent in 1860. United States Census Reports, 11th Census (1890), VIII, lxxv.

<sup>2</sup> Branning, *Pennsylvania Constitutional Development*, p. 45; Poor's *Manual of the Railroads of the United States for 1870-71*, pp. xxxiv-xxxv.

human biped. The importance of the horse in the transportation picture is suggested in a letter which a prominent Pittsburgher wrote on April 10, 1867, to his son away at college. The letter told about the purchase of a second-hand carriage and harness for \$550, which its author esteemed a great bargain. Such a carriage, he told his son, would cost \$800 new, and he attributed his good luck to the fact that the gentleman who recently owned it had met with a reverse in business.<sup>4</sup>

To the north of Pittsburgh up the Allegheny River there were exciting developments along a tributary of that river called Oil Creek. The first oil strike near Titusville in 1859 had brought plenty of promoters of the Colonel Mulberry Sellers type to northwestern Pennsylvania before and during the Civil War. The war's end caused the collapse of many of the more speculative oil companies. But the drilling of the Frazier Well and the rise of Pithole and Petroleum City in the summer of 1865 inspired both Yank and Rebel war veterans to swarm into the Oil Creek field, hoping to become proprietors of gushers. By September of that year Pithole contained fifty hotels ranging in quality from hastily slapped together affairs to the elaborate Chase House with its veritable French chef.<sup>5</sup>

One of the new arrivals at booming Pithole was a recent Harvard graduate and Back Bay Bostonian who displayed so little emotion in the midst of all the excitement that some of the "old timers" decided to play a joke on him. One of them brought a package of United States government bonds to the hotel where he and his friends and the Bostonian were staying and arranged with the proprietor to have the bonds used for napkins at the hotel dining table. When the victim of this little byplay appeared for dinner, each of his table companions picked up a Five-Twenty government bond and tucked it in his vest. Then they made busy conversation about the great fortunes that were being accumulated daily at the local wells. The Harvard man listened quietly, picked up his government bond without showing any surprise, and attached it to his spotless stuffed shirt front. Then while his chagrined table mates were coming to the conclusion that he hadn't

<sup>4</sup> John Harper to Albert Harper, April 10, 1867, John Harper Papers, Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania.

<sup>5</sup> H. C. Bell, ed., *History of Venango County, Pennsylvania* (Chicago, 1890), pp. 319-324.



noticed what a valuable napkin he was using, he called the waiter over to his table. "See here," he told the waiter, "this napkin is too small. When you bring me my soup, bring me a Ten-Forty bond." The laughter that followed this sally could have been heard all the way to one of the neighborhood wells. Later the oil men showed their appreciation of the Boston man's Brahmin calm by cutting him in on a good buy that enabled him to return to Beacon Street with enough greenbacks to supply him with napkins of equal value for many such meals.<sup>6</sup>

Fifteen months after the first oil spouted from the Frazier Well, Pithole was deserted. Its oil wells were played out, and disastrous fires further accented its demise. But from Oil Creek, the fever spread to the Butler, Clarion, Warren, Bradford, and Cherry Grove fields, creating more ghost towns as the oil gave out but bringing a more protracted prosperity to places like Titusville, Oil City, and Franklin. At Bradford and Oil City there were oil exchanges which were noisy and animated places during business hours. In addition to a reading room where the daily papers from all the large cities were received, the Bradford exchange had a music room with a piano around which the tuneful brokers would gather in the evening to sing the popular songs of the day.<sup>7</sup>

To the east of the Oil Country in 1865 the lumber kingdom extended along the north and west branches of the Susquehanna River. At that time Pennsylvania was the leading lumbering state in the nation. Like the cowboys who were already being conscripted to drive cattle northward from Texas over the Chisholm Trail, the log drivers of northern Pennsylvania were at work in the 1860's steering branded logs down the river to the booms at Lock Haven and Williamsport. The great majority of the Pennsylvania trees that ultimately found their way to the Baltimore and Philadelphia markets were splendid white pine that attained heights of up to 150 feet and produced logs averaging twenty-four inches in diameter. On their way down river the log drivers had to fight off lumber pirates called "Algerines," and at the end of

<sup>6</sup> Hildegard Dolson, *Great Oildorado; the Gaudy and Turbulent Years of the First Oil Rush; Pennsylvania 1859-1880* (New York: Random House, 1959), pp. 186-187.

<sup>7</sup> E. V. Smalley, "Striking Oil," *Century Magazine*, XXVI (July, 1883), pp. 323, 337. The Cherry Grove excitement is the theme of Ernest C. Miller, "Oily Days at Cherry Grove," *Pennsylvania History*, XIX (1952), 35-51.

the journey when they were paid off they took part in a bacchanalian revel.<sup>8</sup>

Within a five-hundred-square-mile area in northeastern Pennsylvania were the anthracite coal fields. During the Civil War, anthracite coal miners, making up the greater part of the Forty-eighth Pennsylvania Volunteers, had furnished the digging power for the mine that just missed enabling Grant to break the Confederate lines at Petersburg, Virginia. In 1865 there was a north-south division in this nine-county area, between the Wyoming-Lackawanna field, with its New York City orientation, and the Schuylkill and Lehigh fields, which looked to Philadelphia for capital and their market. Already railroads like the Philadelphia and Reading and the Lehigh Valley were helping to develop the anthracite industry, and during the 1870's the Reading was destined to enter the coal business through the medium of an auxiliary corporation that acquired 100,000 acres of coal lands along the line of the railroad.<sup>9</sup>

In western Pennsylvania, the bituminous coal fields embracing a more extensive area<sup>10</sup> than the anthracite country were providing the materials for the manufacture of coal into coke for industrial use, and coal kings like Captain W. Seward B. Hays and William Henry Brown were piling up fortunes in the coal trade down the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers.

