

**2016
EDITION**

UNITED STATES HISTORY

**PREPARING FOR THE ADVANCED
PLACEMENT® EXAMINATION**

JOHN J. NEWMAN
JOHN M. SCHMALBACH

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UNITED STATES HISTORY

Preparing for the Advanced
Placement[®] Examination

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UNITED STATES HISTORY

Preparing for the Advanced
Placement® Examination

Third Edition

**John J. Newman
John M. Schmalbach**

**AMSCO SCHOOL PUBLICATIONS, INC. ,
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*This book is dedicated to our wives,
Anne Newman and Rosemarie Schmalbach;
our children, Louise Newman,
and John, Suzanne, and Robert Schmalbach;
and our students, who share our study of America's past.*

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Contents

Preface	x
Introduction: Preparing for the Advanced Placement® Exam in U.S. History	xi
PERIOD 1: 1491–1607	1
Chapter 1 A New World of Many Cultures, 1491–1607	2
Historical Perspectives: Was Columbus a Great Hero?	13
Think As a Historian: Questions about Causation	20
Period 1 Review	21
<i>Analyzing Evidence</i>	21
PERIOD 2: 1607–1754	23
Chapter 2 The Thirteen Colonies and the British Empire, 1607–1754	24
Historical Perspectives: How Influential Were the Puritans?	38
Think As a Historian: Questions about Continuity	44
Chapter 3 Colonial Society in the 18th Century	45
Historical Perspectives: Was Colonial Society Democratic?	55
Think As a Historian: Questions about Periodization	62
Period 2 Review	63
<i>Long-Essay Questions</i>	63
<i>Document-Based Question: Unity in the English Colonies</i>	64
PERIOD 3: 1754–1800	68
Chapter 4 Imperial Wars and Colonial Protest, 1754–1774	69
Historical Perspectives: Why Did the Colonies Rebel?	77
Think As a Historian: Questions about Comparisons	84
Chapter 5 The American Revolution and Confederation, 1774–1787	85
Historical Perspectives: How Radical Was the Revolution?	95
Think As a Historian: Questions about Contextualization	102
Chapter 6 The Constitution and the New Republic, 1787–1800	103
Historical Perspectives: What Does the Constitution Mean?	118
Think As a Historian: Questions about Argumentation	125

Period 3 Review	126
<i>Long-Essay Questions</i>	126
<i>Document-Based Question: Taxation and the Revolution</i>	127
 PERIOD 4: 1800–1848	 130
Chapter 7 The Age of Jefferson, 1800–1816	131
Historical Perspectives: What Caused Political Parties?	142
Think As a Historian: Uses of Historical Evidence	149
Chapter 8 Nationalism and Economic Development, 1816–1848	150
Historical Perspectives: What Led to the Monroe Doctrine?	165
Think As a Historian: Questions about Interpretation	172
Chapter 9 Sectionalism, 1820–1860	173
Historical Perspectives: What Was the Nature of Slavery?	183
Think As a Historian: Questions about Synthesis	190
Chapter 10 The Age of Jackson, 1824–1844	191
Historical Perspectives: Were the Jacksonians Democratic?	199
Think As a Historian: Statements about Causation	206
Chapter 11 Society, Culture, and Reform, 1820–1860	207
Historical Perspectives: What Motivated Reformers?	216
Think As a Historian: Statements about Continuity and Change Over Time	223
 Period 4 Review	 224
<i>Long-Essay Questions</i>	224
<i>Document-Based Question: Nationalism and Sectionalism</i>	226
 PERIOD 5: 1848–1877	 229
Chapter 12 Territorial and Economic Expansion, 1830–1860	230
Historical Perspectives: What Caused Manifest Destiny?	239
Think As a Historian: Statements about Periodization	246
Chapter 13 The Union in Peril, 1848–1861	247
Historical Perspectives: What Caused the Civil War?	260
Think As a Historian: Statements about Comparisons	267
Chapter 14 The Civil War, 1861–1865	268
Historical Perspectives: Why Did the Union Win?	283
Think As a Historian: Statements about Contextualization	290

Chapter 15 Reconstruction, 1863–1877	291
Historical Perspectives: Did Reconstruction Fail?	303
Think As a Historian: Statements about Argumentation	310
Period 5 Review	311
<i>Long-Essay Questions</i>	311
<i>Document-Based Question 1: Manifest Destiny and National Unity</i>	312
<i>Document-Based Question 2: Political Leadership before the Civil War</i>	315
PERIOD 6: 1865–1898	318
Chapter 16 The Rise of Industrial America, 1865–1900	319
Historical Perspectives: Statesmen or Robber Barons?	332
Think As a Historian: Statements about Context	338
Chapter 17 The Last West and the New South, 1865–1900	339
Historical Perspectives: How Did the Frontier Develop?	353
Think As a Historian: Statements about Evidence	359
Chapter 18 The Growth of Cities and American Culture, 1865–1900	360
Historical Perspectives: Melting Pot or Cultural Diversity?	373
Think As a Historian: Statements about Interpretation	379
Chapter 19 The Politics of the Gilded Age, 1877–1900	380
Historical Perspectives: Who Were the Populists?	391
Think As a Historian: Stating a Thesis about Causation	397
Period 6 Review	398
<i>Long-Essay Questions</i>	398
<i>Document-Based Question 1: Leaders of Business and Industry</i>	400
<i>Document-Based Question 2: Gilded Age Politics</i>	404
PERIOD 7: 1890–1945	408
Chapter 20 Becoming a World Power, 1865–1917	409
Historical Perspectives: Did Economics Drive Imperialism?	424
Think As a Historian: Choosing a Position about Continuity	430
Chapter 21 The Progressive Era, 1901–1917	431
Historical Perspectives: Reform or Reaction?	446
Think As a Historian: Making a Choice about Periodization	453

Chapter 22 World War I and Its Aftermath, 1914–1920	454
Historical Perspectives: Was Wilson a Good President?	468
Think As a Historian: Organizing Evidence for Comparisons	474
Chapter 23 The Modern Era of the 1920s	475
Historical Perspectives: How Conservative Were the 1920s?	489
Think As a Historian: Adding Details for Contextualization	495
Chapter 24 The Great Depression and the New Deal, 1929–1939	496
Historical Perspectives: Was the New Deal Revolutionary?	514
Think As a Historian: Using Documents in Arguments	520
Chapter 25 Diplomacy and World War II, 1929–1945	521
Historical Perspectives: Was Pearl Harbor Avoidable?	540
Think As a Historian: Selecting Relevant Evidence	546
Period 7 Review	547
<i>Long-Essay Questions</i>	547
<i>Document-Based Question 1: American Values and World War I</i>	549
<i>Document-Based Question 2: Response to Foreign Aggression</i>	552
PERIOD 8: 1945–1980	556
Chapter 26 Truman and the Cold War, 1945–1952	557
Historical Perspectives: Who Started the Cold War?	572
Think As a Historian: Introducing an Interpretation	578
Chapter 27 The Eisenhower Years, 1952–1960	579
Historical Perspectives: A Silent Generation?	593
Think As a Historian: Stating a Conclusion Using Synthesis	599
Chapter 28 Promise and Turmoil, The 1960s	600
Historical Perspectives: What Are the Lessons of Vietnam?	617
Think As a Historian: Writing with Precise Words	624
Chapter 29 Limits of a Superpower, 1969–1980	625
Historical Perspectives: End of the Imperial Presidency?	640
Think As a Historian: Writing Clear Sentences	647
Period 8 Review	648
<i>Long-Essay Questions</i>	648
<i>Document-Based Question: The Civil Rights Movement</i>	649

PERIOD 9: 1980–PRESENT	653
Chapter 30 Conservative Resurgence, 1980–2000	654
Historical Perspectives: What Does Freedom Mean?	672
Think As a Historian: Writing Effective Paragraphs	678
Chapter 31 Challenges of the 21st Century	679
Historical Perspectives: What Causes Booms and Busts?	693
Think As a Historian: Writing a Coherent Essay	700
Period 9 Review	701
<i>Long-Essay Questions</i>	701
Practice Examination	702
Index	729

Preface

This update of *United States History: Preparing for the Advanced Placement® Examination* is in response to the July 31, 2015, release of the College Board’s revised course and exam description for AP® U.S. History. This update primarily affected the Introduction, Key Terms by Theme, and the Answer Key. We also took this opportunity to revise some multiple-choice and short-answer questions to more closely reflect the new format of the exam, and to update the last three pages of the last chapter. However, this update maintains the concise and accessible chapter content and other instructional content. The pagination remains compatible with the previous edition.

Since 1998, this textbook has been used by hundreds of thousands of students in a variety of ways. Many teachers have used it as a supplemental text to bridge the gap between a college-level history textbook and the needs of their AP® high school students. Other teachers have successfully used it as a core textbook, in conjunction with college-level resources and supplemental materials. Students have effectively used it on their own, as a preparation book in the months or weeks before taking the exam. However, given the diverse instructional settings across the nation, the most effective use of this textbook is an instructional decision best made by the educators responsible for their students’ performance.

We are committed to an ongoing process to keep this textbook current and plan to incorporate any future changes as released by the College Board. It is good to remember that, as the College Board fine-tunes the curriculum and exam rubrics, the effective study of AP U.S. History has not fundamentally changed for teachers and students. During this period of change, we are mindful of the issues associated with repeated updates of the text and the Answer Key. We encourage teachers to check the College Board Web site for the latest updates: AP® Central site (apcentral.collegeboard.com) and the Advances in AP® section (advancesinap.collegeboard.org).

The authors want to thank the staff of Perfection Learning Corporation for their support and the tireless effort that they have put into the revision and updates of this text. We also appreciate the continued opportunity to support the efforts of high school students and teachers, as they strive to meet the challenges of the Advanced Placement® U.S. History examination.

John Newman and John Schmalbach, August 2015

INTRODUCTION

Preparing for the Advanced Placement® Exam in U.S. History

Since 1998, the number of high school students taking the Advanced Placement® Exam in United States History has tripled. Students enroll in AP® U.S. History classes for many reasons:

- to demonstrate one's ability to succeed as a college undergraduate
- to become eligible for scholarships
- to save on college expenses by earning college credit
- to test out of introductory college courses
- to enrich one's high school experience

The placement and credit offered varies from college to college. The College Board's Web site and the Advanced Placement® *Course and Exam Description* booklet provide a list of colleges and universities that normally use AP® examination grades for determining placement and credits.

Most students who have taken AP® courses report that they are more difficult than regular classes, but are more interesting and worth the extra effort. The rewards of these challenging classes go beyond the placement and grades to include the development of lifelong reading, thinking, and writing skills and, for many students, an increased interest in and enjoyment of history.

Overview of the AP® U. S. History Exam

This edition of this textbook was revised to prepare students for the most recent changes to the AP® U.S. History exam. The revision places a greater focus on the thinking skills used by historians and on historical themes and related concepts in order to deepen a student's understanding of U.S. history. Compared to previous exams, the new 3-hour-and 15-minute exam includes more excerpts, images, and other data sources.

The AP® exam includes the following components, along with the amount of time allotted for each and the percentage each is weighted in the final grade:

- | | | |
|---------------------------------------|------------|-----|
| • 55 Multiple-Choice Questions (MCQs) | 55 minutes | 40% |
| • 4 Short-Answer Questions (SAQs) | 50 minutes | 20% |
| • 1 Document-Based Question (DBQ) | 55 minutes | 25% |
| • 1 Long-Essay Question (LAQ) | 35 minutes | 15% |

The multiple-choice section still has the greatest weight in a student’s final grade, but students’ performance on recent exams suggests that working on writing skills may offer the greatest opportunity for improvement. To help students prepare for the exam, each of these components, along with a guide to sequential skill development, will be explained in this Introduction.

The College Board grades student performance on Advanced Placement® examinations, including the U.S. History exam, on a five-point scale:

- 5: Extremely well qualified
- 4: Well qualified
- 3: Qualified
- 2: Possibly qualified
- 1: No recommendation

An AP® grade of 3 or higher is usually considered evidence of mastery of course content similar to that demonstrated in a college-level introductory course in the same subject area. However, since the requirements of introductory courses may vary from college to college, some colleges may accept a 2 on the AP® History exam while others may require a score of 4.

Unlike most classroom tests designed to measure mastery of a lesson or unit, in which 90 percent or more correct may receive an “A,” the AP® exams are deliberately constructed to provide a wider distribution of scores and higher reliability (the likelihood that test-takers repeating the same exam will receive the same scores). AP® exams, while more difficult than most testing in high school, are also scored differently. The cutoff for a “qualified” or level 3 grade may range between 50 and 60 percent of the possible points. Only a small percentage of students will gain more than 80 percent of the possible points. Students who are having difficulty with a third or more of the questions on the practice AP® exams should not be discouraged. The exam is challenging, but like any challenge, if it is broken down into manageable steps, it can be mastered.

How This Book Can Help

The goal of this textbook is to provide AP® U.S. History students with the essential content and instructional materials to develop the knowledge and the historical thinking and writing skills needed for the AP® U.S. History exam. These resources are found in the following sections of the book:

Introduction This section introduces students to the historical thinking skills, course themes, and nine periods of the AP® U.S. History program. A step-by-step skill development guide explains how to answer the four types of questions found on the exam: (1) multiple-choice, (2) short-answer, (3) long-essay, and (4) document-based.

Concise History The thirty-one chapters of essential historical content and accessible explanations of events form the heart of this textbook. The content reflects the revised AP® U.S. History curriculum. Each of the nine periods is introduced with summaries and key AP® concepts.

Maps and Graphics Maps, charts, graphs, cartoons, photographs, and other visual materials are integrated into the text to help students practice their analytical skills.

Historical Perspectives At the end of the text of each chapter is a section that introduces conflicting interpretations about significant historical issues.

Key Terms by Themes In each chapter, a list of key names, places, and words, organized by theme, is included to aid in review.

Multiple-Choice Questions Each chapter contains three sets of source-based multiple-choice questions to evaluate students' historical knowledge and skills using sources.

Short-Answer Questions Each chapter contains four sets of short-answer questions for review of the chapter and practice using thinking skills.

Long-Essay Questions Periods 2 through 9 conclude with a review section including several long-essay questions. Each question consists of a pair of options for students to answer. The long-essay questions prompt students to deal with significant themes and to practice thinking and writing skills. The AP® exam will not have long essays based exclusively on periods 1 or 9.

Document-Based Questions The reviews for periods 2 through 8 include one or two DBQs for practice. The AP® exam will not have DBQs based exclusively on periods 1 or 9.

Practice Examination Following the final chapter is a complete practice examination using the current format.

Index The index is included to help locate key terms for review.

Answer Key A separate Answer Key is available for teachers and other authorized users of the book from the publisher.

The Study of AP® U.S. History

Historians attempt to give meaning to the past by collecting historical evidence and then explaining how these “facts” are connected. Historians interpret and organize a wide variety of evidence from both primary and secondary sources in order to understand the past. Readers of AP® U.S. History exams hope to find in a student’s work evidence of the student’s ability to analyze and use evidence and to answer probing questions about past events. There is not one “answer” for these kinds of questions, no more than one can find all of the answers in any one historical source. AP® teachers and exam readers are looking for a student’s ability to think about history and to support ideas with evidence.

AP® students should appreciate how both participants and historians differ in their interpretation of critical questions in U.S. history. The Historical Perspectives feature in each chapter introduces readers to some of the issues raised by historians over time. The AP® U.S. History exam does not require an advanced knowledge of historiography or, one might say, “the history of history.” Nevertheless, prior knowledge of the richness of historical thought can add depth to a student’s analysis of historical questions.

Students planning to take the AP® U.S. History exam should become familiar with the three components of the course that shape the exam: (1) historical thinking skills, (2) thematic analysis, and (3) the concepts and understandings of the nine periods that organize the content. These three components are explained below for orientation and future reference.

These components may strike some students as overwhelming at first. Mastering them takes time. Working on the skills and understandings needs to be an ongoing part of the study of AP® U.S. History. The introduction provided here will become more helpful as a reference as the course proceeds.

Historical Thinking Skills

The Advanced Placement® History courses encourage students to think like historians. The skills that historians use in researching and writing about historical events and developments are reflected in the skills needed on the AP® exam. For AP® U.S. History students, the learning and practice of these historical thinking skills is the foundation of the course.

- Historians need to be able to **analyze the evidence** found in a wide variety of primary sources from written records to historical images and artifacts and to **interpret** the work of other historians with differing points of view.
- As historians research the evidence, they are looking for connections and relationships among events and developments. They find and test these connections by studying **causation**, analyzing **continuity and change**, making **comparisons**, putting events in **context**, organizing content by **periodization**, and probably most difficult, creating **synthesis** with other historical understandings.
- Most historians communicate their findings through publications and presentations. This creative process takes the additional skill of effective **argumentation** supported by **using evidence** that is relevant and persuasive. Writing about history also challenges one to clarify and refine one’s thinking about the subject or the question under study.

Preparation for the AP® exam, much like the work of historians, will involve analyzing both primary and secondary sources, making judgments about connections among historical events, and ultimately applying these skills in developing and writing essays. Each of the historical thinking skills is briefly explained below with examples of how they might be used in exam questions.

1. Analyzing Historical Sources and Evidence

Analyzing Evidence: Content and Sourcing This skill involves the ability to evaluate diverse historical sources, including primary written sources, art, images, and artifacts from the period under study in order to make judgments about their relevance, usefulness, and limitations. Students should be able to explain (1) the historical context of the source, (2) its intended audience, (3) its purpose, and (4) the point of view of the original author. For example, an AP® exam question might ask, “Which of the following best reflects the point of view expressed by the author?” Another possible question is “Briefly explain ONE characteristic of the intended audience for this image.”

