

Chapter 24: Life in the Emerging Urban Society

1. Taming the city

a. Industry and the growth of cities

- i. Deplorable urban conditions of congestion, filth, and disease existed long before the Industrial Revolution.
 1. In larger towns, more people died each year than were born, on average, and the urban populations were only able to maintain their populations from newcomers.
- ii. The Industrial Revolution and population growth made urban reform necessary.
 1. In Britain, the percentage of population living in cities of 20,000 or more jumped from 17 percent in 1801 to 54 percent in 1891.
 2. Housing was crowded and poor, and living conditions unhealthy.
 - a. "Six, eight, and even ten occupying one room is anything but uncommon." -- a doctor from Aberdeen
 - b. Up to 200 people shared a single outhouse.
 3. Many people lived in sewerage and excrement.
- iii. What was responsible for the awful conditions?
 1. A lack of transportation, which necessitated the crowding, and the slowness of government enforcement of sanitary codes contributed to the problem.
 2. People believed that unsanitary conditions were normal and did not really need to be changed.

b. Public health and the bacterial revolution

- i. The reformer **Chadwick** was influenced by **Bentham's** ideas of the greatest good for the greatest number.
 1. He believed that cleaning the city would curtail disease. (would also be cheaper)
 2. He proposed the installation of running water and sewers.
- ii. New sanitation methods and public health laws were adopted all over Europe from the 1840s on.

c. The bacterial revolution

- i. The prevailing theory of disease (the **miasmatic** theory) was that it was caused by bad odors.
- ii. **Pasteur's** theory that germs caused disease was a major breakthrough, and its application meant disease could be controlled through vaccines.
 1. He realized that fermentation could be suppressed by heating the beverage, otherwise known as **pasteurization**.
- iii. Based on the work of **Koch** and others, the organisms responsible for many diseases were identified and effective vaccines developed.
- iv. **Lister** developed the concept of sterilization of wounds.
- v. Mortality rates began to decline rapidly in European countries.

d. Urban planning and public transportation

- i. Better urban planning contributed to improved living conditions.
- ii. After 1850, Paris was transformed by the urban planning of **Hausmann** and became a model city.
 1. Broad, straight, treelined boulevards cut through the center of the city to prevent the creation of barricades.
 - a. Allowed traffic to flow freely and afforded impressive vistas.
 2. Parks were created throughout the city.

3. Sewers were improved and aqueducts built.
 - iii. **Zoning expropriation laws** were a major tool of the new urbanism.
 - iv. Electric streetcars revolutionized urban life and enabled the cities to expand and become less congested.
2. Rich and poor and those in between
 - a. Social structure
 - i. Between about 1850 and 1906, the standard of living for the average person improved substantially.
 1. The real wages of British workers doubled between 1850 and 1906.
 - ii. But differences in wealth continued to be enormous; society remained stratified in a *number* of classes.
 - iii. There were so many different subclasses that neither the middle classes nor the working classes acted as a unified force.
 - b. The middle classes
 - i. The upper middle class was composed of successful business families who were attracted to the aristocratic lifestyle.
 1. They imitated the seasonal houses of the aristocrats.
 2. They traded money for titles, country homes, and snobbish elegance.
 - ii. The middle middle class group contained merchants, lawyers, and doctors--people who were well off but not wealthy.
 - iii. Next came the lower middle class: shopkeepers, small businessmen, and white collar workers.
 1. White-collar workers are traveling salesmen, bookkeepers, store managers, and clerks who staffed the offices and branch stores of large corporations.
 2. They were fiercely committed to the middle class and to the ideal of moving up in society.
 - iv. Experts, such as engineers, chemists, accountants, and managers, were also considered members of the middle class, as were those in public and private management.
 1. Although some of them were not capitalists, they still made money and shared the values of the business-owning entrepreneurs and the older professionals.
 - v. Teachers, dentists, and nurses rose up the ladder to become middle class.
 - c. Middle-class culture united these sub-classes
 - i. The middleclass lifestyle included large meals, dinner parties, servants, an interest in fashionable dressing, and good education.
 1. Their interest in clothing drove down the cost and expand the variety of clothing.
 - ii. Their code of expected behavior stressed hard work, self discipline, religion, and restraint from vices.
 - d. The working classes
 - i. The vast majority of people (4 out of 5) belonged to the working class, yet the class had varying lifestyles and little unity.
 1. The distinction between highly skilled artisans and unskilled manual workers was breaking down.
 2. Skilled, semiskilled, and unskilled workers developed widely divergent lifestyles and cultural values, contributing to limited class unity.
 - ii. The most highly skilled workers constituted a fluid "**labor aristocracy**."
 1. They were under constant long-term pressure because their jobs were slowly

being replaced through factory methods and semiskilled factory workers.