At the beginning of the Gilded Age, Philadelphia reflected the opulence that Colonel A. K. McClure associated with the "Reign of Shoddy."<sup>11</sup> A writer for *Lippincott's Magazine* who contributed a sketch of Philadelphia in 1872 had special admiration for Chestnut Street, "the Philadelphia of Philadelphia with

<sup>8</sup> Samuel A. King, "A Log Drive to Williamsport in 1868," *Pennsylvania History*, XXIX (1962), 151, 161, 164; S. K. Stevens, "When Timber was King in Pennsylvania," *ibid.*, XIX (1952), 394. According to Professor King, the process of branding logs was performed with a tool resembling a small sledge hammer, and the brand marks were registered in the courthouse at Williamsport to establish a legal title in the event of a law suit.

<sup>9</sup> Rowland Berthoff, "The Social Order of the Anthracite Region, 1825-1902," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, LXXXIX (1965), 263; Edward C. Kirkland, *Industry Comes of Age, 1860-1897* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1961), p. 82.

<sup>10</sup> In 1881 the extent of the bituminous coal area of the state was about 9,000 square miles. *Annual Report of Secretary of Internal Affairs, Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, 1880-1881, Report of Bureau of Industrial Statistics*, IX, 19.

<sup>11</sup> Alexander K. McClure, *Old Time Notes of Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia: Winston, 1905), II, 246-251.

its throngs of gayly-dressed promenaders on the dollar side and its comparatively untrodden shilling side; with its gorgeous show-windows set in the fronts of handsome stores, its rattling carriage-way, its fashion and its folly and its show." First to appear along Chestnut Street in the morning were the lady shoppers, who rarely intended to make extensive purchases and to whom the dry-goods clerks applied the nickname of "matchers" because they generally had a pattern to match to enable them to finish some article of clothing which they had already begun. Similarly Broad Street was famous for its handsome buildings, Arch Street as the "street of homes," and Market Street as the great business center. Visitors to Philadelphia during these years rarely failed to comment on the profusion of two- and three-story brick houses inhabited by the laboring classes, a large proportion of which were owned by their occupants.<sup>12</sup>

Yet in the scramble for position that characterized the postwar scene generally, the Philadelphia poet and playwright George Henry Boker, like the New Englander Henry Adams, found the avenues to public service closed to intellectuals like him and welcomed the opportunity in 1871 to leave the city to accept a diplomatic appointment abroad.<sup>13</sup> The impecunious and strongly conservative Philadelphia gentleman Sydney George Fisher sourly confided to his diary that

Here [in Philadelphia] there is no literature or any appreciation of it or literary men or appreciation of them. The whole tone of public opinion is opposed to intellectual culture of any kind, which is discouraged and any manifestation of it rebuked by the narrow jealousy of ignorance.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>12</sup> H.C.S., "Sketches of Philadelphia," *Lippincott's Magazine*, IX (May, 1872), 507; "First Impressions of America," *Leisure Hour*, XX (August 26, 1871), 535-541, contributed by the editor of this British magazine; "A Municipal Characteristic," *Penn Monthly*, I (February, 1870), 69-70.

<sup>13</sup> Edward S. Bradley, *George Henry Boker, Poet and Patriot* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1927), pp. 231, 243; *Dictionary of American Biography*, I, 417-418.

<sup>14</sup> "The Diaries of Sydney George Fisher," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, LXXXIX (1965), 354 (Entry for June 14, 1867). The tendency of Philadelphia writers to emigrate to New York or go abroad suggests that the literary atmosphere of the city was uncongenial, and at one point during the 1880's the *Nation* took notice of complaints about Philadelphia "provincialism" emanating from Philadelphians themselves. *Nation*, XLI (November 26, 1885), 439-440. See also Ellis P. Oberholtzer, *The Literary History of Philadelphia* (Philadelphia: G. W. Jacobs, 1906), p. 402.