Interpretation This skill involves the ability to describe, analyze, and evaluate the diverse work of historians. This skill also involves understanding how particular circumstances and perspectives shape different interpretations. Historians can “rewrite” history as a result of changes in society, personal perspectives, the discovery of new sources and information, and, above all, by asking new questions. On the exam, this skill could be evaluated by questions such as “Which of the following would best support the argument of (historian A)?” or “Briefly explain ONE major difference between (historian A’s) and (historian B’s) historical interpretations.”

2. Making Historical Connections

Comparison Thinking about comparison involves the ability to describe, compare, contrast, and evaluate two or more historical developments in the same era or from different periods. It involves the ability to study a given historical event or development from multiple perspectives. Comparison skills are evaluated in questions such as: “The ideas expressed in the excerpt were most similar to those of which of the following?” or “Compare and contrast views of United States overseas expansion in the late 19th century.” Expect AP® questions to test similarities and differences of conceptual understandings rather than simple recall.

Contextualization The skill of contextualization involves the ability to accurately and explicitly explain how a historical event, policy, or source fits into the broader historical picture, often on the regional, national, or global level. Placing the specifics of history into their larger context gives them additional meaning and usefulness as historical evidence. Contextualization is evaluated in questions such as: “(The excerpt) best reflects which of the following developments in U.S. foreign policy?” or “(The excerpt) most directly illustrates the debate about which of the following issues?”

Synthesis Historical synthesis aims to develop one’s understanding of the past by making effective connections to the historical question under study with a different historical period, situation, geographical area, or theme. For example, in an essay question about the debate over U.S. overseas expansion in the late 1890s, synthesis could link the question to relevant foreign policy

debates from a different period, such as the Washington administration or the Mexican War, or to a different theme, such as the economy and the labor situations of the same period.

3. Chronological Reasoning

Causation The study of causation is the primary tool of historians to explore the connections among events. Historians are often challenged to make judgments about the short- and long-term impact of a cause and to compare the relative significance of the possible causes and effects of major events, such as the U.S. Civil War. Students will need to not only identify causes or effects but to explain the relationship. For example, it will not be enough to argue that slavery or states' rights was the primary cause of the Civil War; one must be able to explain the connections of specific evidence to one's position. In the AP® exam, a causation question might ask: "Which of the following most strongly influenced A?" or "Which of the following contributed most directly to B?" Questions such as these challenge a student to understand the difference between "primary" and "secondary" causes and to judge which events may be "coincidental" but have little or no connection to the identified effect. Using causation is a pervasive skill needed in answering exam questions, even when the focus may be on another historical thinking skill.

Patterns of Continuity and Change over Time The study of history also involves the skill to recognize and analyze patterns that reveal both continuity of behaviors and beliefs as well as significant changes. The study of themes especially lends itself to discovering continuity and change in varying lengths of time from a few decades to hundreds of years. For example, President Washington's foreign policy of the 1790s was the standard position in American politics into the 20th century. The AP® exam might evaluate the understanding of continuity and change by asking, "Which of the following developments best represented the continuation of A?" or "Which of the following best represents a later example of the change B?" A more complex essay question can ask, "Evaluate the extent to which C contributed to maintaining continuity as well as fostering change in D." The skill involves not only understanding an event but its significance in longer trends in United States history.

Periodization Periodization involves the ability to analyze and organize history into blocks of time or periods. Periods in history are often identified as starting and ending with turning points, such as a significant war or presidential election. While periodization is a handy tool in the organization of history in meaningful ways, students should understand that specific dates depend on a historian's point of view, which can be shaped by the political, economic, or cultural theme the historian considers most significant. Historical thinking involves not only being aware of how a historian's point of view will shape choices about periodization, but how periodization can change a historical

narrative from one theme to another. The skill of periodization is often used in short-answer questions such as “Briefly explain why ONE of the following periods best represents the beginning of democracy in the United States” or in long-essay questions such as “Evaluate the extent to which the Mexican-American War (1846–1848) marked a turning point in the debate over slavery in the United States.” Periodization questions often use the phrase “turning point.” The fact that the content for the AP® U.S. History course is divided into nine periods offers a good starting point for thinking about “turning points” and the varied characteristics of historical periods.

4. Creating and Supporting an Argument

Argumentation The target of this skill is the ability to write effective answers to AP® questions by creating plausible and persuasive arguments. Especially in long essays and document-based essay questions, one needs to create a clear and comprehensive argument with a strong thesis that addresses all parts of the question and that recognizes contradictory evidence and different perspectives. In the exam, the argument should be linked to a specific historical thinking skill, as in this periodization question: “Evaluate the extent to which the Seven Years’ War (French and Indian War, 1754–1763) marked a turning point in American relations with Great Britain, analyzing what changed and what stayed the same from the period before the war to the period after the war.” A strong argument should also recognize alternate perspectives, such as the viewpoint that the passage of the Stamp Act was the key turning point in the era, but follow up with persuasive evidence supporting the writer’s position.

Using Evidence to Support an Argument Students need to recognize that not all evidence has equal value in support of one’s argument. Examples need to be accurate and relevant to an argument. Making judgments about the use of relevant historical evidence is an essential skill for most of the questions on the AP® exam. Again, the focus will be not on simple recall of facts but on a conceptual understanding of the evidence and the ability to link that understanding to the argument. For example, in the question about the Seven Years’ War as a historical turning point, evidence to support an argument could include specific examples of disagreements between the British government and the American colonists over their contributions of troops, leadership, and money to winning the war.

Every question in the AP® exam will require students to apply one or more of the historical thinking skills. Writing answers to essay questions will always involve more than one skill. To help in the development of these historical thinking skills, the questions at the end of each chapter and each period will deal with one or more of the historical thinking skills. Each chapter also has a “Think as a Historian” activity to practice identifying and understanding one of the skills.

Thematic Learning Objectives

Just as each question on the AP® exam deals with one or more of the historical thinking skills, it is also related to one or more of seven thematic learning objectives, or historical themes. The seven themes address the broad recurring patterns and topics in U.S. history. Following are analyses of each of the seven themes. Each begins with a statement from the *AP® United States History Course and Exam Description*.

American and National Identity (NAT) “This theme focuses on how and why definitions of American and national identity and values have developed, as well as on related topics such as citizenship, constitutionalism, foreign policy, assimilation, and American exceptionalism.” Students should be able to explain how identities related to American values and institutions, regions, and societal groups developed in response to events and have affected political debates. For example, the American Revolution changed the identity of Americans from British colonial subjects to citizens of a free and independent republic.

Politics and Power (POL) “This theme focuses on how different social and political groups have influenced society and government in the United States, as well as how political beliefs and institutions have changed over time.” Students need to understand the debates over power between branches of government, between the national and state governments, and among voters and special interest groups. For example, how the debate over government policies in Congress during the 1790s led to the development of political parties in the United States.

Work, Exchange, and Technology (WXT) “This theme focuses on the factors behind the development of systems of economic exchange, particularly the role of technology, economic markets, and government.” Students should understand how technology and innovation, labor systems, international relations, and government policies influenced the economy. For example, the transportation revolution in the 19th century transformed the market economy and the lives of farmers, workers, and consumers.

Culture and Society (CUL) “This theme focuses on the roles that ideas, beliefs, social mores, and creative expression have played in shaping the United States, as well as how various identities, cultures, and values have been preserved or changed in different contexts of U.S. history.” Students should be able to explain why and how cultural components both hold constant and change over time, as well as the conflicts between traditional and modern values. For example, in what ways did artistic expression change in response to war and to the growth of industry and cities?

Migration and Settlement (MIG) “This theme focuses on why and how the various people who moved to and within the United States both adapted to and transformed their new social and physical environments.” Students should be prepared to answer questions about the peoples who have moved to and

lived in the United States. For example, how immigration of Irish and German Catholics in the 19th century through the arrival of southern and eastern Europeans in the early 20th century to recent Hispanic migration have each affected U.S. society.

Geography and the Environment (GEO) “This theme focuses on the role of geography and both the natural and human-made environments on social and political developments in what would become the United States.” Students need to examine how geography and climate contributed to regional differences and how debates over the use and control of natural resources have impacted different groups and government policies. For example, how did the frontier experience shape early settlers’ attitudes towards the natural environment?

America in the World (WOR) “This theme focuses on the interactions between nations that affected North American history in the colonial period and on the influence of the United States on world affairs.” Students need to understand key developments in foreign policy, as well as domestic debates over these policies. For example, they need to understand how the French Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars challenged U.S. efforts to remain neutral and ultimately contributed to U.S. involvement in the War of 1812.

Using the Themes The tracing of multiple themes through each period of U.S. history is an effective way to study and review both during the course and before the AP® exam. A thematic approach encourages one to think about specific events in a larger framework and to make judgments about causation, continuity and change over time, comparison, and periodization.

Historical Periods

The content of AP® U.S. History is also organized by a framework of the nine chronological periods. The periods include the following chapters and content:

Period 1 (Chapter 1), 1491–1607 The period from pre-Columbian Indian cultures to the founding of Jamestown covers the interaction of cultures and how Europeans, Native Americans, and Africans created a “new” world.

Period 2 (Chapters 2–3), 1607–1754 Various mixtures of American Indians, Europeans, and African Americans created colonies with distinctive cultures, economies, and populations.

Period 3 (Chapters 4–6), 1754–1800 Wars over empires provided the context for the American Revolution and the founding of the United States, including the political struggles to form a “more perfect union.”

Period 4 (Chapters 7–11), 1800–1848 The promise of the new republic played out during a period of rapid economic, territorial, and population growth that tested the political institutions that held the nation together.

Period 5 (Chapters 12–15), 1848–1877 A war with Mexico intensified the conflict over slavery and states’ rights, which led to the Civil War and then to struggles to reconstruct the Union and address the legacy of slavery.

Period 6 (Chapters 16–19), 1865–1898 Industrialization, the rapid growth of cities, and a large new wave of immigration transformed the American economy, society, culture, and regional identities.

Period 7 (Chapters 20–25), 1898–1945 While the United States responded to the impact of industrialization during the Progressive and New Deal years, it also became deeply involved in world affairs during World Wars I and II.

Period 8 (Chapters 26–29), 1945–1980 The United States assumed a world leadership role during the Cold War, while society became more divided over issues of economic and social justice, especially for minorities and women.

Period 9 (Chapters 30–31), 1980–Present A renewed conservative movement challenged the efficacy of government at home, while the end of the Cold War, the spread of globalization, and the increase in terrorism forced it to redefine its policies.

The text begins each period with a one-page introduction that provides an overview of the content, alternative views on periodization, and the key concepts of the period from the *Course Exam and Description*. The key concepts are flexible enough to allow the use of a variety of historically relevant evidence to support them. The full list of subconcepts is also accessible on the College Board Web site. This textbook illustrates with historical evidence the key concepts identified by the College Board. The text does not attempt cover every historical fact, but it includes all of the essential evidence and understandings needed to address the challenges of the AP® U.S. History exam.

The College Board will divide the questions chronologically as follows:

Period 1, 1491–1607: 5 percent

Periods 2 through 5, 1607–1877: 45 percent

Periods 6 through 8, 1865–1980: 45 percent

Period 9, 1980–present: 5 percent

In the AP® U.S. History exam, some multiple-choice and short-answer questions will be based on periods 1 and 9, and content from these periods may be used in the long essays and DBQs. However, no long essay or DBQ will focus exclusively on these two periods of history.

History, like any other field of study, is a combination of subject matter and methodology. The historical skills and themes are methods or tools to explore the subject matter of history. One cannot practice these skills without knowledge of the historical content and understanding of specific historical evidence. The following section provides suggestions for development of another set of skills useful for answering the questions on the exam. Again, the “mastery” of these skills, particularly writing answers to AP® questions, takes practice.

To the Student: Preparing for the AP® Exam Questions

This section explains how to develop the skills needed to answer the four types of questions on the AP® U.S. History exam: (1) multiple-choice, (2) short-answer, (3) long-essay, and (4) document-based. On the exam, the long-essay questions are last. In the following section, because once you have developed the long-essay writing skills, you are more than half-way to writing a competent answer to the DBQ, the long-essay is presented before the DBQ.

Answering the Multiple-Choice Questions

The AP® exam asks 55 multiple-choice questions (MCQ), and you will have 55 minutes to answer them. The value of the MCQs is now 40 percent of the student’s grade and each question is related to the analysis of a “stimulus,” such as a primary or secondary source, or an image (photo, cartoon, painting, graph, or map). Each MCQ assesses one or more historical thinking skills but also requires historical knowledge a student has learned studying U.S. history. From two to six questions will be asked about a stimulus. Each question will have one BEST answer and three distractors. Compared to most history tests, the AP® exam will place less emphasis on simple recall and more emphasis on your ability to use the historical thinking skills, such as using relevant evidence.

This textbook provides preparation for the MCQ section of the exam through the (1) Key Terms by Theme and (2) three sets of multiple-choice questions (each set based on a stimulus) at the end of each chapter. In addition to the MCQs in the chapters, the practice AP® exam includes 55 multiple-choice questions. The MCQs in the chapters are similar to ones on the AP® exam but are also designed to review the content and understanding of the chapter.

Analyzing the Evidence In the new format of the AP® exam, all multiple-choice questions will be introduced with a stimulus. Below is one example of a stimulus, a political cartoon. Your first step in analyzing this kind of evidence, whether an image or reading, is to ask: What was the historical context in which it was created? Who was the intended audience? What was the point of view of the author? What was the author’s purpose? The development of these four skill-building questions will be an ongoing part of preparation for the exam.

You might recognize the patient in the cartoon below, Uncle Sam, a characterization used by political cartoonists since the early 19th century as a stand-in for the United States. The doctor (President Franklin D. Roosevelt) is clearly under pressure from “old lady” Congress to cure the ills of the nation. However, in order to interpret and use the evidence in this cartoon, you need knowledge of the 1930s Great Depression and Roosevelt’s New Deal program (Chapter 24). A stimulus by itself will not reveal the answers to the MCQs, unless you bring the knowledge and skills to effectively unlock and use the evidence.



Source: C. K. Berryman, *Washington Star*, 1934. Library of Congress.

All MCQs will ask a question related to one or more historical thinking skills. Following are examples of common questions that could be asked about this cartoon or any other stimulus.

- *Analyzing Evidence:* Which of the following most directly supports the argument in the stimulus?
- *Comparison:* Which of the following most closely resembles the point of view of the stimulus?
- *Contextualization:* Which of the following developments best reflects the perspective of the stimulus?
- *Causation:* Which of the following most directly states the cause of the point of view of the cartoon (stimulus)?
- *Continuity and Change over Time:* Which of the following was a continuation of the ideas in the stimulus?

Making a Choice Read the stem of the question and all four choices carefully before you record your answer. A number of choices may appear to be correct, but you must select the BEST answer. Choices that reflect absolute positions, such as “always,” “never,” and “exclusively,” are seldom correct.

for historical evidence can rarely offer such absolute certainty. Keep in mind the need to make judgments about the significance of a variety of causes and effects.

Should you guess on the AP® exam? The revised format does not penalize guessing. Obviously, the process of first eliminating a wrong answer or two increases your chances of guessing correctly.

Budgeting Your Time The AP® History exam gives you 55 minutes to answer 55 questions. You will not have enough time to spend two or three minutes on difficult questions. Follow a relaxed but reasonable pace, rather than rushing through the exam and then going back and second-guessing your decisions. Avoid skipping questions and be careful changing answers.

Recommended Activity Practicing sample multiple-choice questions is important before the exam, if for no other reason than to reduce the number of surprises over the format of the questions. However, for many students, the review of content through multiple-choice questions is not the most productive way to prepare for the exam. The purpose of the chapter content in this textbook is to provide a useful and meaningful review of the essential concepts and evidence needed for the exam. By reviewing the essential facts in their historical context, you will better recall and understand the connections between events—so important for applying the historical thinking skills.

Answering the Short-Answer Questions

The short-answer question (SAQ) section of the AP® U.S. History will have four sets of questions and allow students 50 minutes to answer them. Each question consists of **three tasks**, and students receive one point for a successful response to each, so each question is worth **three points**. Below is an example from a recent AP® exam of how a question may be structured with three tasks, labeled a), b), and c).

1. Answer (a), (b), and (c).
 - a) Briefly explain ONE important similarity between the British colonies in the Chesapeake region and the British colonies in New England in the period from 1607 to 1754.
 - b) Briefly explain ONE important difference between the British colonies in the Chesapeake region and the British colonies in New England in the period from 1607 to 1754.
 - c) Briefly explain ONE factor that accounts for the difference that you indicated in (b).

All tasks will involve the practice of at least one Historical Thinking Skill. For example, the above sample uses the skills of Comparison and the Use of Evidence. Some SAQs will have a stimulus, such as an image or a pair of short

quotations. Some SAQs will also have choices for the students, providing students the opportunity to write on what they know best. For example, see the following task.

- a) Briefly explain the point of view expressed through the image about ONE of the following.
- emancipation
 - citizenship
 - political participation

Writing Short Answers

Short-answer questions, unlike the long-essay questions, do not require the development of a thesis statement. However, they do need to be answered in **complete sentences**. An outline or bulleted list alone is not acceptable. Time is limited to 50 minutes for four questions, each with three tasks. “Briefly explain” is the key direction in most short-answer questions. The number of sentences that it will take to answer the question will depend on the task in the question. As you practice writing responses to short-answer questions, work on your ability to write clear and complete sentences supported with specific and accurate evidence. Use the proper names of persons, places, and events as proof that you know the evidence. At this time, the College Board has yet to decide if student answers must be separated into the three tasks of a), b), and c) or can be in one paragraph. You will have one page in the exam booklet that includes approximately 23 lines in which to write your answers to each short-answer question of three tasks.