2. They developed a lifestyle of stern morality, frowning upon drinking and sexual permissiveness.

“The path to the brothel leads through the tavern.”

3. They considered themselves the leaders of the working class.
4. They had strong political and philosophical beliefs.

iii. Next came the semiskilled and unskilled urban workers.

1. Carpenters, bricklayers, pipe fitters.
2. Many workers in the crafts and factory work were part of the semiskilled.
3. Domestic servants, mostly female, were a large unskilled subgroup, who were unorganized and divided, so they received lower wages.
4. Women employed in the "sweated industries" were another large group.

iv. Drinking was a favorite leisure activity of the working class.

1. Drunkenness often resulted in fights and misery.
2. But the "drinking problem" declined in the late 19th century; moderate drinking in cafes and pubs became respectable, even for women.
3. Pubs became centers for working class politics
4. Other pastimes included sports and music halls.

a. Soccer and racing were popular. Racing incentivized learning to read.

v. In Europe, church attendance by the working class declined, while in the United States churches thrived as a way to assert ethnic identity.

1. By the late nineteenth century European urban working classes became less religious and more secular.
2. This was partly because of lack of churches, but also because the church was seen as an institution that upheld the power and position of the ruling elites.
3. Religious organizations linked with an ethnic group (e.g., Irish and Jewish), and not the state, tended to thrive.

3. The changing family

a. Premarital sex and marriage

- i. "Romantic love" had triumphed over economic considerations in the working class by 1850.
- ii. Economic considerations remained important to the middle class.
“Marriage is in general a means of increasing one’s credit and one’s fortune and of insuring one’s success in the world.”
- iii. Middle class men married later after they had been established economically, also choosing to marry women considerably younger than themselves.
- iv. Both premarital sex and illegitimacy increased dramatically between 1750 and 1850.
- v. After 1850, illegitimacy decreased, indicating the growing morality and stability of the working class.
 1. Unmarried people used condoms and diaphragms.
 2. Pregnancy led to marriage, which become more economically viable and socially obligatory as wages increased.

b. Prostitution

- i. Men commonly turned to prostitutes because marriages were so often made later in life, especially in the middle and upper classes.
- ii. Brutal sexist behavior was a part of life, as exemplified in **My Secret Life**.
- iii. For many poor young women, prostitution was a stage of life.

c. Kinship ties

- i. Marriage and family ties were often strong.
 - ii. Kinship networks were an important source of mutual support and welfare.
- d. Gender roles and family life
 - i. The preindustrial pattern of women working outside the home disappeared, except for working class women.
 - ii. **Separate spheres:** Women were full time mothers and homemakers, and men were wage earners.
 - iii. Women were excluded from good jobs; the law placed women in an inferior position.
 - 1. A wife in England had no legal identity and no right to own property.
 - “In law husband and wife are one person, and the husband is that person.”
 - 2. In France, the Napoleonic Code gave women few legal rights.
 - iv. Women struggled for rights.
 - 1. Middleclass feminists campaigned for equal legal rights, equal education, access to the professions, and work for women.
 - 2. Reasons:
 - a. unmarried women and middle-class widows *had* to have more opportunities to support themselves
 - b. paid work could relieve the monotony that some women found in their sheltered middle class existence and give their lives more meaning
 - 3. These women scored some victories, but still in Germany in 1900 women were kept out of universities and the professions.
 - a. **Married English women received full property rights in 1882.**
 - 4. Socialist women called for the liberation of working class women through revolution.
 - v. Meanwhile, women's control and influence in the home increased.
 - 1. The wife usually determined how the family's money was spent and made all the major domestic decisions.
 - 2. Running the household was complicated and demanding, and many women sacrificed for the welfare and comfort of their husbands.
 - vi. The home increased in emotional importance in all social classes; it symbolized shelter from the harsh working world.
 - vii. Strong emotional bonds between mothers and children and between wives and husbands developed.
 - 1. **Gustave Droz's *Mr., Mrs., and Baby*** saw love within marriage was the key to human happiness, condemning men who used prostitutes and married much younger women.
- e. Child rearing
 - i. The indifference of mothers toward their children came to an end--as mothers developed deep emotional ties with their children.
 - 1. There was more breastfeeding instead of wet-nursing and less swaddling and abandonment of babies; fathers were urged to help in child rearing.
 - ii. The birthrate declined, so each child became more important and could receive more advantages.
 - 1. The main reason for the reduction in family size was the parents' desire to improve the family's economic and social position.
 - 2. Children were no longer seen as an economic asset.
 - 3. Parents want their children to lead better lives than they did.
 - iii. Many children were too controlled by parents, however, and suffered the effects of excessive parental concern.