Fisher's indictment of his native city was probably too sweeping, and his strictures were quite as applicable to the dominant city of western Pennsylvania. For Pittsburgh in 1865, its manufactures of iron, glass, and refined petroleum and its river trade were far more important than the music of a Stephen Collins Foster or the paintings of a David Blythe. Throughout most of the Gilded Age, Pittsburghers devoted themselves to the pursuit of wealth with a single-mindedness which precluded pursuit of anything else, and over Pittsburgh's hills hung a pall of bituminous coal smoke which earned it the reputation in the 1870's of being "the blackest, dirtiest, grimmest city in the United States."<sup>15</sup>

During the generation that followed the Civil War, the most exciting development in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania was industrial growth. Between 1860 and 1890, the market value of articles produced by Pennsylvania manufacturers more than quadrupled. Having risen from third to second place in the nation in the output of its manufacturing and mechanical industries by 1860, Pennsylvania retained second place in this respect continuously during the next four decades. Whereas in 1870 the Keystone State produced more than one-third of the total amount of iron products manufactured in this country, in 1880 Pennsylvania iron and steel products amounted to 49.1 percent of the United States total and by 1900, 54 percent. The other principal fields of Pennsylvania industry included foundry and machine shop products, textiles, leather manufacture, flour milling, and printing and publishing. In 1900, Pennsylvania ranked second in the United States in textile manufacture, and Philadelphia was the greatest textile manufacturing center in the country. From the vast hemlock forests of central and northern Pennsylvania came the fuel for the state's great tanning industry. Also throughout the Gilded Age, this state led all the others in the manufacture of glass and in petroleum refining as well. And between 1880 and 1899, Pennsylvania produced more than half the coal that was mined throughout the United States.<sup>16</sup>

In large part the abundance of natural resources within and

<sup>15</sup> J. Ernest Wright, "Pittsburgh Seventies," *Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine*, XXVI (1943), 137.

<sup>16</sup> United States Census Reports, 12th Census (1900), VIII, pt. 2, 743-748, 751-753; *Report of (Pa.) Bureau of Industrial Statistics*, XXVIII (1900), 19.

beneath Penn's Woods made possible these marvels of industrial production. But transportation was an important factor too, and by 1899 only one other state exceeded Pennsylvania's 10,181 miles of railroad in operation.<sup>17</sup> Already in 1865, the Pennsylvania Railroad was a power in the land. Its monopoly of railroad transportation in the vicinity of Pittsburgh enabled it to discriminate against Pittsburgh shippers to such a degree that Pittsburgh oil refiners were unable to compete with Cleveland's rising Standard Oil Company. By 1874 the Pittsburgh oil refining industry had become a branch of Standard Oil.<sup>18</sup> During the 1870's through its issue of free passes and other means, the "Pennsy" controlled a sufficient number of state legislators that its will was practically supreme in Harrisburg. When the state's million-dollar appropriation for the Philadelphia Centennial was in jeopardy, an appeal to the masterful president of the Pennsylvania Railroad, Tom Scott, turned the tide. "Well, Moon," Scott was quoted as saying to the railroad's principal lobbyist at the state capital, "see that the bill is passed; the Centennial must be made a great success." And although the opposition fought tirelessly and desperately, Moon finally emerged from the conference room to drop a white handkerchief as a sign that it would be safe to put the bill to a vote since the votes were in hand to pass it.<sup>19</sup>

The bewildering number of fortunes that were created by Pennsylvania oil, coal, steel, and railroads were lost sight of in the opulence of a Carnegie or a Wanamaker. Probably the richest man in Philadelphia at the time of his death in 1915 was the street railway magnate Peter Widener, the greater part of whose fortune, estimated at between \$35,000,000 and \$50,000,000, had been accumulated during the Gilded Age.<sup>20</sup> From the mines and factories of the Smoky City issued the wealth that created a marvelous succession of Pittsburgh millionaires. The big names in oil were those of Charles Lockhart, James M. Guffey, and the Captain Jacob Vandergrift after whom a town in western Penn-

<sup>17</sup> United States Census Reports, 12th Census (1900), VIII, pt. 2, 744. The state with the largest railroad mileage (10,872.75) was Illinois.

<sup>18</sup> A. Michael Sulman, "The Short Happy Life of Petroleum in Pittsburgh, A Paradox in Industrial History," *Pennsylvania History*, XXXIII (1966), 50-69; Ida M. Tarbell, *History of the Standard Oil Company* (New York: Macmillan, 1904), I, 160-161.

<sup>19</sup> McClure, *Old Time Notes of Pennsylvania*, II, 380-381.

<sup>20</sup> *Dictionary of American Biography*, XX, 186.

sylvania was named. The glass industry created a dozen great Pittsburgh fortunes, one of the earliest of which was the handiwork of an entrepreneur named J. B. Ford, whose son Emery would probably have been another glass king if he had not been stricken by smallpox in Europe. Besides Andrew Carnegie, the vast outpouring of Bessemer steel enriched at least forty other millionaires among his partners, raised B. F. Jones and James Laughlin to high estate, and enabled Henry Oliver to make and lose a half dozen fortunes and still die rich.<sup>21</sup>

The apotheosis of the self-made man was Tom Scott's white-haired little Scotch devil, Andrew Carnegie, who firmly believed, like most of the business class of his day, that poverty bred success and that the possession of wealth by a young man predisposed him to failure. Carnegie also espoused the idea of the stewardship of wealth and was probably ahead of his times in his expression of the belief that wealth is a social rather than an individual product.<sup>22</sup> The Gilded Age in Pennsylvania was essentially a period of the accumulation of large fortunes rather than of their dissemination through the form of philanthropy. Yet it was a Philadelphia millionaire named Joseph Wharton who in 1880 endowed the first American business school at the college level, and another Pennsylvanian, the Pittsburgh shipping magnate William Thaw, who made a name for himself as a philanthropist in the 1870's by his generous gift-giving to the Allegheny Observatory and to the ancestor of the present-day University of Pittsburgh.<sup>23</sup>

It was the conspicuous consumption of the new plutocracy, however, which attracted the attention of the press and the public

<sup>21</sup> Isaac F. Marcossou, "The Millionaire Yield of Pittsburgh," *Munsey's Magazine*, XLVI (March, 1912), 783-789.