Recommended Activity At the end of each chapter, this textbook contains four short-answer questions based on the models provided by the College Board. Some questions may have more options than one might find on the AP® exam. The purpose was not to make them easier but to broaden the review. Of course, students who want to be on the top of their game should be able to explain each option and will be better prepared for the exam.

As you answer the short-answer questions at the end of each chapter, first try to identify the historical thinking skill(s) used in the question. This will help you become more oriented to the purpose of the question, whether it involves causation, comparison, or any of the other historical thinking skills. To evaluate your progress in answering these short-answer questions, use this simple scoring standard:

- 1 point for accomplishing the task identified in the prompt
- 0 points for each task that is not accomplished or completed

You might need to answer many short-answer questions over several weeks to learn how to budget the 10–12 minutes available to answer each part of the three-point questions.

Answering the Long-Essay Questions

The AP® U.S. History exam gives students a choice between two long-essay questions that focus on the same historical thinking skill, but may have different time periods. The suggested writing time is 35 minutes. The long essay represents 15 percent of the final grade on the exam and has proven, along with the Document-Based Question (25 percent), to be the two parts of the exam that students need the most development with. The long-essay questions graded on the 2015 exam used the following criterion.

- State a relevant thesis that directly addresses all parts of the question.
- Support your argument with evidence, using specific examples.
- Apply historical thinking skills as directed by the question.
- Synthesize the elements above into a persuasive essay that extends your argument, connects it to a different historical context, or connects it to a different category of analysis.

Development of Essay Writing Skills Students will benefit from starting the practice of writing AP® History essays as early as possible. Instead of writing and rewriting complete essays until all elements are mastered, break down the skills needed to write an effective AP® History essay into sequential development steps. The following steps have proven useful in developing the skills needed to answer the AP® long-essay question.

1. Analyze the Question
2. Organize the Evidence
3. Develop the Thesis and Introductory Paragraph
4. Write the Supporting Paragraphs
5. Write the Conclusion and Synthesis
6. Evaluate Your Essay

Let’s look at the sequential steps that you can practice to develop long-essay writing skills for the AP® exam.

1. Analyze the Question Taking the time to consider what the question really asks is often overlooked in the rush to start writing. Take time to fully understand the question and avoid the mistake of writing an essay that receives little or no credit because it answered a question that was not asked. Consider this sample long-essay question:

Evaluate the extent to which trans-Atlantic interactions from 1600 to 1763 contributed to maintaining continuity as well as fostering change in labor systems in the British North American colonies.

Stop and ask yourself, “What are the key words in the question? What is the targeted historical thinking skill in the question?” Underline them. It could be verbs such as “analyze,” “evaluate,” “support,” “modify,” or “refute.”

During this step, all parts of the question need to be identified. In the above essay question, both continuity and change need to be addressed. It is not enough simply to describe or explain trans-Atlantic interactions and labor systems in the colonies. You must evaluate how interactions, such as trade and migration, contributed to continuity and change in labor systems, such as free labor, indentured servitude, and slavery.

Recommended Activity As an initial skill-building activity, analyze the long-essay question above or in the review section after each period. *Underline* the key word(s) that indicate what the writer should do and the targeted thinking skill. *Circle* the words that indicate the specific parts or aspects of the content that needs to be addressed.

2. Organize the Evidence Many students start writing their answers to an essay question without first thinking through what they know, and they often write themselves into a corner. Directions for the AP[®] History exam suggest students spend some time reading and planning before starting to write. Take a few minutes to identify what you know about the question and organize your information by making a rough outline in the test booklet, using abbreviations and other memory aids. This outline is not graded. The value of taking a few minutes to organize your knowledge becomes quickly apparent. Do you have enough evidence to select a certain essay or to support your argument?

Below is a sample list of items that could be used in answering the essay question about the impact of trans-Atlantic interactions on the continuity and changes in the labor systems in the North American British colonies.

Trans-Atlantic Interactions	Labor Systems	North American British Colonies
Migration over time	Adventurers	Populations, economies, and settlement patterns
Triangular trade	Free labor	New England
Slave traders	Family units	Middle Colonies
Racial prejudices	Indentured servants	Chesapeake region
Cash crops, tobacco	Slavery	Carolina and Georgia
Natural resources, ship supplies	Native Americans	
	Labor shortages	

However, the key to writing an effective long-essay answer is that your thesis and arguments drive your writing so that you do not simply list facts.

Recommended Activity Create a list of the kinds of relevant information that could be incorporated into the responses to the long-essay questions in the period review. Organize the information under headings that reflect the major parts of the question. This activity parallels the lists developed by AP[®] consultants before readers start scoring essays. It is a very useful prewriting activity.

3. Develop a Thesis and Introductory Paragraph A strong thesis is an essential part of every AP® History essay answer. Some students seem to have difficulty taking a position. Some are afraid of making a mistake. Remember, different interpretations of events is part of the study of history. AP® readers are looking not for the “right answer” but for a writer’s ability to interpret the historical evidence and marshal it into a persuasive argument.

A thesis must be more than a restatement of the question. It requires taking a position on the question and a focus on the appropriate historical thinking skills. The following thesis is one effort to address the long-essay question above:

Trans-Atlantic interactions fostered continuity in the demand for labor in the British North American colonies from 1600 to 1783 but also fostered change in the kinds of labor systems in use.

This statement is straightforward and it takes a position on the question and the issue of continuity and change, but it is not well developed. Below is an example of how to extend and develop the short thesis statement from the above question about labor systems:

Not surprisingly, the colonies from New England to Georgia tried different labor systems, such as free labor, indentured servitude, and slavery. Changes in these labor systems were affected by changes in trade and migrations, but the racial attitudes of the period hardened the institution of slavery against change, especially in the Southern colonies.

By developing and extending a thesis statement, one both clarifies the thesis and provides the organizing ideas and arguments that will guide the development of the essay.

The AP® exam rubric states that the thesis must be “located in one place, either the introduction or conclusion.” Based on experience most teachers and readers of the exam recommend putting your thesis in the introductory paragraph. While it might seem to create more drama to reveal the thesis in the last paragraph, you are not writing a who-done-it mystery.

An effective introductory paragraph usually contains three elements: (1) the background or context to the question, (2) the thesis statement, and (3) an introduction to the main arguments of the essay to be developed in the body or supporting paragraphs. This third element is sometimes called the essay’s “blueprint” or “organizing ideas.” By the end of the first paragraph, the reader should not only know your thesis but also have a clear idea of the main arguments to be developed in support of the thesis.

Recommended Activities Practice writing introductory paragraphs to long-essay questions using the three elements of 1) introduction or background to the question, 2) the thesis statement, and 3) a introduction of main arguments to support the thesis.

In addition, you could exchange statements with a partner or in a group and ask these questions about each one:

- Does the thesis take a position?
- Does the thesis offer a fully developed interpretation of the question?
- Does the paragraph introduce the main arguments to support the thesis?

4. Write the Supporting Paragraphs The number and length of the supporting paragraphs forming the body of the essay should vary depending on the thesis, the main points of your argument, and the amount of historical evidence. To receive a high AP® score, you must explain how specific historical evidence is linked to your thesis and one of the following targeted historical thinking skills. Each long-essay question will evaluate one of these skills:

- **Comparison:** describes and explains the reasons for the similarities and/or differences among historical figures, events or developments, or their relative significance
- **Causation:** describes and explains the reasons for the causes and/or effects of a historical event or development
- **Continuity or Change over Time:** describes and explains the reasons for historical continuity and/or change over time
- **Periodization:** describes and explains the extent to which a specific historical development or turning point marked a change in what went before and/or after it

The number of paragraphs in the body depends on the number of arguments to be made to support one’s thesis. For example, to answer the sample long-essay question above, one might develop three separate paragraphs, one for each of the identified colonial labor systems: free labor, indentured servitude, and slavery.

Many essays fall short of a top grade because the supporting paragraphs are little more than a list of generalities or a “laundry list” of facts. In an effective essay, each paragraph clearly explains a connection between specific evidence and the thesis and the targeted thinking skill. Support of one’s argument should also go beyond simply describing the evidence: it should explain and, when necessary, evaluate the evidence.

While length is no guarantee of a top grade, depth of analysis and use of evidence does require space. Hence, good essays are often longer than weak ones. However, a concise essay in which every word has a purpose is better than an essay bloated with fillers and flowery language in an attempt to impress the reader.

As you plan and write the supporting paragraphs, consider your writing style. The AP® long essays do not call for a narrative style of historical writing or “stories.” Rather, they should be analytical essays that support the writer’s argument with specific knowledge.

Model for Organizing Answers to Essay Questions

This model for an expository, five-paragraph essay illustrates how a well-organized essay relates back to an effective introductory paragraph. Do not conclude from the model that an essay should always consist of five paragraphs. The total number of paragraphs is for the writer to determine. What the model does suggest is that the introductory paragraph is crucial because it should shape the full essay. An effective introduction tells the reader the arguments you will develop in the body of essay and then explains how you will develop that view, identifying the main points you will be making in the body of your essay. If your introductory paragraph is properly written, the rest of the paper will be relatively easy to write, especially if you have already organized your information.

Paragraph 1: Introduction Introduction or background to the question _____

Thesis statement _____

Development of the thesis with preview of main arguments _____

Paragraph 2: First Argument Topic sentence explaining first argument _____ Evidence to support argument using targeted thinking skill _____

Paragraph 3: Second Argument Topic sentence explaining second argument _____ Explain evidence to support argument using targeted thinking skill _____

Paragraph 4: Third Argument Topic sentence explaining third argument _____ Evidence to support argument using targeted thinking skill _____

Paragraph 5: Conclusion Opportunity for synthesis, such as connecting your historical analysis to another period or theme _____

Recommended Activities The first effort for writing a complete AP® History essay will be a more positive experience if it is an untimed assignment. In practicing the writing of your main arguments, it helps to first organize one’s arguments by outlining the relevant evidence to be used in each paragraph. After some confidence is gained in writing the long essay, you should apply these skills in the context of a timed test, similar to that of the AP® exam (e.g., 35 minutes for the long essay). The purpose of this practice is to become familiar with the time restraints of the AP® exam. The feedback from these practice tests—whether from teachers, peers, or self-evaluation—is essential for making the practice produce progress.

5. Conclusion and Synthesis Each long essay and document-based essay will also evaluate the thinking skill of synthesis, which for the AP® U.S. History exam involves extending your arguments by connecting them to ONE of the following: a) a development in a different historical period, situation, or geographical area or b) a course theme and/or approach to history that is not the focus of the essay, such as political, social, cultural, or intellectual history. While people debate where to place your synthesis in the essay, the conclusion has advantages as the essay is summarized or the thesis is restated. For example, in the essay question above, the synthesis could relate the cotton trade and slavery issues from the 1820 to 1860 period to the arguments in the essay.

6. Evaluate Your Essay The activity below is a set of questions about how effectively a long essay achieves the elements that the AP® readers look for in grading long essays. Use of these questions can help you discover areas for improvement.

Activity: Evaluating the Long Essay

1. Thesis Does the thesis statement deal with all parts of the question? Are the arguments historically defensible? How could the thesis and key arguments be improved?

2. Application of Targeted Historical Thinking Skill To what extent does the essay describe and effectively analyze how the arguments and thesis of the essay are connected to the targeted thinking skill? How could the targeted thinking skill be better analyzed in the arguments?

3. Use of Evidence to Support Arguments Are the arguments supported with specific, substantial, and relevant evidence? Does the essay clearly explain how the evidence is linked to the arguments? How can the depth, range, and analysis of the evidence be improved?

4. Conclusion and Synthesis Does the essay extend the argument by explaining the connections to development in a different time period, situation, geographical area, or course theme? How can the attempt at synthesis be improved?

5. Accuracy and Clarity AP® readers realize that students are writing a first draft under pressure. However, accuracy and clarity are problems when they detract from the overall quality of the work. Does the historical content of

the essay demonstrate accurate content knowledge? Does grammar obscure the successful demonstration of the content knowledge and skills needed in the essay?

Other suggestions to keep in mind as you start practicing the writing of history essays for the AP® exam are:

- *Follow the writing style used by historians.* Avoid use of the first person (“I,” “we”). Rather, use the third person (“he,” “she,” “they”). Write in the past tense, except when referring to documents or sources that currently exist (e.g., “the document implies”). Use the active voice rather than the passive voice because it states cause and effect more strongly (e.g., “Edison created” is in the active voice; “was created by Edison” is in the passive voice).
- *Use specific words.* Clearly identify persons, factors, and judgments. Replace vague verbs such as “felt” and “says” with more precise ones. Do not use words such as “they” and “others” as vague references to unidentified groups or events.
- *Define or explain key terms.* If the question deals with terms (such as “liberal,” “conservative,” or “manifest destiny”), an essential part of your analysis should include an explanation of these terms.
- *Communicate awareness of the complexity of history.* Distinguish between primary and secondary causes and effects and between the more and less significant. Use verbs that communicate judgment and analysis (e.g., “reveal,” “exemplify,” “demonstrate,” “imply,” “symbolize”).
- *Anticipate counterarguments.* Consider arguments that are against your thesis, not to prove them, but to show that you are aware of opposing points of view. The strongest essays confront conflicting evidence.
- *Remain objective.* Avoid rhetoric, especially on social issues. The AP® test is not the place to argue that a group was racist or that some people were the “good guys” and others the “bad guys.” Avoid absolutes, such as “all” and “none.” Rarely in history is the evidence so conclusive that you can prove that there were no exceptions. Do not use slang terms!
- *Communicate the organization and logical development of your argument.* Each paragraph should develop a main point that is clearly stated in the topic sentence. Provide a few words or a phrase of transition to connect one paragraph to another.

Using the Scoring Guide Teacher evaluation and self-evaluation of essay work are initially less threatening than peer evaluation. However, once a level of confidence is established, peer evaluation will help students become better writers and is often a useful form of feedback. The above activity could be used in groups to promote improvement without grading the essay. On the following page is a generic scoring guide based on the College Board’s revised rubrics for the long essay. Students can use rubrics to evaluate their own work and to internalize the grading standards used on the AP® exam.

Practice Scoring Guide for Long Essay

Six Possible Points

A. Thesis: 1 Point

- 1 point for a thesis that addresses all parts of the question and makes a historically defensible argument

B. Use of the Targeted Historical Skill: 2 Points

- 1 point for describing how arguments and the thesis are connected to the targeted historical thinking skill of comparison, causation, continuity and change over time or periodization
- 1 additional point for explaining more fully and effectively how the arguments and thesis are connected to the targeted thinking skill

C. Use of Evidence: 2 Points

- 1 point for addressing the topic of the question with specific examples of relevant evidence
- 1 additional point for fully and more effectively supporting the thesis with a broader range of evidence along with analysis and explanation

D. Synthesis: 1 Point

- 1 point for extending the argument by explaining connections between the argument and a different time period, situation, geographical area, or a course theme not the focus of the essay

Answering the Document-Based Question (DBQ)

The AP® exam includes one Document-Based Question. This sample DBQ may not look much different from a long essay.

Analyze major changes and continuities in the social and economic experiences of African Americans who migrated from the rural South to urban areas in the North in the period 1910 to 1930.

However, the AP® exam directions for this DBQ listed below clearly go beyond the tasks for the long essay.

In your response, you should do the following.

- State a relevant thesis that directly addresses all parts of the question.
- Support the thesis or a relevant argument with evidence from all, or all but one, of the documents.
- Incorporate analysis of all, or all but one, of the documents into your argument.

- Focus your analysis of each document on at least one of the following: intended audience, purpose, historical context, and/or point of view.
- Support your argument with analysis of historical examples outside the documents.
- Connect historical phenomena relevant to your argument to broader events or processes.
- Synthesize the elements above into a persuasive essay that extends your argument, connects it to a different historical context, or accounts for contradictory evidence on the topic.

What is different in a DBQ is that students are asked to analyze up to seven documents, including primary sources, images, maps, and statistics, and use them to support one's thesis and arguments. The diversity of these documents challenges students to also create a more fully developed thesis and arguments to account for their historical complexity. To take on these additional requirements, you will have 55 minutes to answer a DBQ.

What is important to remember is that writing a DBQ answer is still similar to writing an effective long essay. A DBQ answer still needs an effective thesis that addresses all parts of the question. Just as in a long essay, you need to make persuasive arguments supported by evidence and a conclusion that employs one of the approaches to synthesis. Below are explanations of the factors in the DBQ essay that go beyond the long essay.

1. Document Analysis A student will need to use the content of all, or all but one, of the documents to support the thesis and relevant arguments to get full credit. Students are also expected to include the analysis of one or more of the following in their analysis of at least four documents.

- Historical context
- Intended audience of document
- Purpose of document
- Point of view of the author

The easy mistake a novice can make in using the documents is to write little more than a description of the documents. Your thesis and arguments, not the arrangement of the documents in the exam booklet, should control the organization of the essay. Think of the documents in terms of evidence to be linked to the thesis, and integrate them into a well-organized and persuasive argument. However, the documents should influence the thesis to the extent that you will have to deal with the added complexity and often contradictions and limitations found in the documents.