1. Prevailing theories encouraged many parents to think that their own emotional characteristics were passed to their children; thus, they were responsible for any abnormality in the child.
 2. Parents were obsessed with the child's sexual behavior--particularly the possibility of masturbation, because it was an act of independence and even defiance.
 3. LOL THEIR SHORT POCKETS COULD NOT BE TOO DEEP NOR TOO CLOSE TO YOU KNOW WHAT
 4. Relations between fathers and children were often tense; fathers tended to be very demanding, expecting the child to succeed where he had failed and making his love conditional on achievement.
- iv. In studying family dynamics, Freud developed his theory of the **Oedipal** complex: that a son competes with his father for his mother's love.
 1. He also postulated about **defense mechanisms**.
 - v. Working class youths had more avenues of escape from family tensions than middle class youths.
 1. Unlike their middle-class counterparts, who remained economically dependent on their families until a long education was finished or a proper marriage secured, working-class children went to work when they reached adolescence.
4. Science and thought
- a. Scientific knowledge expanded rapidly--resulting in new products.
 - b. The triumph of science
 - i. Theoretical discoveries resulted increasingly in practical benefits, as in thermodynamics, chemistry, and electricity.
 1. **Mendeleev** codified the rules of chemistry in the periodic law and the periodic table.
 2. **Faraday's** discoveries in electromagnetism in the 1830s and 1840s resulted in the first dynamo (generator) and opened the way for the subsequent development of the telegraph, electric motor, electric light and electric streetcar.
 - ii. Scientific achievements strengthened faith in progress and gave science unrivaled prestige.
 - c. Social science and evolution
 - i. Many thinkers, such as **Comte**, tried to study society scientifically--using data collected by the government--and find general social laws.
 1. Comte argued that the third and final stage of knowledge is that of science, or what he called the "**positivist** method."
 2. Positivism would allow social scientists to develop a disciplined and harmonic society ruled by science and experts.
 - ii. Theories of dynamic development and evolution fascinated the nineteenth century.
 1. Building on the ideas of **Lyell** and **Lamarck**, **Charles Darwin** theorized that all life had evolved gradually from a common origin through an unending "struggle for survival" that led to the survival of the fittest by natural selection.
 - a. Lyell posited that the same geological processes that are at work today slowly formed the earth's surface over an immensely long time.
 - b. Lamarck posited that all forms of life had arisen through a long process of continuous adjustment to the environment, believing that the characteristics parents acquired in the course of their lives could

be inherited by their children.

c. Darwin wrote ***On the Origin of Species***.

d. Darwin's ideas reinforced the teachings of secularists.

2. Social Darwinists, such as **Herbert Spencer**, applied Darwin's ideas to human affairs and were popular with the upper middle class.

d. Realism in literature (be able to name drop for essays and recognize for mc)

i. Realism, which stressed that heredity and environment determined human behavior, replaced romanticism as the dominant literary trend from the 1840s through the 1890s.

ii. Realist writers, led by **Zola**, gloried in everyday life, taboo subjects, and the urban working class.

iii. The realists were strict determinists and believed that human actions were caused by unalterable natural laws.

iv. **Balzac** and **Flaubert**, along with **Zola**, were the leading French realists.

1. They wrote ***The Human Comedy***, a series of nearly one hundred books vividly portraying more than two thousand characters from virtually all sectors of French society.

v. **Mary Ann Evans** (George Eliot) and **Hardy** in Britain, **Tolstoy** in Russia, and **Dreiser** in America were also great realists.