<sup>22</sup> Irvin G. Wyllie, "Andrew Carnegie: Rationale of the Self-Made Man," *Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine*, XXX (1947), 98-104; Andrew Carnegie, "How Men Get Rich and the Right View of Wealth," *World's Work*, XVII (December, 1908), 11047. Carnegie's exact words were: "... wealth is not chiefly the product of the individual under present conditions, but largely the joint product of the community." It should be noted, however, that this was said in 1908 rather than in 1890, and it is by no means certain when Carnegie arrived at this opinion.

<sup>23</sup> Edward P. Cheyney, *History of the University of Pennsylvania, 1740-1940* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1940), pp. 287-288; *Dictionary of American Biography*, XVIII, 396-397; XX, 29-30; Charles E. Warren, "The Growth of Pittsburgh Iron and Steel," *Magazine of Western History*, II (October, 1885), 581-589; clipping from *Pittsburgh Leader* of June 18, 1871, in William Thaw Papers, Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania.

at large. Society columnists were fascinated by the Gothic mansions of the *nouveaux-riches* with their mansard roofs, their turrets, cupolas, and heavy scrolls, and by the lavish entertainment for which these mansions provided the setting. In Philadelphia, the fashionable set were moving out from the central city area below Market Street to suburban communities west of the city along the Main Line of the Pennsylvania Railroad.<sup>24</sup> At the opposite end of the state, Ridge Avenue in Allegheny City was becoming the "Park Avenue of Pittsburgh." Smaller cities like Scranton, Williamsport, and Titusville with their neo-classic and early Victorian homes, their theater, concerts, and social seasons reflected the ostentatious living of Pittsburgh and Philadelphia on a smaller scale.

Titusville obtained its first glimpse of a palatial mansion in 1870 when oil millionaire Josiah Watson laid the cornerstone of the town's Millionaire Row on East Main Street. To make his residence more striking, Watson constructed alongside it a \$50,000 conservatory. The conservatory featured rare orchids and other exotic tropical plants, laid out in mammoth designs outlining the national flag in red, white, and blue flowers and stars of yellow chrysanthemums. Another oil man soon eclipsed Watson with a fountain the size of a small ballroom surrounded by groups of marble swans and stone lions' heads spouting jets of water at each other in all directions.<sup>25</sup>

Even before the Civil War the New Jersey seashore resorts, especially Cape May and Atlantic City,<sup>26</sup> had become the summer-

<sup>24</sup> S. K. Stevens, *Pennsylvania, Birthplace of a Nation* (New York: Random House, 1964), p. 240. This process largely began in the late 1870's when the West Chester and Philadelphia Railroad was acquired by the Pennsylvania Railroad and became a part of the latter's central division. Subsequently the Pennsylvania Railroad spent nearly a half million dollars improving and beautifying the line of what had been a comparatively little used suburban route. *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, August 15, 1882.

<sup>25</sup> Dolson, *Great Oildorado*, pp. 276-277.

<sup>26</sup> Atlantic City, the creation of the Camden and Atlantic Railroad in 1854, was in 1882 a resort with a resident population of about 7,000 throughout the year, which was added to considerably during the fall and winter. To a Philadelphia newspaperman it exemplified the distinctive Philadelphia characteristic of being a city of homes, although of the summer kind. During that same summer of 1882, the entertainment afforded guests at the Atlantic City hotels included an open air hop, performances by a ventriloquist, a season of Negro minstrels, and the activities of the fishing boats with their catches of bluefish and sheepshead. *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, July 28, 1882; Maurice M. Howard, "Our American Brighton," *Potter's American Monthly*, XV (November, 1880), 329-330.

time playground of the moneyed class of Philadelphia and of society folk from elsewhere in the state. In July, 1874, the Philadelphia columnist of a Pittsburgh magazine described the Stockton House at Cape May as a favorite of Pittsburghers and commented rapturously:

How pretty these Pittsburgh girls are, and how beautifully they all dress. There seems to be an impression at all watering places that any young lady who hails from the Smoky City must be an heiress. Even if she arrives without the usual compliment [sic] of Saratoga trunks, it is only taken for granted that some old curmudgeon of a father is guarding her against the possible attacks of fortune-hunters and that the paternal is inwardly smiling over the remembrance of his money bags as he contemplates his child's simplicity of attire.<sup>27</sup>

For pleasure seekers who preferred inland watering places within Pennsylvania, there was Cresson Springs on top of the Allegheny Mountains and the Bedford Springs, where President James Buchanan had been wont to spend his summer vacations in antebellum days.