2. Use of Evidence Beyond the Documents The directions for the DBQ also ask students to support their arguments with analysis of examples beyond the documents. This is not much different than what you would do with the use of evidence in a long essay, except the example(s) should enrich your arguments and not duplicate the evidence in the documents or their analysis. For example,

the documents that went along with this DBQ did not explicitly address the impact of African American music, such as during the Harlem Renaissance, in the North. An explanation of how African American music enhanced the image of black artists and changed their experience in the North after migration would be an example of going beyond the documents in this DBQ.

3. Contextualization Students are also asked to provide “contextualization” to support their arguments. This skill involves extending your arguments by explaining the broader historical events or context immediately relevant to the question and beyond analysis of the documents. For example, in the above essay, one could broaden the discussion of the African American migrant experience by explaining the consequences of moving from an agricultural to an industrial economy or the impact of housing patterns and ethnic neighborhoods in northern cities on social experiences during this period.

Some AP[®] teachers recommend that contextualization should be addressed in the introduction to the essay, as part of the background to the question, others in the concluding paragraphs. Regardless of its placement, this task requires an explanation that is multiple sentences or a full paragraph long. Keep in mind that it is priority to address the question with a strong thesis and arguments supported by documents and at least one example beyond the documents to gain 5 out of the possible 7 points. If saving contextualization and synthesis to the end of the essay helps keep your focus on those central tasks, it may be more beneficial to address the two points gained from explaining your contextualization and synthesis examples at the end of the essay.

Additional suggestions for writing an effective DBQ include the following.

- Use the first 15 minutes to read the documents and make marginal notes on the documents. If time allows, organize them and the relevant “outside” knowledge to support your main arguments.
- Brief references to the documents are enough. The readers already know the content of the documents, so do not quote them.
- Realize that not all documents will have equal weight in supporting your thesis. Communicate to the reader your awareness of the contradictions or limitations of a document or how a document, which may not support your thesis, fits into the context that is relevant to the question.
- Establish that you understand the era in question by setting the historical scene early in the essay by using your “outside” information. Be careful not to use the same example from your outside information again in the contextualization and synthesis analysis, or you will “double dip” and not receive credit in both.

Recommended Activities In this textbook, you will have dealt with more than a dozen excerpts, cartoons, or other forms of a “stimulus” before practicing the first DBQ. There are ten DBQs in the reviews at the ends of period 2 through period 8 and another DBQ in the practice exam.

For a prewriting activity for the DBQs, students could identify and discuss the historical context, the intended audience, author’s point of view, or purpose of the author of each document.

In writing a DBQ, apply the same skills developed in learning to write a strong long-essay answer, plus the use of documents and contextualization. After writing your first DBQ answers, use the practice DBQ scoring guide based on the College Board’s rubrics below to evaluate your answers. The use of the guide can also help internalize the criteria for writing a strong DBQ.

Practice Scoring Guide for the Document-Based Question

Seven Possible Points

A. Thesis and Argument Development: 2 Points

- 1 point for a thesis that makes a historically defensible claim and responds to all parts of the question
- 1 point for developing a cohesive argument that recognizes and accounts for historical complexity by explicitly illustrating relationships among historical evidence such as contradiction, corroboration, and/or qualification

B. Document Analysis: 2 Points

- 1 point for utilizing the content of at least six of the documents to support the stated thesis or a relevant argument
- 1 point for explaining the significance of the author’s point of view, author’s purpose, historical context, and/or audience for at least **four** documents

C. Using Evidence Beyond the Documents: 2 Points

- 1 point for contextualizing the argument by explaining the broader historical events, developments, or processes immediately relevant to the question
- 1 point for providing an example or additional piece of specific evidence **beyond those found in the documents** to support or qualify the argument

D. Synthesis: 1 Point

- 1 point for extending the argument by explaining the connections between the argument and ONE of the following: a) a development in a different historical period, situation, era, or geographical area or b) a course theme and/or approach to history that is not the focus of the essay (such as political, social, economic, cultural, or intellectual history)

Review Schedule

Under the best conditions, preparation for the AP® U.S. History exam takes place within the context of an Advanced Placement® or Honors course. However, whether this text is used in conjunction with the course or as a review book before the exam, the teacher or students will benefit from organizing a review schedule before the exam. Many AP® candidates find that study groups are helpful, especially if the students bring to the group a variety of strengths.

Following is a sample of a review schedule using this text that either teachers or students might construct to organize their preparation.

Week 1: Periods 1, 2, and 3 (Chapters 1–6), 1491 to 1800

Week 2: Period 4 and part of Period 5 (Chapters 7–13), 1800 to 1861

Week 3: Part of Period 5 and Period 6 (Chapters 14–19), 1861 to 1898

Week 4: Period 7 (Chapters 20–25), 1890 to 1945

Week 5: Periods 8 and 9 (Chapters 26–31), 1945 to the present

Week 6: Complete and review the practice test.

Staying with such a schedule requires discipline. This discipline is greatly strengthened if a study group chooses a specific time and place to meet and sets specific objectives for each meeting. For example, students might divide the material by chapters and prepare outline responses to key terms and review questions. Some individuals may find it more productive to create a review schedule for themselves. If this review text has been used in conjunction with a history course, your familiarity with the essential content and skills developed in this book should make it an even more convenient and efficient review tool.

PERIOD 1: 1491–1607

Chapter 1 A New World of Many Cultures, 1491–1607

Today, the United States is a synthesis, or combination, of people from around the world. The first people arrived in the Americas at least 10,000 years ago. Chapter 1 begins with a survey of how these people lived in 1491, the year before the arrival of European Christopher Columbus in the Americas. His arrival initiated lasting contact between people on opposite sides of the Atlantic Ocean. The chapter and the period end in 1607, with the founding of the first permanent English settlement at Jamestown, Virginia. The Jamestown settlement marks the beginning of the framework of a new nation.

Period Perspectives Contact between Europeans and the natives of America touched off a trans-Atlantic trade in animals, plants, and germs known as the Columbian Exchange. This trade altered the way people around the globe lived and thought. Within a hundred years, Spanish and Portuguese explorers and settlers developed colonies using natives and enslaved Africans for labor in agriculture and mining precious metals. Natives and Africans resisted oppression by maintaining elements of their cultures. The Spanish and the Portuguese were quickly followed to the Americas by the French and the Dutch, and later by the English.

Alternate View Until the mid-20th century, most historians viewed Columbus and European explorers and settlers as great adventurers who founded colonies that developed into modern democracies. However, in recent years, historians have highlighted the vibrant and diverse native cultures that existed in the Americas before the arrival of Columbus, and how European diseases and violence destroyed so much of these cultures. The native population declined by 90 percent after the arrival of Europeans. To demonstrate this greater emphasis on native culture, historians often begin this period in 1491 rather than 1492.

Key Concepts

1.1: As native populations migrated and settled across the vast expanse of North America over time, they developed distinct and increasingly complex societies by adapting and transforming their diverse environments.

1.2: Contacts among Europeans, Native Americans, and Africans resulted in the Columbian Exchange and significant social, cultural, and political changes on both sides of the Atlantic Ocean.

Source: AP® United States History Course and Exam Description, Updated Fall 2015

A NEW WORLD OF MANY CULTURES, 1491–1607

Thirty-three days after my departure from [the Canary Islands] I reached the Indian Sea, where I discovered many islands, thickly peopled, of which I took possession without resistance in the name of our most illustrious monarch, by public proclamation and with unfurled banners.

Christopher Columbus, *Select Letters*, 1493.

The original discovery, exploration, and settlement of North and South America occurred at least 10,000 years before Christopher Columbus was born. Some archeologists estimate that the first people settled in North America 40,000 years ago. Migrants from Asia may have crossed a land bridge that once connected Siberia and Alaska (land now submerged under the Bering Sea). Over time, people migrated southward from near the Arctic Circle to the southern tip of South America. The first Americans adapted to the varied environments of the regions that they found. They evolved into hundreds of tribes, spoke different languages, and practiced different cultures. Estimates of the native population in the Americas in the 1490s vary from 50 million to 100 million people.

Cultures of Central and South America

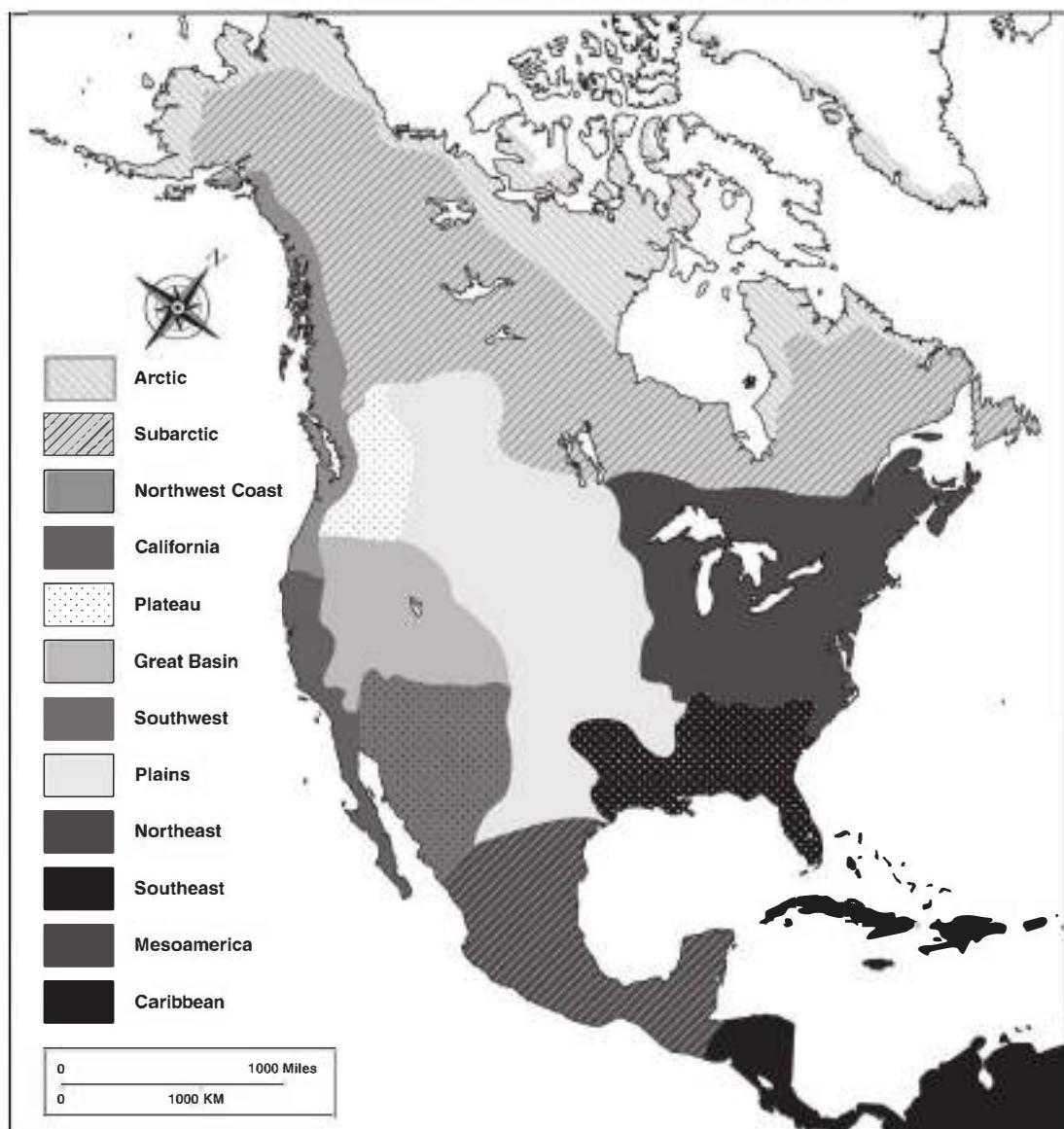
The native population was concentrated in three highly developed civilizations. Between A.D. 300 and 800, the Mayas built remarkable cities in the rain forests of the Yucatán Peninsula (present-day Guatemala, Belize, and southern Mexico). Several centuries after the decline of the Mayas, the Aztecs from central Mexico developed a powerful empire. The Aztec capital, Tenochtitlán, had a population of about 200,000, equivalent in population to the largest cities of Europe. While the Aztecs were dominating Mexico and Central America, the Incas based in Peru developed a vast empire in South America. All three civilizations developed highly organized societies, carried on an extensive trade, and created calendars that were based on accurate scientific observations. All three cultivated crops that provided a stable food supply, particularly corn (maize) for the Mayas and Aztecs and potatoes for the Incas.

Cultures of North America

The population in the region north of Mexico (present-day United States and Canada) in the 1490s may have been anywhere from under 1 million to more than 10 million. In general, the native societies in this region were smaller and less sophisticated than those in Mexico and South America. One reason for this was how slowly the cultivation of corn (maize) spread northward from Mexico.

Some of the most populous and complex societies in North America had disappeared by the 15th century, for reasons not well understood. By the time of Columbus, most people in the Americas in what is now the United States and Canada lived in semipermanent settlements in groups seldom exceeding 300 people. The men made tools and hunted for game, while the women gathered plants and nuts or grew crops such as corn (maize), beans, and tobacco.

NATIVE PEOPLES OF THE AMERICAS, 1491



Language Beyond these similarities, the cultures of American Indians were very diverse. For example, while English, Spanish, and almost all other European languages were part of just one language family (Indo-European), American Indian languages constituted more than 20 language families. Among the largest of these were Algonquian in the Northeast, Siouan on the Great Plains, and Athabaskan in the Southwest. Together, these 20 families included more than 400 distinct languages.

Southwest Settlements In the dry region that now includes New Mexico and Arizona, groups such as the Hohokam, Anasazi, and Pueblos evolved multifaceted societies supported by farming with irrigation systems. In large numbers they lived in caves, under cliffs, and in multistoried buildings. By the time Europeans arrived, extreme drought and other hostile natives had taken their toll on these groups. However, much of their way of life was preserved in the arid land and their stone and masonry dwellings.

Northwest Settlements Along the Pacific coast from what is today Alaska to northern California, people lived in permanent longhouses or plank houses. They had a rich diet based on hunting, fishing, and gathering nuts, berries, and roots. To save stories, legends, and myths, they carved large totem poles. The high mountain ranges in this region isolated tribes from one another, creating barriers to development.

Great Plains Most people who lived on the Great Plains were either nomadic hunters or sedentary people who farmed and traded. The nomadic tribes survived on hunting, principally the buffalo, which supplied their food as well as decorations, crafting tools, knives, and clothing. They lived in tepees, frames of poles covered in animal skins, which were easily disassembled and transported. While the farming tribes also hunted buffalo, they lived permanently in earthen lodges often along rivers. They raised corn (maize), beans, and squash while actively trading with other tribes. Not until the 17th century did American Indians acquire horses by trading or stealing them from Spanish settlers. With horses, tribes such as the Lakota Sioux moved away from farming to hunting and easily following the buffalo across the plains. The plains tribes would at times merge or split apart as conditions changed. Migration also was common. For example, the Apaches gradually migrated southward from Canada to Texas.

Midwest Settlements East of the Mississippi River, the Woodland American Indians prospered with a rich food supply. Supported by hunting, fishing, and agriculture, many permanent settlements developed in the Mississippi and Ohio River valleys and elsewhere. The Adena-Hopewell culture, centered in what is now Ohio, is famous for the large earthen mounds it created, some as large as 300 feet long. One of the largest settlements in the Midwest was Cahokia (near present-day East St. Louis, Illinois), with as many as 30,000 inhabitants.

Northeast Settlements Some descendants of the Adena-Hopewell culture spread from the Ohio Valley into New York. Their culture combined hunting

and farming. However, their farming techniques exhausted the soil quickly, so people had to move to fresh land frequently. Among the most famous groups of American Indians in this region was the Iroquois Confederation, a political union of five independent tribes who lived in the Mohawk Valley of New York. The five tribes were the Seneca, Cayuga, Onondaga, Oneida, and Mohawk. Multiple families related through a mother lived in longhouses, up to 200 feet long. From the 16th century through the American Revolution, the Iroquois were a powerful force, battling rival American Indians as well as Europeans.

Atlantic Seaboard Settlements In the area from New Jersey south to Florida lived the people of the Coastal Plains. Many were descendants of the Woodland mound builders and built timber and bark lodgings along rivers. The rivers and the Atlantic Ocean provided a rich source of food.

Europe Moves Toward Exploration

Until the late 1400s, Americans and the people of Europe, Africa, and Asia had no knowledge of the people on the other side of the Atlantic Ocean. While Vikings from Scandinavia had visited Greenland and North America around the year 1000, these voyages had no lasting impact. Columbus's voyages of exploration finally brought people into contact across the Atlantic. Several factors made an oceanic crossing and exploration possible in the late 15th century.

Improvements in Technology

In Europe, a rebirth of classical learning prompted an outburst of artistic and scientific activity in the 15th and 16th centuries known as the Renaissance. Several of the technological advances during the Renaissance resulted from Europeans making improvements in the inventions of others. For example, they began to use gunpowder (invented by the Chinese) and the sailing compass (adopted from Arab merchants who learned about it from the Chinese). Europeans also made major improvements in shipbuilding and mapmaking. In addition, the invention of the printing press in the 1450s aided the spread of knowledge across Europe.

Religious Conflict

The later years of the Renaissance were a time of intense religious zeal and conflict. The Roman Catholic Church that had once dominated Western Europe was threatened from without by Ottoman Turks who were followers of Islam and from within by a revolt against the pope's authority.

Catholic Victory in Spain In the 8th century, Islamic invaders from North Africa, known as Moors, rapidly conquered most of what is now Spain. Over the next several centuries, Spanish Christians reconquered much of the land and set up several independent kingdoms. Two of the largest of these kingdoms united when Isabella, queen of Castile, and Ferdinand, king of Aragon, married in 1469. In 1492, under the leadership of Isabella and Ferdinand, the Spanish conquered the last Moorish stronghold in Spain, the city of Granada. In that year, the monarchs also funded Christopher Columbus on his historic

first voyage. The uniting of Spain under Isabella and Ferdinand, the conquest of Granada, and the launching of Columbus signaled new leadership, hope, and power for Europeans who followed the Roman Catholic faith.

Protestant Revolt in Northern Europe In the early 1500s, certain Christians in Germany, England, France, Holland, and other northern European countries revolted against the authority of the pope in Rome. Their revolt was known as the Protestant Reformation. Conflict between Catholics and Protestants led to a series of religious wars. The conflict also caused the Catholics of Spain and Portugal and the Protestants of England and Holland to want to spread their own versions of Christianity to people in Africa, Asia, and the Americas. Thus, a religious motive for exploration and colonization was added to political and economic motives.

Expanding Trade

Economic motives for exploration grew out of a fierce competition among European kingdoms for increased trade with Africa, India, and China. In the past, merchants had traveled from the Italian city-state of Venice and the Byzantine city of Constantinople on a long, slow, expensive overland route that reached all the way to the capital of the Chinese empire. This land route to Asia had become blocked in 1453 when the Ottoman Turks seized control of Constantinople.

New Routes So the challenge to finding a new way to the rich Asian trade appeared to be by sailing either south along the West African coast east to China, or sailing west across the Atlantic Ocean. The Portuguese, who realized the route south and east was the shortest path, thought this option seemed more promising. Voyages of exploration sponsored by Portugal's Prince Henry the Navigator eventually succeeded in opening up a long sea route around South Africa's Cape of Good Hope. In 1498, the Portuguese sea captain Vasco da Gama was the first European to reach India via this route. By this time, Columbus had attempted what he mistakenly believed would be a shorter route to Asia.

Slave Trading Since ancient times people in Europe, Africa, and Asia had enslaved people captured in wars. In the 15th century, the Portuguese began trading for slaves from West Africa. They used the slaves to work newly established sugar plantations on the Madeira and Azores islands off the African coast. Producing sugar with slave labor was so profitable that when Europeans later established colonies in the Americas, they used the slave system there.

African Resistance Enslaved Africans resisted slavery in whatever ways they could. Though transported thousands of miles from their homelands and brutally repressed, they often ran away, sabotaged work, or revolted. And for generations they maintained aspects of their African culture, particularly in music, religion, and folkways.

Developing Nation-States

Europe was also changing politically in the 15th century. Small kingdoms, such as Castile and Aragon, were uniting into larger ones. Enormous multiethnic empires, such as the sprawling Holy Roman Empire in central Europe, were

breaking up. Replacing the small kingdoms and the multiethnic empires were nation-states, countries in which the majority of people shared both a common culture and common loyalty toward a central government. The monarchs of the emerging nation-states, such as Isabella and Ferdinand of Spain; Prince Henry the Navigator of Portugal; and similar monarchs of France, England, and the Netherlands; depended on trade to bring in needed revenues and on the church to justify their right to rule. They used their power to search for riches abroad and to spread the influence of their version of Christianity to new overseas dominions.

Early Explorations

Changing economic, political, and social conditions in Europe shaped the ambitions of the Italian-born Christopher Columbus.

Christopher Columbus

Columbus spent eight years seeking financial support for his plan to sail west from Europe to the “Indies.” Finally, in 1492, he succeeded in winning the backing of Isabella and Ferdinand. The two Spanish monarchs were then at the height of their power, having just defeated the Moors in Granada. They agreed to outfit three ships and to make Columbus governor, admiral, and viceroy of all the lands that he would claim for Spain.

After sailing from the Canary Islands on September 6, Columbus landed on an island in the Bahamas on October 12. His success in reaching lands on the other side of the ocean brought him a burst of glory in Spain. But three subsequent voyages across the Atlantic were disappointing—he found little gold, few spices, and no simple path to China and India.

Columbus’s Legacy Columbus died in 1506, still believing that he had found a western route to Asia. However, many Spaniards viewed Columbus as a failure because they suspected that he had found not a valuable trade route, but a “New World.” Today, some people scoff at Columbus for having erroneously giving the people he encountered the name “Indians.” Even the land that he had explored was named for someone else, Amerigo Vespucci, another Italian sailor. Columbus’s critics also point out the many problems and injustices suffered by the natives of the Americas after Europeans arrived and took over their land.

Nevertheless, most historians agree on Columbus’s importance. Modern scholars have recognized his great skills as a navigator and his daring commitment in going forth where nobody else had ever dared to venture. Furthermore, Columbus’s voyages brought about, for the first time in history, permanent interaction between people from all over the globe. He changed the world forever.

Exchanges Europeans and the original inhabitants of the Americas had developed vastly different cultures over the millennia. The contact between them resulted in the Columbian Exchange, a transfer of plants, animals, and germs from one side of the Atlantic to the other for the first time. Europeans learned about many new plants and foods, including beans, corn, sweet and

white potatoes, tomatoes, and tobacco. They also contracted a new disease, syphilis. Europeans introduced to the Americas sugar cane, bluegrasses, pigs, and horses, as well as the wheel, iron implements, and guns. Deadlier than all the guns was the European importation of germs and diseases, such as smallpox and measles, to which the natives had no immunity. Millions died (there was a mortality rate of more than 90 percent), including entire tribal communities. These exchanges, biological and cultural, would permanently change the entire world.

Dividing the Americas

Spain and Portugal were the first European kingdoms to claim territories in the Americas. Their claims overlapped, leading to disputes. The Catholic monarchs of the two countries turned to the pope in Rome to resolve their differences. In 1493, the pope drew a vertical, north-south line on a world map, called the *line of demarcation*. The pope granted Spain all lands to the west of the line and Portugal all lands to the east.

In 1494, Spain and Portugal moved the pope's line a few degrees to the west and signed an agreement called the Treaty of Tordesillas. The line passed through what is now the country of Brazil. This treaty, together with Portuguese explorations, established Portugal's claim to Brazil. Spain claimed the rest of the Americas. However, other European countries soon challenged these claims.

Spanish Exploration and Conquest

Spanish dominance in the Americas was based on more than a papal ruling and a treaty. Spain owed its expanding power to its explorers and conquerors (called *conquistadores*). Feats such as the journey across the Isthmus of Panama to the Pacific Ocean by Vasco Núñez de Balboa, the circumnavigation of the world by one of Ferdinand Magellan's ships (Magellan died before completing the trip), the conquests of the Aztecs in Mexico by Hernan Cortés, and the conquest of the Incas in Peru by Francisco Pizzaro secured Spain's initial supremacy in the Americas.

The conquistadores sent ships loaded with gold and silver back to Spain from Mexico and Peru. They increased the gold supply by more than 500 percent, making Spain the richest and most powerful nation in Europe. Spain's success encouraged other nations to turn to the Americas in search of gold and power. After seizing the wealth of the Indian empires, the Spanish instituted an *encomienda* system, with the king of Spain giving grants of land and natives to individual Spaniards. These Indians had to farm or work in the mines. The fruits of their labors went to their Spanish masters, who in turn had to "care" for them. As Europeans' diseases and brutality reduced the native population, the Spanish brought enslaved people from West Africa under the *asiento* system. This required the Spanish to pay a tax to their king on each slave they imported to the Americas.

EARLY SETTLEMENTS IN NORTH AMERICA 1600s



English Claims

England's earliest claims to territory in the Americas rested on the voyages of John Cabot, an Italian sea captain who sailed under contract to England's King Henry VII. Cabot explored the coast of Newfoundland in 1497.

England, however, did not follow up Cabot's discoveries with other expeditions of exploration and settlement. Other issues preoccupied England's monarchy in the 1500s, including Henry VIII's break with the Roman Catholic Church. In the 1570s and 1580s, under Queen Elizabeth I, England challenged Spanish shipping in both the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. Sir Francis Drake, for example, attacked Spanish ships, seized the gold and silver that they carried, and even attacked Spanish settlements on the coast of Peru. Another English adventurer, Sir Walter Raleigh, attempted to establish a settlement at Roanoke Island off the North Carolina coast in 1587, but the venture failed.

French Claims

The French monarchy first showed interest in exploration in 1524 when it sponsored a voyage by an Italian navigator, Giovanni da Verrazano. Hoping to find a northwest passage leading through the Americas to Asia, Verrazano explored part of North America's eastern coast, including the New York harbor. French claims to American territory were also based on the voyages of Jacques Cartier (1534–1542), who explored the St. Lawrence River extensively.

Like the English, the French were slow to develop colonies across the Atlantic. During the 1500s, the French monarchy was preoccupied with European wars as well as with internal religious conflict between Roman Catholics and French Protestants known as Huguenots. Only in the next century did France develop a strong interest in following up its claims to North American land.

The first permanent French settlement in America was established by Samuel de Champlain in 1608 at Quebec, a fortified village on the St. Lawrence River. Champlain's strong leadership won him the nickname "Father of New France." Other explorers extended French claims across a vast territory. In 1673, Louis Jolliet and Father Jacques Marquette explored the upper Mississippi River, and in 1682, Robert de La Salle explored the Mississippi basin, which he named Louisiana (after the French king, Louis XIV).

Dutch Claims

During the 1600s, the Netherlands also began to sponsor voyages of exploration. The Dutch government hired Henry Hudson, an experienced English sailor, to seek westward passage to Asia through northern America. In 1609, while searching for a northwest passage, Hudson sailed up a broad river that was later named for him, the Hudson River. This expedition established Dutch claims to the surrounding area that would become New Amsterdam (and later New York). The Dutch government granted a private company, the Dutch West India Company, the right to control the region for economic gain.

Spanish Settlements in North America

Spanish settlements developed slowly in North America, as a result of limited mineral resources and strong opposition from American Indians.

Florida After a number of failed attempts and against the strong resistance of American Indians in the region, the Spanish established a permanent settlement at St. Augustine in 1565. Today, St. Augustine is the oldest city in North America founded by Europeans.

New Mexico Santa Fe was established as the capital of New Mexico in 1610. Harsh efforts to Christianize the American Indians caused the Pueblo people to revolt in 1680. The Spanish were driven from the area until 1692.

Texas In between Florida and New Mexico, the Spanish established settlements in Texas. These communities grew in the early 1700s as Spain attempted to resist French efforts to explore the lower Mississippi River.

California In response to Russian exploration from Alaska, the Spanish established permanent settlements at San Diego in 1769 and San Francisco in 1776. By 1784, a series of missions or settlements had been established along the California coast by members of the Franciscan order. Father Junípero Serra founded nine of these missions.

European Treatment of Native Americans

Most Europeans looked down upon Native Americans. The Europeans who colonized North and South America generally viewed Native Americans as inferior people who could be exploited for economic gain, converted to Christianity, and used as military allies. However, Europeans used various approaches for controlling Native Americans and operating their colonies.

Spanish Policy

The Spanish who settled in Mexico and Peru encountered the highly organized Aztec and Inca empires. Even after diseases killed most natives, millions remained in these empires that the Spanish could incorporate as laborers in their own empire. Many natives who did not die from disease died from forced labor. Because few families came from Spain to settle the empire, the explorers and soldiers intermarried with natives as well as with Africans. The latter were captured in Africa and forced to travel across the ocean to provide slave labor for the Spanish colonists. A rigid class system developed in the Spanish colonies, one dominated by pure-blooded Spaniards.

Bartolomé de Las Casas One European who dissented from the views of most Europeans toward Native Americans was a Spanish priest named Bartolomé de Las Casas. Though he had owned land and slaves in the West Indies and had fought in wars against the Indians, he eventually became an advocate for better treatment for Indians. He persuaded the king to institute the New Laws of 1542. These laws ended Indian slavery, halted forced Indian labor, and began to end the encomienda system which kept the Indians in serfdom. Conservative Spaniards, eager to keep the encomienda system, responded and successfully pushed the king to repeal parts of the New Laws.

Valladolid Debate The debate over the role for Indians in the Spanish colonies came to a head in a formal debate in 1550–1551 in Valladolid, Spain. On one side, Las Casas argued that the Indians were completely human and morally equal to Europeans, so enslaving them was not justified. On the other side, another priest, Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda, argued that Indians were less than human. Hence, they benefited from serving the Spaniards in the econmienda system. Neither side clearly won the debate. Though Las Casas was unable to gain equal treatment for Native Americans, he established the basic arguments on behalf of justice for Indians.

English Policy

Unlike the Spanish, the English settled in areas without large native empires that could be controlled as a workforce. In addition, many English colonists came in families rather than as single young men, so marriage with natives was less common. Initially, at least in Massachusetts, the English and the American Indians coexisted, traded, and shared ideas. American Indians taught the settlers how to grow new crops such as corn (maize) and showed them how to hunt in the forests. They traded various furs for an array of English manufactured goods, including iron tools and weapons. But peaceful relations soon gave way to conflict and open warfare. The English had no respect for American Indian cultures, which they viewed as primitive or “savage.” For their part, American Indians saw their way of life threatened as the English began to take more land to support their ever-increasing population. The English occupied the land and forced the small, scattered tribes they encountered to move away from the coast to inland territories. They expelled the natives rather than subjugating them.

French Policy

The French, looking for furs and converts to Catholicism, viewed American Indians as potential economic and military allies. Compared to the Spaniards and the English, the French maintained good relations with the tribes they encountered. Seeking to control the fur trade, the French built trading posts throughout the St. Lawrence Valley, the Great Lakes region, and along the Mississippi River. At these posts, they exchanged French goods for beaver pelts and other furs collected by American Indians. Because the French had few colonists, farms, or towns, they posed less threat to the native population than did other Europeans. In addition, French soldiers assisted the Huron people in fighting their traditional enemy, the Iroquois.

Native American Reaction

North American tribes saw themselves as groups distinct from each other, not as part of a larger body of Native Americans. As a result, European settlers rarely had to be concerned with a unified response from the Native Americans. Initially the European goods such as copper pots and guns had motivated the natives to interact with the strangers. After the decimation of their peoples from the violence and disease of the Europeans, the Native Americans had to adopt new ways to survive. Upon observing the Europeans fighting each other, some tribes allied themselves with one European power or another in hopes of gaining support in order to survive. A number of tribes simply migrated to new land to get away from the slowly encroaching settlers. Regardless of how they dealt with the European invasion, Native Americans would never be able to return to the life they had known prior to 1492.

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES: WAS COLUMBUS A GREAT HERO?

Over the centuries, Columbus has received both praise for his role as a “discoverer” and blame for his actions as a “conqueror.” In the United States, he has traditionally been viewed as a hero. As early as 1828, Washington Irving wrote a popular biography extolling the explorer’s virtues. The apex of Columbus’s heroic reputation was reached in 1934 when President Franklin Roosevelt declared October 12 a national holiday.

Since the 1990s, however, revisionist histories and biographies have been highly critical of Columbus. His detractors argue that Columbus was simply at the right place at the right time. Europe at the end of the 15th century was ready to expand. If Columbus had not crossed the Atlantic in 1492, some other explorer—perhaps Vespucci or Cabot—would have done so a few years later. According to this interpretation, Columbus was little more than a good navigator and a self-promoter who exploited an opportunity.

Some revisionists take a harsh view of Columbus and regard him not as the first discoverer of America but rather as its first conqueror. They portray him as a religious fanatic in the European Christian tradition who sought to convert the American natives to Christianity and liquidated those who resisted.

The revisionist argument has not gone unanswered. For example, historian Arthur M. Schlesinger Jr. has argued that the chief motivation for Columbus’s deeds was neither greed for gold nor ambition for conquest. What drove him, in Schlesinger’s view, was the challenge of the unknown. Columbus’s apologists admit that millions of Native Americans died as a result of European exploration in the Americas, but they point out that an unknown number had suffered horrible deaths in Aztec sacrifices. Moreover, the mistreatment of Native Americans was perhaps partially offset by such positive results as the gradual development of democratic institutions in the colonies and later the United States.

Historians will continue to debate the nature of Columbus’s achievement. As with other historical questions, distinguishing between fact and fiction and separating a writer’s personal biases from objective reality is difficult. One conclusion is inescapable: As a result of Columbus’s voyages, world history took a sharp turn in a new direction. His explorations established a permanent point of contact between Europeans and the first Americans, and soon between both groups and Africans. People are still living with the consequences of this interaction.

KEY TERMS BY THEME

Exchange and Interaction (WXT, GEO) corn (maize) horses disease	Identity and Politics (NAT, POL) Mayas Incas Aztecs conquistadores Hernan Cortés Francisco Pizarro New Laws of 1542 Roanoke Island	American Indians (MIG, POL) Algonquian Siouan Iroquois Confederation longhouses
Labor Systems (WXT) encomienda system asiento system slavery	Atlantic Trade (WOR) compass printing press Ferdinand and Isabella Protestant Reformation Henry the Navigator Christopher Columbus Treaty of Tordesillas slave trade nation-state	Search for Resources (GEO) John Cabot Jacques Cartier Samuel de Champlain Henry Hudson
Migration (MIG) land bridge Adena-Hopewell Hokokam, Anasazi, and Pueblos Woodland mound builders Lakota Sioux		Values and Attitudes (CUL) Bartolomé de Las Casas Valladolid Debate Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda

MULTIPLE-CHOICE QUESTIONS

Questions 1–2 refer to the excerpt below.