Such diversions were beyond the reach of the middle and working classes and of the farming folk who were accustomed to labor from daylight to dark as their ancestors had done for generations. The isolation of the farm family and the use of barter were still very much a part of the rural life of Pennsylvania during the Gilded Age. The hard times that followed the Panic of 1873 and competition from Western agriculture continued to harass Pennsylvania farmers. Yet although the number of farms in this state, along with its total farm area, decreased during the 1880's, Pennsylvania was still one of the nation's leading agricultural states in terms of the value of its farm products.<sup>28</sup>

For the great mass of the industrial workers in the Pennsylvania of those years wages were low, working hours were long, and the conditions of employment were often extremely hazardous.

<sup>27</sup> *People's Monthly*, IV (July, 1874), 112.

<sup>28</sup> Stevenson W. Fletcher, *Pennsylvania Agriculture and Country Life, 1840-1940* (Harrisburg: Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1955), p. 367; *United States Census Reports*, 11th Census (1890), XI, 75. The four states whose farm products exceeded in value those of Pennsylvania in 1890 were Illinois, New York, Iowa, and Ohio.



The number of fatal accidents in the anthracite coal fields between 1872 and 1893 averaged between 189 and 455 per year, roughly three times the figure for the bituminous fields of western Pennsylvania.<sup>29</sup> The advent of the depression of the early 1870's created wholesale unemployment and poverty among miners and factory workers, which remained fairly constant throughout the rest of the decade.

For the period of the Gilded Age as a whole, social disorganization, created by geography and the ethnic pattern of the population, was very much a part of the social order of the anthracite region. Yet intergroup conflict of the nature typified by the Molly Maguires was comparatively rare. There was a continual movement into and out of the region, and the mutual indifference or contempt for each other on the part of the various ethnic groups fostered segregation rather than assimilation.<sup>30</sup>

Up until 1880 the foreign-born population of Pennsylvania was preponderantly from the northern and western European countries of the British Isles, Germany, France, Sweden, and Switzerland. During the decade of the '80's for the first time significant numbers of Polish, Austro-Hungarian, and Italian immigrants began to enter Pennsylvania, and by 1900 about 31.5% of the foreign born population of Pennsylvania had originated in the countries of Slavic or Mediterranean Europe.<sup>31</sup>

In the coke-producing districts around Uniontown and Connellsville, feeling against the "Huns," as the Hungarians were popularly known among the native-born population, became even more hostile when the Hungarian men began putting their wives to work alongside them. The spectacle of half-naked women drawing coke ovens was too much for the mid-Victorian sentiments of that age to tolerate, and in 1885 the Pennsylvania Legislature enacted a stringent law to stop the employment in the coke industry of these female "Huns."<sup>32</sup> Dissatisfaction with the conditions of

<sup>29</sup> *Report of (Pa.) Bureau of Industrial Statistics*, XXII (1894), F12. For the unsatisfactory state of mining conditions in the bituminous field in the 1870's see Pennsylvania General Assembly, *Legislative Record*, 1875, pp. 383-390.

<sup>30</sup> Berthoff, "Social Order of the Anthracite Region," pp. 266-269.

<sup>31</sup> *Abstract of the Twelfth Census of the United States* (1900), pp. 32, 42; *United States Census Reports*, 12th Census (1900), I, 732.

<sup>32</sup> Henry George, "Labor in Pennsylvania," *North American Review*, CXLIII (October, 1886), 361. Hungarian immigrants also constituted a prominent element in the coal-mining population of eastern Pennsylvania

their employment, with the exactions of the "pluck me" stores of the mining companies, and the brutality of the Coal and Iron Police gave rise to industrial conflict, which reached its climax in the Great Railroad Strike of 1877 and the Homestead Steel Strike of 1892.<sup>23</sup>

Party politics in Pennsylvania during the Gilded Age was marked by "boss" control at the state capital and by ring domination in the larger cities. A dynasty of Republican bosses controlled state politics for half a century, and in Philadelphia a "ring" of Republican politicians who took orders from Boss James McManes gave Philadelphia the bad name of being the outstanding American example of municipal corruption. The historian and publisher Henry C. Lea was the leader of a group of Philadelphia reformers who struggled for years against the power of the Philadelphia Ring. It was due to their efforts in part that the state legislature in 1873 issued a call for a constitutional convention, which abolished the infamous Philadelphia Registry Law of 1868 and the fee system that enriched municipal officeholders at public expense. In 1885, the Philadelphia Committee of One Hundred effectively broke the power of the ring when they brought about the dissolution of the Gas Trust, from whose corrupt and inefficient management the city machine had long benefited. Unlike New York, where *Harper's Weekly* and the *Times* had taken the lead in exposing the Tweed Ring in the eighteenth-seventies, the politically subsidized newspapers of Philadelphia

during the 1880's. A Philadelphia newspaper correspondent who visited the coal-mining town of Drifton in Luzerne County in 1882 commented: "Many of the Drifton miners are Hungarians. They make a diet of boiled salt pork and prime dumplings, and the result is scurvy. They are greatly afraid of the surgeon's knife, and when a newly-arrived batch was ordered out for vaccination, a short time ago, a big Prussian mining boss had to lead each Hungarian up by the nose and hold him until the operation was completed." Philadelphia *Evening Bulletin*, August 10, 1882.

<sup>23</sup> Rather less publicized than these outbreaks because of its remoteness from the centers of population was the "Sawdust War" of 1872. Riots which began in Williamsport as a strike for a ten-hour day, employing the slogan "Ten hour day or no sawdust," spread from one mill town to another until the mayor of Williamsport and the sheriff of Lycoming County asked Governor John W. Geary to send troops to restore order. After the arrival of the troops, Williamsport was placed under martial law, and a number of arrests were made. All the prisoners were found guilty at the September court session and were sentenced to imprisonment, but were pardoned by the Governor in return for their promises to leave that part of the country. Richmond E. Myers, *The Long Crooked River (The Susquehanna)* (Boston: Christopher, 1949), pp. 189-190; Carl Carmer, *The Susquehanna* (New York: Rinehart, 1955), pp. 424-425.

had for the most part remained silent or had actively opposed the efforts of the municipal reformers.<sup>34</sup>

One of the great events of the Gilded Age in Pennsylvania was the Philadelphia Centennial of 1876. Although similar "World's Fairs" had already taken place in European cities like London, Paris, and Vienna, the Philadelphia Exposition was the first to be staged in the United States. First conceived as a national undertaking, the Centennial opened in Fairmount Park on May 10, 1876, and lasted for five months, during which more than nine million visitors passed through its gates. To the fair these visitors came not only once but time and again. For five cents a ride they patronized the narrow-gauge railroad with its trains of gay open cars that carried them over the Centennial grounds. They bought souvenirs for themselves and their friends; they obtained a fine view of the exhibition from the top of the 187-foot Sawyer's Observatory, a forerunner of the Space Needle; and they groused about the high prices charged at restaurants like the Trois Frères Provencaux and at the Vienna Bakery where a cup of coffee, and not good coffee at that, cost twenty-five cents!<sup>35</sup>

The greatest success of the fair was along materialistic rather than artistic lines. The Main Exhibition Building, which covered twenty acres of land, was reported to be the largest in the world, and around it were clustered some two hundred other buildings to display the arts and crafts, industry and agriculture, of the late nineteenth century. In Machinery Hall with its magnificent

<sup>34</sup> E. V. Smalley, "The Philadelphia Committee of One Hundred," *Century Magazine* (July, 1883), 395-399; Edward S. Bradley, *Henry Charles Lea, a Biography* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1931), pp. 175-197. For vivid portraiture of Boss McManes see *Dictionary of American Biography*, XII, 138-139; Samuel W. Pennypacker, *Autobiography of a Pennsylvanian* (Philadelphia: Winston, 1918), p. 176. In Pittsburgh the Republican political machine of Christopher Magee and Bill Flinn dominated local politics during the '80's and '90's. Both Magee and Flinn had business interests which profited from their control of the city government, and to render their system foolproof Magee made a careful study of the methods of both the Philadelphia Ring and Tweed's defunct New York operation. Not until after the turn of the century and Magee's death did Pittsburgh reformers, working through the Pittsburgh Municipal League, succeed in ousting the Magee-Flinn organization. Magee left an estate amounting to over four million dollars, the bulk of which was used for the establishment of the Elizabeth Steele Magee Hospital in Pittsburgh. Stefan Lorant, *Pittsburgh, the Story of an American City* (New York: Doubleday, 1964), p. 201; *Dictionary of American Biography*, II, 196-197.

<sup>35</sup> William D. Howells, "A Sennight of the Centennial." *Atlantic Monthly*, XXXVIII (July, 1876), 104-106.

Corliss Engine the observant visitor could discern the triumphs of American industry. He might even obtain there a glimpse of a strange new invention called the telephone which enabled the human voice to pass over a wire and which the great British scientist Lord Kelvin declared to be one of the most amazing things he had seen in America. The Centennial took place too soon to dazzle the visitors with the marvels of electric lighting, which displaced the "pale sickly glimmer" of the gas-lit era in urban Pennsylvania during the early 1880's.<sup>36</sup>

Although the architecture of the Centennial was hardly better than mediocre, thousands of Pennsylvanians and other visitors saw for the first time the works of great English artists like Gainsborough and Reynolds and acquired a taste for the German porcelain, French textiles, and Japanese bronze and lacquerware that was exhibited there. Also to some extent the Centennial interfered with the sway of black walnut and funereal horsehair furniture that had prevailed up to that time and helped to create a flair for "colonial" furniture.<sup>37</sup>

President Grant was the guest of honor at the opening of the Centennial on May 10, when four thousand soldiers escorted him to the grounds. The President's brief and conservative remarks apparently made little impression on the 150,000 people who were present that day. According to the *Atlantic Monthly*:

The President of the United States came, spoke, and went, without applause. A few scattering cheers made more apparent the silent indifference with which he was received. Let the truth be told in spite of the reporters; there were more groans and hisses than huzzas, as he finished his brief address. Ten years ago earth and sky would have shaken with the thunder of his welcome.<sup>38</sup>

Greater excitement took place when a French adventuress named

<sup>36</sup> The use of electricity for street illumination in Philadelphia dated from December 5, 1881, when Chestnut Street was first lighted with electricity from the Delaware River to the Schuylkill. *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, November 9, 1882.