“To oppose those hordes of northern tribes, singly and alone, would prove certain destruction. We can make no progress in that way. We unite ourselves into one common band of brothers. We must have but one voice. Many voices makes confusion. We must have one fire, one pipe and one war club. This will give us strength. If our warriors are united they can defeat the enemy and drive them from our land; If we do this, we are safe”

“And you of the different nations of the south, and you of the west, may place yourselves under our protection, and we will protect you. We earnestly desire the alliance and friendship of you all”

—Chief Elias Johnson, *Legends, Traditions, and Laws of the Iroquois, or Six Nations, and History of the Tuscarora Indians*, 1881

1. Which of these was a common reaction by Indians to Europeans and represented a rejection of Chief Johnson’s suggestions?
 - (A) Converting to Christianity
 - (B) Migrating westward
 - (C) Selling their land
 - (D) Accepting European leadership
2. Which of the following factors best explains why Native American efforts to unite were rare?
 - (A) Most tribes were isolated from each other
 - (B) Europeans discouraged tribes from uniting
 - (C) People had different foods and cultures
 - (D) Tribes had traditions of independence

Questions 3–5 refer to the excerpt below.

“Concerning the treatment of Native American workers:

When they were allowed to go home, they often found it deserted and had no other recourse than to go out into the woods to find food and to die. When they fell ill, which was very frequently because they are a delicate people unaccustomed to such work, the Spaniards did not believe them and pitilessly called them lazy dogs, and kicked and beat them; and when illness was apparent they sent them home as useless, giving them some cassava for the twenty- to eighty-league journey. They would go then, falling into the first stream and dying there in desperation; others would hold on longer, but very few ever made it home. I sometimes came upon dead bodies on my way, and upon others who were gasping and moaning in their death agony, repeating ‘Hungry, hungry.’”

—Bartolomé de Las Casas, priest and social reformer,
In Defense of the Indian, c. 1550

3. Which of the following best explains the underlying cause of the Spanish actions described by Las Casas?
 - (A) Racism
 - (B) Religion
 - (C) Desire for wealth
 - (D) Fear of native power
4. The primary audience that Las Casas hoped to influence by his writing was
 - (A) the monarchs of Spain
 - (B) the Roman Catholic Church
 - (C) the conquistadores
 - (D) the Native Americans
5. Which of the following factors that affected Native Americans is directly implied but not stated in this excerpt?
 - (A) Many Spaniards were sympathetic to the Native Americans
 - (B) The Catholic Church was trying to help the Native Americans
 - (C) European diseases were killing millions of Native Americans
 - (D) The Spanish faced strong resistance from Native Americans

Questions 6–7 refer to the excerpt below.

“Apart from his navigational skills, what most set Columbus apart from other Europeans of his day were not the things that he believed, but the intensity with which he believed in them and the determination with which he acted upon those beliefs. . . .

“Columbus was, in most respects, merely an especially active and dramatic embodiment of the European—and especially the Mediterranean—mind and soul of his time: a religious fanatic obsessed with the conversion, conquest, or liquidation of all non-Christians; a latter-day Crusader in search of personal wealth and fame, who expected the enormous and mysterious world he had found to be filled with monstrous races inhabiting wild forests, and with golden people living in Eden.”

—David E. Stannard, historian, *American Holocaust: Columbus and the Conquest of the New World*, 1992

6. Which of the following European nations would be the least likely to share the characteristics Stannard uses in describing Columbus?
 - (A) England
 - (B) Italy
 - (C) Portugal
 - (D) Spain
7. Which of the following is a reason historians are most likely to criticize the view of Columbus expressed in this excerpt?
 - (A) It ignores the period in which Columbus lived
 - (B) It displays a bias against Christians
 - (C) It skips over the progress brought by Columbus
 - (D) It uses highly charged language

Questions 8–9 refer to the excerpt below.

“The province of Quivira is 950 leagues from Mexico. Where I reached it, it is in the fortieth degree [of latitude]. . . . I have treated the natives of this province, and all the others whom I found wherever I went, as well as was possible, agreeably to what Your Majesty had commanded, and they have received no harm in any way from me or from those who went in my company. I remained twenty-five days in this province of Quivira, so as to see and explore the country and also to find out whether there was anything beyond which could be of service to Your Majesty, because the guides who had brought me had given me an account of other provinces beyond this. And what I am sure of is that there is not any gold nor any other metal in all that country.”

—Francisco Coronado, Spanish conquistador, *Travels in Quivira*, c. 1542

8. Based on Coronado’s observations, which of the following best describes Spanish efforts in Mexico in the mid-16th century?
 - (A) Exploring lands new to them
 - (B) Establishing colonies
 - (C) Warring with Native Americans
 - (D) Spreading the Christian faith
9. The activities of Coronado and other Spanish and Portuguese explorers in the Americas in the 16th century primarily depended on the support of
 - (A) merchants and fur traders
 - (B) the Catholic Church
 - (C) the monarchs
 - (D) enslaved Europeans

SHORT-ANSWER QUESTIONS

Use complete sentences; an outline or bulleted list alone is not acceptable.

Question 1. Answer a, b, and c.

- a) Briefly explain how ONE of the following factors in Europe in the early 16th century helped bring about a period of exploration and colonization of lands across the seas.
 - religion
 - trade
 - technology
- b) Provide ONE example of an event or development that supports your explanation in (a).
- c) Briefly explain how ONE of the three factors listed above became either more or less important in colonization by the end of the 16th century.

Question 2 is based on the following excerpt.

“I marvel not a little, right worshipful, that since the first discovery of America (which is now full four score and ten years), after so great conquests and plannings of the Spaniards and Portuguese there, that we of England could never have the grace to set fast footing in such fertile and temperate places as are left as yet unpossessed of them. But . . . I conceive great hope that the time approacheth and now is that we of England may share and part stakes . . . in part of America and other regions as yet undiscovered. . . .

“Yea, if we would behold with the eye of pity how all our prisons are pestered and filled with able men to serve their country, which for small robberies are daily hanged up in great numbers, . . . we would hasten . . . the deducting [conveying] of some colonies of our superfluous people into these temperate and fertile parts of America, which being within six weeks’ sailing of England, are yet unpossessed by any Christians, and seem to offer themselves unto us, stretching nearer unto Her Majesty’s dominions than to other part of Europe.”

—Richard Hakluyt, English writer, *Divers Voyages Touching the Discovery of America and the Islands Adjacent*, 1582

2. Using the excerpt, answer a, b, and c.

- a) Briefly explain ONE reason not in this passage for why England was so far behind Spain and Portugal in colonization.
- b) Briefly explain ONE place where the author believes England can find a supply of potential colonists for the Americas.
- c) Briefly explain ONE development of the late 16th century that challenges or supports the point of view expressed by the writer.

Question 3 is based on the following excerpt.

“I want the natives to develop a friendly attitude toward us because I know that they are a people who can be made free and converted to our Holy Faith more by love than by force. I therefore gave red caps to some and glass beads to others. They hung the beads around their necks, along with some other things of slight value that I gave them. . . . I warned my men to take nothing from the people without giving something in exchange.”

—Christopher Columbus, *Log*, October 12, 1492

3. Using the excerpt, answer a, b, and c.
 - a) Briefly explain the point of view expressed by Columbus in the excerpt.
 - b) Briefly explain what powerful group in Spain, other than the monarchy, Columbus would be appealing to in the above passage.
 - c) Provide an example of contact between Europeans and the first inhabitants of America that is not consistent with the above passage.

Question 4. Answer a, b, and c.

- a) Briefly explain ONE common trait in the policies of two of these European nations toward Native Americans.
 - England
 - France
 - Spain
- b) Briefly explain ONE difference between the policies of two European nations toward Native Americans.
- c) Briefly explain ONE reaction of Native Americans to European policies.

THINK AS A HISTORIAN: QUESTIONS ABOUT CAUSATION

Tests often ask students to explain why one event or trait happened after or resulted from another. Which THREE prompts below would best be answered with an essay that emphasizes causation?

1. Explain why American Indians were so diverse in 1491.
2. How did Spanish colonies differ from English colonies?
3. How did religious beliefs influence American colonization?
4. Did Columbus reflect the values of the late 15th century Europe?
5. Analyze the impact of colonization on Spain.

PERIOD 1 Review: Analyzing Evidence

Below are a primary source and a secondary source provided to help you develop the skill of analyzing evidence. The italicized questions provide a suggested sequential step-by-step development process to analyze a document. As you study the questions and answers, consider alternate answers based on your own knowledge and understanding as a historical thinker.

Analyzing a Primary Source

“Being earnestly requested by a dear friend to put down in writing some true relation of our late performed voyage to the north parts of Virginia [Massachusetts] I resolved to satisfy his request. . . .

“Coming ashore, we stood awhile like men ravished at the beauty and delicacy of this sweet soil. For besides diverse clear lakes of fresh water . . . meadows very large and full of green grass. . . .

“[This climate so agreed with us] that we found our health and strength all the while we remained there so to renew and increase as, notwithstanding our diet and lodging was none of the best, yet not one of our company (God be thanked) felt the least grudging or inclination to any disease or sickness but were much fatter and in better health than when we went out of England.”

—John Brereton, *The Discovery of the North Part of Virginia*, 1602

Content

- *What is the key point?* New England has a healthy environment.
- *What content is useful?* It provides early impressions of New England.

The Author’s Point of View

- *Who was the author?* John Brereton, an Englishman
- *How reliable is the author?* Answering this requires additional research.
- *What was the author’s point of view?* New England is a wonderful place.
- *What other beliefs might the author hold?* The excerpt suggests he believes in God.

The Author’s Purpose

- *Why did the author create this document at this time?* Others expressed interest in his experiences in land that was new to them.
- *How does the document’s purpose reflect its reliability?* The author could be biased to encourage investment in colonization.

Audience

- *Who was this document created for?* for people in England
- *How might the audience affect the document’s content?* The audience was looking for opportunities for success in the Americas.
- *How might the audience affect the document’s reliability?* The document might emphasize positive information.

Historical Context

- *When and where was this produced?* England in the early 17th century
- *What concurrent events might have affected the author?* the desire of many to encourage and profit from the new colonies

Format/Medium

- *What is the format?* a first-person narrative

Limitations

- *What is one limitation of the excerpt or the author's view?* The document says nothing about the indigenous people living in the region.

Analyzing a Second Source

“Why did the English found colonies and make them stick? For most the goal was material. . . . For some the goal was spiritual. . . . But all the colonists who suffered perilous voyages and risked early death in America were either hustlers or hustled. That is, they knew the hardships beforehand and were courageous, desperate, or faithful enough to face them, or else they did not know what lay ahead but were taken in by the propaganda of sponsors. . . . In every case colonists left a swarming competitive country that heralded self-improvement but offered limited opportunities for it.”

—Walter A. McDougall, *Freedom Just Around the Corner*, 2004

Content and Argument

- *What is the main idea of the excerpt?* English settlers came to America for diverse reasons.
- *What information supports this historian?* the examples of both the religious Puritans and adventurers at Jamestown
- *What information challenges this historian?* Many people were forced to settle America as slaves or convicts.
- *What is the interpretation of events argued for in this excerpt?* The opportunities for prosperity and religious freedom were far greater in the colonies than those they left behind in Europe.

Author's Point of View

- *How could the author's perspective have been shaped by the times in which he wrote?* The belief in American exceptionalism at the beginning of the 21st century could have shaped his view of the colonial era.
- *Why might a different historian have a different view of the same events?* Another historian might emphasize that one factor, such as the search for wealth, was much more important than any combination of factors.

PERIOD 2: 1607–1754

Chapter 2 *The Thirteen Colonies and the British Empire, 1607–1754*

Chapter 3 *Colonial Society in the 18th Century*

In a period of almost 150 years during the 17th and 18th centuries, the British established 13 colonies along the Atlantic coast that provided a profitable trade and a home to a diverse group of people.

Overview From the establishment of the first permanent English settlement in North America to the start of a decisive war for European control of the continent, the colonies evolved. At first, they struggled for survival, but they became a society of permanent farms, plantations, towns, and cities. European settlers brought various cultures, economic plans, and ideas for governing to the Americas. In particular, with varying approaches, they all sought to dominate the native inhabitants. The British took pride in their tradition of free farmers working the land. The various colonies developed regional or sectional differences based on many influences including topography, natural resources, climate, and the background of their settlers. They largely viewed the American Indian as an obstacle to colonial growth. With their emphasis on agriculture came a demand for labor, and this led to a growing dependence on slavery and the Atlantic slave trade to power the economy. The start of the Seven Years' War signified the maturity of the British colonies and the influence of European conflicts in the power struggle for control in North America.

Alternate View Historians disagree on what date best marks the end of the colonial era. Some identify the conclusion of the Seven Years' War in 1763 or the start of the American Revolution in 1775 or the signing of a peace treaty in 1783. Historians who focus on cultural rather than political and military events might choose other dates for both the start and end of the period that emphasize the role of non-English residents, such as the Scotch-Irish, Germans, and enslaved Africans, in the colonies.

Key Concepts

2.1: Europeans developed a variety of colonization and migration patterns, influenced by different imperial goals, cultures, and the varied North American environments where they settled, and they competed with each other and American Indians for resources.

2.2: The British colonies participated in political, social, cultural, and economic exchanges with Great Britain that encouraged both stronger bonds with Britain and resistance to Britain's control.

Source: AP® United States History Course and Exam Description, Updated Fall 2015

THE THIRTEEN COLONIES AND THE BRITISH EMPIRE, 1607–1754

If they desire that Piety and godliness should prosper; accompanied with sobriety, justice and love, let them choose a Country such as this is; even like France, or England, which may yield sufficiency with hard labour and industry. . . .

Reverend John White, *The Planter's Plea*, 1630

Starting with Jamestown (Virginia) in 1607 and ending with Georgia in 1733, a total of 13 distinct English colonies developed along the Atlantic Coast of North America. Every colony received its identity and its authority to operate by means of a charter (a document granting special privileges) from the English monarch. Each charter described in general terms the relationship that was supposed to exist between the colony and the crown. Over time, three types of charters—and three types of colonies—developed:

- Corporate colonies, such as Jamestown, were operated by joint-stock companies, at least during these colonies' early years.
- Royal colonies, such as Virginia after 1624, were to be under the direct authority and rule of the king's government.
- Proprietary colonies, such as Maryland and Pennsylvania, were under the authority of individuals granted charters of ownership by the king.

Unlike the French and Spanish colonists, the English brought a tradition of representative government. They were accustomed to holding elections for representatives who would speak for property owners and decide important measures, such as taxes, proposed by the king's government. While political and religious conflicts dominated England, feelings for independence grew in the colonies. Eventually, tensions emerged between the king and his colonial subjects. This chapter summarizes the development of the English colonies.

Early English Settlements

In the early 1600s, England was finally in a position to colonize the lands explored more than a century earlier by John Cabot. By defeating a large Spanish fleet—the Spanish Armada—in 1588, England had gained a reputation as a major naval power. Also in this period, England's population was growing rapidly while its economy was depressed. The number of poor and landless people increased, people who were attracted to opportunities in the Americas. The English devised a practical method for financing the costly and risky enterprise of founding colonies. A joint-stock company pooled the savings of many investors, thereby spreading the risk. Thus, colonies on the North Atlantic Coast were able to attract large numbers of English settlers.

Jamestown

England's King James I chartered the Virginia Company, a joint-stock company that founded the first permanent English colony in America at Jamestown in 1607.

Early Problems The first settlers of Jamestown suffered greatly, mostly from their own mistakes. The settlement's location in a swampy area along the James River resulted in fatal outbreaks of dysentery and malaria. Moreover, many of the settlers were gentlemen unaccustomed to physical work. Others were gold-seeking adventurers who refused to hunt or farm. One key source of goods was from trade with American Indians—but when conflicts erupted between settlers and the natives, trade would stop and settlers went hungry. Starvation was a persistent issue in Jamestown.

Through the forceful leadership of Captain John Smith, Jamestown survived its first five years, but barely. Then, through the efforts of John Rolfe and his Indian wife, Pocahontas, the colony developed a new variety of tobacco that would become popular in Europe and become a profitable crop.

Transition to a Royal Colony Despite tobacco, by 1624 the Virginia colony remained near collapse. More than 6,000 people had settled there, but only 2,000 remained alive. Further, the Virginia Company made unwise decisions that placed it heavily in debt. King James I had seen enough. He revoked the charter of the bankrupt company and took direct control of the colony. Now known as Virginia, the colony became England's first royal colony.

Plymouth and Massachusetts Bay

Religious motivation, not the search for wealth, was the principal force behind the settlement of two other English colonies, Plymouth and Massachusetts Bay. Both were settled by English Protestants who dissented from the official government-supported Church of England, also known as the Anglican Church. The leader of the Church of England was the monarch of England. The Church of England had broken away from the control of the pope in Rome, so it was no longer part of the Roman Catholic Church. However, it had kept most of

the Catholic rituals and governing structure. The dissenters, influenced by the teachings of Swiss theologian John Calvin, charged that the Church of England should break more completely with Rome. In addition, the dissenters adopted Calvin's doctrine of predestination, the belief that God guides those he has selected for salvation even before their birth. England's King James I, who reigned from 1603 to 1625, viewed the religious dissenters as a threat to his religious and political authority and ordered them arrested and jailed.

The Plymouth Colony

Radical dissenters to the Church of England were known as the Separatists because they wanted to organize a completely separate church that was independent of royal control. Several hundred Separatists left England for Holland in search of religious freedom. Because of their travels, they became known as Pilgrims. Economic hardship and cultural differences with the Dutch led many of the Pilgrims to seek another haven for their religion. They chose the new colony in America, then operated by the Virginia Company of London. In 1620, a small group of Pilgrims set sail for Virginia aboard the *Mayflower*. Fewer than half of the 100 passengers on this ship were Separatists; the rest were people who had economic motives for making the voyage.

After a hard and stormy voyage of 65 days, the *Mayflower* dropped anchor off the Massachusetts coast, a few hundred miles to the north of the intended destination in Virginia. Rather than going on to Jamestown as planned, the Pilgrims decided to establish a new colony at Plymouth.

Early Hardships After a first winter that saw half their number perish, the settlers at Plymouth were helped to adapt to the land by friendly American Indians. They celebrated a good harvest at a thanksgiving feast (the first Thanksgiving) in 1621. Under strong leaders, including Captain Miles Standish and Governor William Bradford, the Plymouth colony grew slowly but remained small. Fish, furs, and lumber became the mainstays of the economy.

Massachusetts Bay Colony

A group of more moderate dissenters believed that the Church of England could be reformed. Because they wanted to purify the church, they became known as Puritans. The persecution of Puritans increased when a new king, Charles I, took the throne in 1625. Seeking religious freedom, a group of Puritans gained a royal charter for the Massachusetts Bay Company (1629).

In 1630, about a thousand Puritans led by John Winthrop sailed for the Massachusetts shore and founded Boston and several other towns. A civil war in England in the 1630s drove some 15,000 more settlers to the Massachusetts Bay Colony—a movement known as the Great Migration.

Early Political Institutions

From their very beginning, the American colonies began taking steps toward self-rule.

Representative Assembly in Virginia The Virginia Company encouraged settlement in Jamestown by guaranteeing colonists the same rights as residents of England, including representation in the lawmaking process. In 1619, just 12 years after the founding of Jamestown, Virginia's colonists organized the first representative assembly in America, the House of Burgesses.

Representative Government in New England Aboard the *Mayflower* in 1620, the Pilgrims drew up and signed a document that pledged them to make decisions by the will of the majority. This document, known as the Mayflower Compact, was an early form of colonial self-government and a rudimentary written constitution.

In the Massachusetts Bay Colony, all freemen—male members of the Puritan Church—had the right to participate in yearly elections of the colony's governor, his assistants, and a representative assembly.

Limits to Colonial Democracy Despite these steps, most colonists were excluded from the political process. Only male property owners could vote for representatives. Those who were either female or landless had few rights; slaves and indentured servants had practically none at all. Also, many colonial governors ruled with autocratic or unlimited powers, answering only to the king or others in England who provided the colonies' financial support. Thus, the gradual development of democratic ideas in the colonies coexisted with antidemocratic practices such as slavery and the widespread mistreatment of American Indians.

The Chesapeake Colonies

In 1632, King Charles I subdivided the Virginia colony. He chartered a new colony on either side of Chesapeake Bay and granted control of it to George Calvert (Lord Baltimore), as a reward for this Catholic nobleman's service to the crown. The new colony of Maryland thus became the first proprietary colony.

Religious Issues in Maryland

The king expected proprietors to carry out his wishes faithfully, thus giving him control over a colony. The first Lord Baltimore died before he could achieve great wealth in his colony while also providing a haven for his fellow Catholics. The Maryland proprietorship passed to his son, Cecil Calvert—the second Lord Baltimore—who set about implementing his father's plan in 1634.

Act of Toleration To avoid persecution in England, several wealthy English Catholics emigrated to Maryland and established large colonial plantations. They were quickly outnumbered, however, by Protestant farmers. Protestants therefore held a majority in Maryland's assembly. In 1649, Calvert persuaded the assembly to adopt the Act of Toleration, the first colonial statute granting religious freedom to all Christians. However, the statute also called for the death of anyone who denied the divinity of Jesus.

Protestant Revolt In the late 1600s, Protestant resentment against a Catholic proprietor erupted into a brief civil war. The Protestants triumphed, and the Act of Toleration was repealed. Catholics lost their right to vote in elections for the Maryland assembly. In the 18th century, Maryland's economy and society was much like that of neighboring Virginia, except that in Maryland there was greater tolerance of religious diversity among different Protestant sects.

Labor Shortages

In both Maryland and Virginia, landowners saw great opportunities. They could get land, either by taking it from or trading for it with American Indians, and Europeans had a growing demand for tobacco. However, they could not find enough laborers. For example, in Virginia, the high death rate from disease, food shortages, and battles with American Indians meant that the population grew slowly. Landowners tried several ways to find the workers they wanted.

Indentured Servants At first, the Virginia Company hoped to meet the need for labor using indentured servants. Under contract with a master or landowner who paid for their passage, young people from the British Isles agreed to work for a specified period—usually between four to seven years—in return for room and board. In effect, indentured servants were under the absolute rule of their masters until the end of their work period. At the expiration of that period, they gained their freedom and either worked for wages or obtained land of their own to farm. For landowners, the system provided laborers, but only temporarily.

Headright System Virginia attempted to attract immigrants through offers of land. The colony offered 50 acres of land to (1) each immigrant who paid for his own passage and (2) any plantation owner who paid for an immigrant's passage.

Slavery In 1619, a Dutch ship brought an unusual group of indentured servants to Virginia: they were black Africans. Because English law at that time did not recognize hereditary slavery, the first Africans in Virginia were not in bondage for life, and any children born to them were free. Moreover, the early colonists were struggling to survive and too poor to purchase the Africans who were being imported as slaves for sugar plantations in the West Indies. By 1650, there were only about 400 African laborers in Virginia. However, by the end of the 1660s, the Virginia House of Burgesses had enacted laws that discriminated between blacks and whites. Africans and their offspring were to be kept in permanent bondage. They were slaves.

Economic Problems Beginning in the 1660s, low tobacco prices, due largely to overproduction, brought hard times to the Chesapeake colonies Maryland and Virginia. When Virginia's House of Burgesses attempted to raise tobacco prices, the merchants of London retaliated by raising their own prices on goods exported to Virginia.

Conflict in Virginia

Sir William Berkeley, the royal governor of Virginia (1641–1652; 1660–1677), used dictatorial powers to govern on behalf of the large planters. He antagonized small farmers on Virginia's western frontier because he failed to protect them from Indian attacks.

Bacon's Rebellion Nathaniel Bacon, an impoverished gentleman farmer, seized upon the grievances of the western farmers to lead a rebellion against Berkeley's government. Bacon and others resented the economic and political control exercised by a few large planters in the Chesapeake area. He raised an army of volunteers and, in 1676, conducted a series of raids and massacres against American Indian villages on the Virginia frontier. Berkeley's government in Jamestown accused Bacon of rebelling against royal authority. Bacon's army succeeded in defeating the governor's forces and even burned the Jamestown settlement. Soon afterward, Bacon died of dysentery and the rebel army collapsed. Governor Berkeley brutally suppressed the remnants of the insurrection, executing 23 rebels.

Lasting Problems Although it was short-lived, Bacon's Rebellion, or the Chesapeake Revolution, highlighted two long-lasting disputes in colonial Virginia: (1) sharp class differences between wealthy planters and landless or poor farmers, and (2) colonial resistance to royal control. These problems would continue into the next century, even after the general conditions of life in the Chesapeake colonies became more stable and prosperous.

Development of New England

Strong religious convictions helped sustain settlers in their struggle to establish the Plymouth and Massachusetts Bay colonies. However, Puritan leaders showed intolerance of anyone who questioned their religious teachings. The Puritans often banished dissidents from the Bay colony. These banished dissidents formed settlements that would develop into Rhode Island and Connecticut.

Rhode Island Roger Williams went to Boston in 1631 as a respected Puritan minister. He believed, however, that the individual's conscience was beyond the control of any civil or church authority. His teachings on this point placed him in conflict with other Puritan leaders, who ordered his banishment from the Bay colony. Leaving Boston, Williams fled southward to Narragansett Bay, where he and a few followers founded the settlement of Providence in 1636. The new colony was unique in two respects. First, it recognized the rights of American Indians and paid them for the use of their land. Second, Williams' government allowed Catholics, Quakers, and Jews to worship freely. Williams also founded one of the first Baptist churches in America.

Another dissident who questioned the doctrines of the Puritan authorities was Anne Hutchinson. She believed in *antinomianism*—the idea that faith alone, not deeds, is necessary for salvation. Banished from the Bay colony, Hutchinson and a group of followers founded the colony of Portsmouth in

1638, not far from Williams' colony of Providence. A few years later, Hutchinson migrated to Long Island and was killed in an American Indian uprising.

In 1644, Roger Williams was granted a charter from the Parliament that joined Providence and Portsmouth into a single colony, Rhode Island. Because this colony tolerated diverse beliefs, it served as a refuge for many.

Connecticut To the west of Rhode Island, the fertile Connecticut River Valley attracted other settlers who were unhappy with the Massachusetts authorities. The Reverend Thomas Hooker led a large group of Boston Puritans into the valley and founded the colony of Hartford in 1636. The Hartford settlers then drew up the first written constitution in American history, the *Fundamental Orders of Connecticut* (1639). It established a representative government consisting of a legislature elected by popular vote and a governor chosen by that legislature. South of Hartford, a second settlement in the Connecticut Valley was started by John Davenport in 1637 and given the name New Haven.

In 1665, New Haven joined with the more democratic Hartford settlers to form the colony of Connecticut. The royal charter for Connecticut granted it a limited degree of self-government, including election of the governor.

NEW ENGLAND AND ATLANTIC COLONIES

1600s



New Hampshire The last colony to be founded in New England was New Hampshire. Originally part of Massachusetts Bay, it consisted of a few settlements north of Boston. Hoping to increase royal control over the colonies, King Charles II separated New Hampshire from the Bay colony in 1679 and made it a royal colony, subject to the authority of an appointed governor.

Halfway Covenant In the 1660s, a generation had passed since the founding of the first Puritan colonies in New England. To be a full member of a Puritan congregation, an individual needed to have felt a profound religious experience known as a conversion. However, fewer members of the new native-born generation were having such experiences. In an effort to maintain the church's influence and membership, a *halfway covenant* was offered by some clergy. Under this, people could become partial church members even if they had not had felt a conversion.

Other ministers rejected the halfway covenant and denounced it from the pulpit. Nevertheless, as the years passed, strict Puritan practices weakened in most New England communities in order to maintain church membership.

New England Confederation In the 1640s, the New England colonies faced the constant threat of attack from American Indians, the Dutch, and the French. Because England was in the midst of a civil war, the colonists could expect little assistance. Therefore in 1643, four New England colonies (Plymouth, Massachusetts Bay, Connecticut, and New Haven) formed a military alliance known as the New England Confederation. The confederation was directed by a board composed of two representatives from each colony. It had limited powers to act on boundary disputes, the return of runaway servants, and dealings with American Indians.

The confederation lasted until 1684, when colonial rivalries and renewed control by the English monarch brought this first experiment in colonial cooperation to an end. It was important because it established a precedent for colonies taking unified action toward a common purpose.

King Philip's War Only a few years before the confederation's demise, it helped the New England colonists cope successfully with a dire threat. A chief of the Wampanoags named Metacom—known to the colonists as King Philip—united many tribes in southern New England against the English settlers, who were constantly encroaching on the American Indians' lands. In a vicious war (1675–1676), thousands on both sides were killed, and dozens of towns and villages were burned. Eventually, the colonial forces prevailed, killing King Philip and ending most American Indian resistance in New England.

Restoration Colonies

New American colonies were founded in the late 17th century during a period in English history known as the Restoration. (The name refers to the restoration to power of an English monarch, Charles II, in 1660 following a brief period of Puritan rule under Oliver Cromwell.)

The Carolinas

As a reward for helping him gain the throne, Charles II granted a huge tract of land between Virginia and Spanish Florida to eight nobles, who in 1663 became the lord proprietors of the Carolinas. In 1729, two royal colonies, South Carolina and North Carolina, were formed from the original grant.

**THE THIRTEEN ENGLISH COLONIES
AROUND 1750**



South Carolina In 1670, in the southern Carolinas, a few colonists from England and some planters from the island of Barbados founded a town named for their king. Initially, the southern economy was based on trading furs and providing food for the West Indies. By the middle of the 18th century, South Carolina's large rice-growing plantations worked by enslaved Africans resembled the economy and culture of the West Indies.

North Carolina The northern part of the Carolinas developed differently. There, farmers from Virginia and New England established small, self-sufficient tobacco farms. The region had few good harbors and poor transportation; therefore, compared to South Carolina, there were fewer large plantations and less reliance on slavery. North Carolina in the 18th century earned a reputation for democratic views and autonomy from British control.

New York

Charles II wished to consolidate the crown's holdings along the Atlantic Coast and close the gap between the New England and the Chesapeake colonies. This required compelling the Dutch to give up their colony of New Amsterdam centered on Manhattan Island and the Hudson River Valley.

In 1664, the king granted his brother, the Duke of York (the future James II), the lands lying between Connecticut and Delaware Bay. As the lord high admiral of the navy, James dispatched a force that easily took control of the Dutch colony from its governor, Peter Stuyvesant. James ordered his agents in the renamed colony of New York to treat the Dutch settlers well and to allow them freedom to worship as they pleased and speak their own language.

James also ordered new taxes, duties, and rents without seeking the consent of a representative assembly. In fact, he insisted that no assembly should be allowed to form in his colony. But taxation without representation met strong opposition from New York's English-speaking settlers, most of whom were Puritans from New England. Finally, in 1683, James yielded by allowing New York's governor to grant broad civil and political rights, including a representative assembly.

New Jersey

Believing that the territory of New York was too large to administer, James split it in 1664. He gave the section of the colony located between the Hudson River and Delaware Bay to Lord John Berkeley and Sir George Carteret. In 1674, one proprietor received West New Jersey and the other East New Jersey. To attract settlers, both proprietors made generous land offers and allowed religious freedom and an assembly. Eventually, they sold their proprietary interests to various groups of Quakers. Land titles in the Jerseys changed hands repeatedly, and inaccurate property lines added to the general confusion. To settle matters, the crown decided in 1702 to combine the two Jerseys into a single royal colony: New Jersey.

Pennsylvania and Delaware

To the west of New Jersey lay a broad expanse of forested land that was originally settled by a peace-loving Christian sect, the Quakers.

Quakers Members of the Religious Society of Friends—commonly known as Quakers—believed in the equality of all men and women, nonviolence, and resistance to military service. They further believed that religious authority was found within each person’s soul and not in the Bible and not in any outside source. Such views posed a radical challenge to established authority. Therefore, the Quakers of England were persecuted and jailed for their beliefs.

William Penn William Penn was a young convert to the Quaker faith. His father had served the king as a victorious admiral. Although the elder Penn opposed his son’s religious beliefs, he respected William’s sincerity and bequeathed him considerable wealth. In addition, the royal family owed the father a large debt, which they paid to William in 1681 in the form of a grant of American land for a colony that he called Pennsylvania, or Penn’s Woods.

“The Holy Experiment” Penn put his Quaker beliefs to the test in his colony. He wanted his new colony to provide a religious refuge for Quakers and other persecuted people, to enact liberal ideas in government, and generate income and profits for himself. He provided the colony with a Frame of Government (1682–1683), which guaranteed a representative assembly elected by landowners, and a written constitution, the Charter of Liberties (1701), which guaranteed freedom of worship for all and unrestricted immigration.

Unlike other colonial proprietors, who governed from afar in England, Penn crossed the ocean to supervise the founding of a new town on the Delaware River named Philadelphia. He brought with him a plan for a grid pattern of streets, which was later imitated by other American cities. Also unusual was Penn’s attempt to treat the American Indians fairly and not to cheat them when purchasing their land.

To attract settlers to his new land, Penn hired agents and published notices throughout Europe, which promised political and religious freedom and generous land terms. Penn’s lands along the Delaware River had previously been settled by several thousand Dutch and Swedish colonists, who eased the arrival of the newcomers attracted by Penn’s promotion.

Delaware In 1702, Penn granted the lower three counties of Pennsylvania their own assembly. In effect, Delaware became a separate colony, even though its governor was the same as Pennsylvania’s until the American Revolution.

Georgia: The Last Colony

In 1732, a thirteenth colony, Georgia, was chartered. It was the last of the British colonies and the only one to receive direct financial support from the government in London. There were two reasons for British interest in starting a new southern colony. First, Britain wanted to create a defensive buffer to protect the prosperous South Carolina plantations from the threat of Spanish

Florida. Second, thousands of people in England were being imprisoned for debt. Wealthy philanthropists thought it would relieve the overcrowded jails if debtors were shipped to an American colony to start life over.

Special Regulations Given a royal charter for a proprietary colony, a group of philanthropists led by James Oglethorpe founded Georgia's first settlement, Savannah, in 1733. Oglethorpe acted as the colony's first governor and put into effect an elaborate plan for making the colony thrive. There were strict regulations, including bans on drinking rum and slavery. Nevertheless, partly because of the constant threat of Spanish attack, the colony did not prosper.

Royal Colony By 1752, Oglethorpe and his group gave up their plan. Taken over by the British government, Georgia became a royal colony. Restrictions on rum and slavery were dropped. The colony grew slowly by adopting the plantation system of South Carolina. Even so, at the time of the American Revolution, Georgia was the smallest and poorest of the 13 colonies.