<sup>37</sup> J. Franklin Jameson, *The American Revolution Considered as a Social Movement* (Princeton, 1926), p. 3. Also the baking industry became acquainted with the process of making "Vienna" bread at the Philadelphia Exposition.

<sup>38</sup> "Characteristics of the International Fair," *Atlantic Monthly*, XXXVIII (July, 1876), 89.

Evangeline Gasparé, who had made friends with some of the Congressmen in Washington, appeared on the platform reserved for President Grant and other dignitaries. Among the spectators who had been excluded from the outer court by the police was a man named Smith, whom she had robbed of a small sum of money the previous winter and who had agreed not to press charges against her. When Smith caught sight of Madame Gasparé standing aloft in an exquisite costume and basking in the reflected glory of the Emperor of Brazil and the President of the United States, he gave vent to his outraged feelings. "Send that thief down! She robbed me of twenty dollars!" he shouted. The bewitching Evangeline did not change expression, but in a moment she disappeared into the crowd, and when she reappeared in the public eye some months later, it was in connection with an English lawsuit.<sup>39</sup>

Whereas Pittsburghers displayed very little interest in the arts and letters because in the main such pursuits were a distraction from the all-absorbing business of making a living, Philadelphia was a great center of scientific study and research during the Gilded Age and had some claim to being a literary and artistic center as well. In the field of book publishing, the Philadelphia firm of J. B. Lippincott was rated as the most extensive book house in the United States in 1867, and when the first number of *Lippincott's Magazine* appeared in January, 1868, it was hailed as a rival of the *Atlantic Monthly*.<sup>40</sup> Under the editorship of John Foster Kirk, *Lippincott's* had a notable roll of authors from the very beginning. Along with Philadelphia writers like George H. Boker, Charles Godfrey Leland, Thomas Buchanan Read, S. Weir Mitchell, and Frank R. Stockton, there were contributors from New England, the West, and South. Indeed, in the 1870's *Lippincott's* did more to encourage Southern writers than any other magazine in the country. When in 1883 Cyrus Curtis established the *Ladies' Home Journal*, as the nucleus of a publishing empire that included the *Saturday Evening Post* and the *Country Gentle-*

<sup>39</sup> Rebecca Harding Davis, *Bits of Gossip* (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1904), pp. 153-160.

<sup>40</sup> Donald Sheehan, *This Was Philadelphia—A Chronicle of the Book Trade in the Gilded Age* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1952), p. 249.

man, he helped to restore the reputation that Philadelphia had had during antebellum days of being the "Magazine City."<sup>41</sup>

With the selection of Charles J. Stillé as its tenth provost in 1868, Philadelphia's University of Pennsylvania began to realize its potential as one of the great educational institutions of the country. Up to that time it had virtually been a commuter's college, which graduated about one hundred young Philadelphia men each year and which had for the most part been unreceptive toward new ideas. During the next twelve years under Stillé's direction, the university moved from its downtown location to a new and more spacious site in West Philadelphia, established a number of new departments, and registered a marked increase in the number of its students and faculty. At Stillé's initiative, the elective system, recently introduced at Harvard and a few other colleges, made its appearance at Penn, exerting a liberalizing influence on the curriculum. Under Stillé's successor, Dr. William Pepper, the postgraduate instruction that had already been introduced in the medical school was extended to the arts and sciences, and eminent professors of the caliber of Albert S. Bolles, John Bach McMaster, and Simon Patten enhanced the reputation of the university.<sup>42</sup> Among the new colleges that were established in Pennsylvania during these years were Lebanon Valley and Lehigh (1866), Swarthmore and Chatham Colleges (1869), Wilson College (1870), and Grove City and Juniata Colleges (1876).

Both serious drama and its lighter forms were very popular at this time among theater audiences from small town to large city. In Philadelphia during 1879 there were seventeen theaters open at one time or another.<sup>43</sup> Between 1879 and 1890, the history of

<sup>41</sup> Frank L. Mott, *A History of American Magazines (1741-1905)* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1930-1957), III, 397; J. Thomas Scharf and Thompson Westcott, *History of Philadelphia, 1609-1884* (Philadelphia: H. L. Everts, 1884), p. 2039; Stevens, *Pennsylvania*, p. 243. In 1850 when the only successful magazines in the United States were those published in Philadelphia, the book publisher George W. Childs was present at a conference in the New York office of the Harper firm just after the issue of the first number of *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*. One of the conferees, a Philadelphian, was sure that the new publication could not last very long, presumably because of its unfavorable location! George W. Childs, *Recollections* (Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1890), p. 18.

<sup>42</sup> Cheyney, *History of the University of Pennsylvania*, pp. 257-280, 286-290, 296.

<sup>43</sup> Six were reputable places providing legitimate plays or comic operas, five were variety theaters, three customarily presented sensational drama, one German-language productions, and one a diversity of entertainment.

the Philadelphia stage was marked by the continual decline of the stock company, the trend toward a simpler and more natural style of acting, the emergence of a more realistic portrayal of character in plays, and the beginning of the neighborhood theater.

Among the leading actors and actresses who appeared before the footlights in Pittsburgh during these years were Lawrence Barrett, Edwin Booth, John McCullough, Joseph Jefferson, Laura Keane, Sarah Bernhardt, and Lillian Russell. The favorite actors of Pittsburgh theater-goers for many years were the Philadelphian Joseph Jefferson and Edwin Booth, who appealed to the more cultured people of the city. On one occasion while performing at the Grand Opera House on Fifth Avenue, Booth had a dispute with the manager of the theater over the gas bill. In the middle of the week's performance, the gas company shut off the lights. Through the ingenuity of the son of the theater manager, several locomotive headlights were secured from the Pennsylvania Railroad round houses, and by placing them at different points within the building enough light was afforded to complete the week's engagement.<sup>44</sup>

Materialistic the Gilded Age undoubtedly was, but in Pennsylvania there was a curious and interesting blending of the ideals of the marketplace with the life of the spirit and with Sabbatarianism. The editor of an English magazine who visited Philadelphia in 1871 confessed that he had never seen a city with a larger number of churches.<sup>45</sup> A Pittsburgh magazine estimated the number of Philadelphia churches at 500 in 1873, but, noting that there were over eight thousand taverns in the city at this time, expressed the view that the influence of five hundred church organizations was needed to preserve anything like an equilibrium.<sup>46</sup>

Thomas F. Marshall, "A History of the Philadelphia Theatre, 1878-1890," unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1941, Introduction.

<sup>44</sup>James A. Lowrie, "A History of the Pittsburgh Stage, 1861-1891," unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Pittsburgh, 1943, *passim*; John N. Boucher, *Century and a Half of Pittsburg and her People* (New York: Lewis, 1908), II, 400, 403. Mark Twain's *The Gilded Age* was a dramatic hit in Pittsburgh in 1875. At each performance the Pittsburgh Opera House was highly perfumed, and each lady patron received a neat little box containing a specimen of Colonel Mulberry Sellers's eye water and a standard article of food in the Sellers family. Pittsburgh critics were divided as to the merit of the play. Lowrie, "History of the Pittsburgh Stage," p. 114.

<sup>45</sup>*Leisure Hour*, XX (August 26, 1871), 539.

<sup>46</sup>"Our Philadelphia Letter," *People's Monthly*, III (June, 1873), 5.

In 1890, Pennsylvania was first in the nation in the number of church organizations and church edifices and second only to New York in the value of church property and the number of church members. The most numerous sect in Pennsylvania in 1890 was the Roman Catholic, followed by the Methodists, Lutherans, and Presbyterians in that order.<sup>47</sup>

Probably the most widely known Pennsylvania clergyman of the Gilded Age was the Baptist minister Russell H. Conwell, who came to Philadelphia from a church in Lexington, Massachusetts, in 1882. Out of a night school established in the basement of Conwell's great Baptist Temple grew Temple University, a college for working people, which instructed more than 100,000 students during Conwell's lifetime. The proceeds of his famous lecture, "Acres of Diamonds," given more than 6,000 times, financed the college education of more than 10,000 young men. Although his ideals of success were essentially a restatement of the popular materialistic attitudes of his day, Conwell always coupled money-getting and philanthropy, both in precept and practice.<sup>48</sup>

These, then, are some of the varied aspects of the Gilded Age in Pennsylvania, a period in which vast wealth and extreme poverty coexisted, often in close juxtaposition but not always peacefully. It was likewise a period of tremendous industrial growth, of increasing urbanization, of forces making for both cultural homogeneity and heterogeneity, of political corruption and political reform, of technical changes that made life more comfortable and somewhat more unstable, of the gradual diversion of the profits of large-scale business into expenditures for the public welfare, and of a kind of sober piety chiefly characteristic of rural Pennsylvania and of segments of middle- and upper-class groups of its urban society. No one individual dominated the culture of the

<sup>47</sup> *Compendium of the Eleventh Census of the United States* (1890), II, 263, 298-305.

<sup>48</sup> *Dictionary of American Biography*, IV, 367-368. Another prominent religious figure of this period who was identified with Pennsylvania was Ira Sankey of the famous revival team of Moody and Sankey, a native of New Castle. The Philadelphia retail merchant John Wanamaker and the Franklin oil king General Charles Miller were active religious laymen. Accustomed to ride all over the country in his private Pullman car, Miller more than once dumbfounded his business associates by breaking off a conference to rush halfway across the continent to get home for his Bible class. Dolson, *Great Oildorado*, p. 284.



Gilded Age in Pennsylvania to the same degree that Benjamin Franklin influenced Pennsylvania culture in the second half of the eighteenth century. Yet Pennsylvania was very much a part of, and in fact a dynamic element in, the process of scientific and industrial change that in the next century would place American civilization at the center of the world stage.