Mercantilism and the Empire

Most European kingdoms in the 17th century adopted the economic policy of *mercantilism*, which looked upon trade, colonies, and the accumulation of wealth as the basis for a country's military and political strength. According to mercantilist doctrine, a government should regulate trade and production to enable it to become self-sufficient. Colonies were to provide raw materials to the parent country for the growth and profit of that country's industries. Colonies existed for one purpose only: to enrich the parent country.

Mercantilist policies had guided both the Spanish and the French colonies from their inception. Mercantilism began to be applied to the English colonies, however, only after the turmoil of England's civil war had subsided.

Acts of Trade and Navigation England's government implemented a mercantilist policy with a series of Navigation Acts between 1650 and 1673, which established three rules for colonial trade:

1. Trade to and from the colonies could be carried only by English or colonial-built ships, which could be operated only by English or colonial crews.
2. All goods imported into the colonies, except for some perishables, had to pass through ports in England.
3. Specified or "enumerated" goods from the colonies could be exported to England only. Tobacco was the original "enumerated" good, but over the years, the list was greatly expanded.

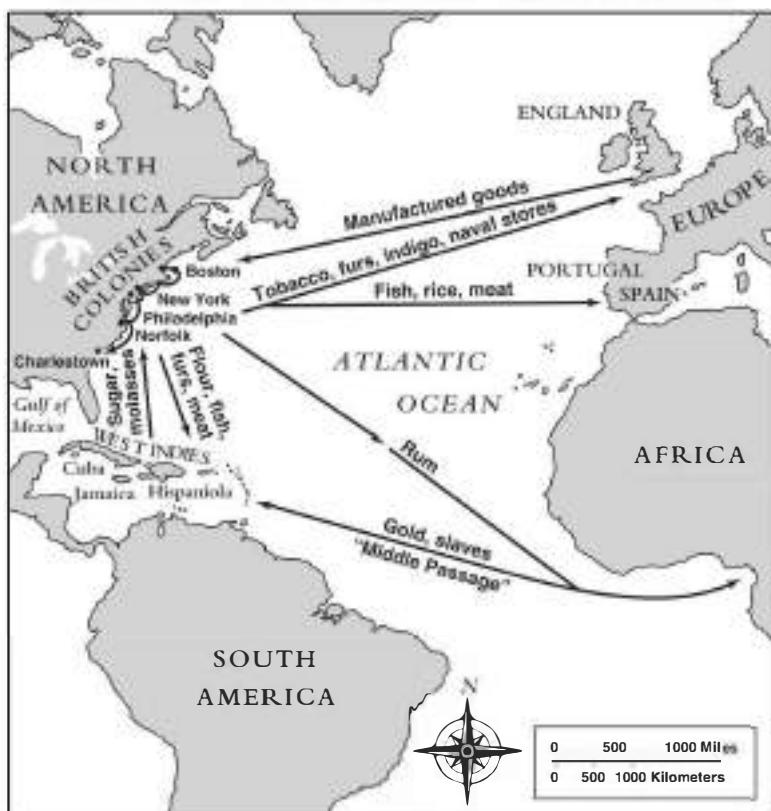
Impact on the Colonies The Navigation Acts had mixed effects on the colonies. The acts caused New England shipbuilding to prosper, provided Chesapeake tobacco with a monopoly in England, and provided English military forces to protect the colonies from potential attacks by the French and Spanish. However, the acts also severely limited the development of colonial

manufacturing, forced Chesapeake farmers to accept low prices for their crops, and caused colonists to pay high prices for manufactured goods from England.

In many respects, mercantilist regulations were unnecessary, since England would have been the colonies' primary trading partner in any case. Furthermore, the economic advantages from the Navigation Acts were offset by their negative political effects on British-colonial relations. Colonists resented the regulatory laws imposed by the distant government in London. Especially in New England, colonists defied the acts by smuggling in French, Dutch, and other goods.

Enforcement of the Acts The British government was often lax in enforcing the acts, and its agents in the colonies were known for their corruption. Occasionally, however, the crown would attempt to overcome colonial resistance to its trade laws. In 1684, it revoked the charter of Massachusetts Bay because that colony had been the center of smuggling activity.

COLONIAL TRIANGULAR TRADE ROUTES



The Dominion of New England A new king, James II, succeeded to the throne in 1685. He was determined to increase royal control over the colonies by combining them into larger administrative units and doing away with their representative assemblies. In 1686, he combined New York, New Jersey, and the various New England colonies into a single unit called the Dominion of New England. Sir Edmund Andros was sent from England to serve as governor of

the dominion. The new governor made himself instantly unpopular by levying taxes, limiting town meetings, and revoking land titles.

James II did not remain in power for long. His attempts at asserting his royal powers led to an uprising against him. The Glorious Revolution of 1688 succeeded in deposing James and replacing him with two new sovereigns, William and Mary. James's fall from power brought the Dominion of New England to an end and the colonies again operated under separate charters.

Permanent Restrictions Despite the Glorious Revolution, mercantilist policies remained in force. In the 18th century, there were more English officials in the colonies than in any earlier era. Restrictions on colonial trade, though poorly enforced, were widely resented and resisted.

The Institution of Slavery

More important than mercantilism in the early 18th century was the growth of slavery. By 1750, half of Virginia's population and two-thirds of South Carolina's population were enslaved.

Increased Demand for Slaves The following factors explain why slavery became increasingly important, especially in the southern colonies:

1. *Reduced migration*: Increases in wages in England reduced the supply of immigrants to the colonies.
2. *Dependable workforce*: Large plantation owners were disturbed by the political demands of small farmers and indentured servants and by the disorders of Bacon's Rebellion (see page 29). They thought that slavery would provide a stable labor force totally under their control.
3. *Cheap labor*: As tobacco prices fell, rice and indigo became the most profitable crops. To grow such crops required a large land area and many inexpensive, relatively unskilled field hands.

Slave Laws As the number of slaves increased, white colonists adopted laws to ensure that African Americans would be held in bondage for life and that slave status would be inherited. In 1641, Massachusetts became the first colony to recognize the enslavement of "lawful" captives. Virginia in 1661 enacted legislation stating that children automatically inherited their mother's enslaved status for life. By 1664, Maryland declared that baptism did not affect the enslaved person's status, and that white women could not marry African American men. It became customary for whites to regard all blacks as social inferiors. Racism and slavery soon became integral to colonial society.

Triangular Trade In the 17th century, English trade in enslaved Africans had been monopolized by a single company, the Royal African Company. But after this monopoly expired, many New England merchants entered the lucrative slave trade. Merchant ships would regularly follow a triangular, or three-part, trade route. First, a ship starting from a New England port such as Boston would carry rum across the Atlantic to West Africa. There the rum would be traded for hundreds of captive Africans. Next, the ship would set out on the horrendous

Middle Passage. Those Africans who survived the frightful voyage would be traded as slaves in the West Indies for a cargo of sugarcane. Third, completing the last side of the triangle, the ship would return to a New England port where the sugar would be sold to be used in making rum. Every time one type of cargo was traded for another, the slave-trading entrepreneur usually succeeded in making a substantial profit.

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES: HOW INFLUENTIAL WERE THE PURITANS?

To what extent did the Puritan founders of Massachusetts shape the development of an American culture? Although some early historians such as James Truslow Adams have minimized the Puritan role, more recent scholars generally agree that the Puritans made significant cultural and intellectual contributions. There is continuing disagreement, however, about whether the Puritan influence encouraged an individualistic spirit or just the opposite.

Some historians have concentrated their study on the writings and sermons of the Puritan clergy and other leaders. They have concluded that the leaders stressed conformity to a strict moral code and exhorted people to sacrifice their individuality for the common good. According to these historians, in other words, the Puritan influence tended to suppress the individualism that later came to characterize American culture.

Other historians believe that the opposite is true. They raise objections to the method of studying only sermons and the journals of leading Puritans such as John Winthrop. If one examines the writings and actions of ordinary colonists in Massachusetts society, say these historians, then one observes many instances of independent thought and action by individuals in Puritan society. According to their argument, American individualism began with the Puritan colonists.

KEY TERMS BY THEME

Religion (CUL)	Massachusetts Bay Colony	Authority (WOR)
Cecil Calvert, Lord Baltimore	John Winthrop	corporate colonies
Act of Toleration	Great Migration	royal colonies
Roger Williams	Virginia	proprietary colonies
Providence	Thomas Hooker	Chesapeake colonies
Anne Hutchinson	John Davenport	joint-stock company
antinomianism	Connecticut	Virginia Company
Rhode Island	New Hampshire	
Halfway covenant		
Quakers	Later Settlements (MIG)	Royal Authority (WOR)
William Penn	The Carolinas	mercantilism
Holy Experiment	New York	Navigation Acts
Charter of Liberties (1701)	New Jersey	Dominion of New
	Pennsylvania	England
Crops (GEO)	Delaware	Sir Edmund Andros
rice plantations	Georgia	Glorious Revolution
tobacco farms	James Oglethorpe	
Early Settlements (MIG)	Conflict (MIG)	Labor (WXT)
John Cabot	Wampanoags	indentured servants
Jamestown	Metacomet	headright system
Captain John Smith	King Philip's War	slavery
John Rolfe		triangular trade
Pocahontas	Self-Rule (POL)	Middle Passage
Jamestown	Mayflower Compact	
Puritans	Virginia House of Burgesses	
Separatists	Sir William Berkeley	
Pilgrims	Bacon's Rebellion	
Mayflower	Fundamental Orders of Connecticut (1639)	
Plymouth Colony	New England Confederation	
	Frame of Government (1682)	

KEY MULTIPLE-CHOICE QUESTIONS

Questions 1–2 refer to the excerpt below.

“Be it therefore ordered and enacted. . . . That whatsoever person or persons within this Province...shall henceforth blaspheme God, that is, curse Him or shall deny our Savior Jesus Christ to be the Son of God, or shall deny the Holy Trinity . . . or the Godhead of any of the said Three persons of the Trinity or the Unity of the Godhead . . . shall be punished with death and confiscation or forfeiture of all his or her lands. . . . And whereas . . . that no person or persons whatsoever within this province, or the islands, ports, harbors, creeks, or havens thereunto belonging professing to believe in Jesus Christ, shall from henceforth be any way troubled, molested or discountenanced for or in respect of his or her religion nor in free exercise thereof within this province or the islands thereunto belonging nor any way compelled to the belief or exercise of any other Religion against his or her consent.”

—The Maryland Act of Toleration, 1649

1. Which of the following religious groups were the authors of the Maryland Act of Toleration trying to protect?
 - (A) Jews
 - (B) Puritans
 - (C) Quakers
 - (D) Roman Catholics
2. Which of the following best summarizes the attitude toward religious beliefs expressed in this document?
 - (A) All individuals should be free to believe or not believe in God as they wished
 - (B) Religion was a personal matter that the government should not try to influence
 - (C) Christians should be able to practice their faith without fear of persecution
 - (D) The colony should be reserved for the one specific type of Christianity approved by the local government officials

Questions 3–5 refer to the excerpt below.

“These at the heads of James and York rivers . . . grew impatient at the many slaughters of their neighbors and rose for own defense, who choosing Mr. Bacon for their leader, sent oftentimes to the Governor, . . . beseeching a commission to go against the Indians at their own charge; which His Honor as often promised, but did not send. . . .

“During these protracted and people often slain, most or all the officers, civil and military, . . . met and concerted together, the danger of going without a commission on the one part and the continual murders of their neighbors on the other part. . . . This day lapsing and no commission come, they marched into the wilderness in quest of these Indians, after whom the Governor sent his proclamation, denouncing all rebels who should not return within a limited day; whereupon those of estates obeyed. But Mr. Bacon, with fifty-seven men, proceeded. . . . They fired and . . . slew 150 Indians.”

—Samuel Kercheval, Virginia author and lawyer, “On Bacon’s Rebellion in Virginia,” 1833

3. Based on the information in this excerpt, what is Samuel Kercheval’s point of view toward Bacon and his followers?
 - (A) They were dangerous men who threatened colonial stability and prosperity
 - (B) They were frustrated men who were taking action because the government did not
 - (C) They were allies of the governor who carried out actions that he supported
 - (D) They were a primarily political movement that wanted Bacon to become governor
4. Bacon’s Rebellion was initiated by a group of farmers who felt most directly threatened by
 - (A) an increase in royal taxes
 - (B) the power of large planters
 - (C) conflicts with American Indians
 - (D) the growth of the slave trade
5. Which of the following led the opposition to Bacon’s Rebellion?
 - (A) leaders of the Church of England
 - (B) members of the Virginia House of Burgesses
 - (C) soldiers from the British army
 - (D) the colonial governor

Questions 6–8 refer to the excerpt below.

“As touching the quality of this country, three thinges there bee, which in fewe yeares may bring this Colony to perfection; the English plough, Vineyards, & Cattle. . . .

“All our riches for the present doe consiste in Tobacco, wherein one man by his owne laboour hath in one yeare, raised to himself to the value of 200 sterlinc; and another by the means of sixe seruants hath cleared at one crop a thousand pound english. These be true, yet indeed rare examples, yet possible to be done by others. Our principall wealth (I should haue said) consisteth in servants: but they are chargeable to be furnished with armes, apparel, & bedding, and for their transportation, and casuall both at sea, & for their first yeare commonly at lande also: but if they escape, they proove very hardy, and sound able men.”

—John Pory, Secretary of Virginia, Letter to Sir Dudley Carlton, 1619

6. Despite the success of tobacco in Virginia, the colony still faced problems and eventually became a
 - (A) royal colony
 - (B) corporate charter settlement
 - (C) proprietorship
 - (D) joint-stock company
7. Which of the following groups made up most of the servants referred to in the passage?
 - (A) American Indians
 - (B) Indentured servants from Europe
 - (C) Enslaved Africans
 - (D) Women whose husbands had escaped
8. The primary market for the Virginia tobacco crop during this period was
 - (A) Virginia
 - (B) England
 - (C) New England
 - (D) Africa

SHORT-ANSWER QUESTIONS

Use complete sentences; an outline or bulleted list alone is not acceptable.

Question 1. Answer a, b, and c.

- a) Explain how events in ONE of the following colonies support this statement: “Puritan intolerance of dissent led to the founding of a number of new colonies.”
 - Hartford
 - Portsmouth
 - Providence
- b) Identify an individual who played a leading role in founding one of these new colonies.
- c) Briefly describe a basic idea held by the individual you identified in (b) who challenged Puritan principles.

Question 2 is based on the following excerpt.

“[This colony] was for the most part at first peopled by persons of low circumstances. . . . Nor was it hardly possible it should be otherwise; for 'tis not likely that any man of a plentiful estate should voluntarily abandon a happy certainty to roam after imaginary advantages in a New World. Besides which uncertainty, must have proposed to himself to encounter the infinite difficulties and dangers that attend a new settlement. These discouragements were sufficient to terrify any man that could live easy in England from going to . . . a strange land.”

—Robert Beverly, historian, *The History and Present State of Virginia*, 1705

2. Using the excerpt, answer a, b, and c.

- a) Briefly explain Robert Beverly’s main point in the excerpt.
- b) Briefly explain why you do or do not agree with the main point identified in (a).
- c) Provide ONE example from your knowledge of colonial history that supports your explanation in (b).

Question 3. Answer a, b, and c.

- a) Briefly explain which of William Penn’s purposes for Pennsylvania—religious toleration, government based on liberal ideas, and personal profit—were not found in any of the other original English colonies.
- b) Briefly explain which of Penn’s three purposes would prove to be the most difficult for him to fulfill.
- c) Briefly explain how one of the other 13 original colonies came close to Penn’s purpose of religious toleration.

Question 4 is based on the following excerpts.

“As to the natives of this country, I find them entirely savage and wild, strangers to all decency, yea, uncivil and stupid as garden stakes, proficient in all wickedness and ungodliness, devilish men who serve nobody but the devil. . . . They have so much witchcraft, divination, sorcery, and wicked arts that they can hardly be held in by any bands or locks. They are as thievish and treacherous as they are tall, and in cruelty they are altogether inhuman.”

—Jonas Michaelius, pastor, Dutch Reformed Church, Letter to Reverend Andrianus Smoutius, 1628

“I confess I think no great good will be done till they [Indians] be more civilized. But why may not God begin with some few to awaken others by degrees? Nor do I expect any great good will be wrought by the English . . . because God is wont ordinarily to convert nations and peoples by some of their own countrymen who are nearest to them and can best speak, and, most of all, pity their brethren and countrymen.”

—John Eliot, Puritan “The Day-Breaking of the Gospel with the Indians,” 1646

4. Using the excerpts, answer a, b, and c.
 - a) Briefly explain the main point in passage 1.
 - b) Briefly explain the main point in passage 2.
 - c) Provide ONE piece of evidence from the colonial period that is not included in the passages and explain how it supports the interpretations in either passage.

THINK AS A HISTORIAN: QUESTIONS ABOUT CONTINUITY

Essay questions often ask students to focus on how a society has stayed the same or evolved over time. Which THREE of the questions or statements below would best be answered with an essay that emphasizes historical continuity and change over time?

1. How did the Massachusetts and the Chesapeake colonies differ?
2. Use examples from both New England and Virginia to show the development in colonial America of a pattern of resistance to authority.
3. Describe how attitudes toward equality evolved during the colonial era.
4. Between 1607 and 1754, did the colonies become more or less like England?
5. What caused the colonial economy to prosper?

COLONIAL SOCIETY IN THE 18TH CENTURY

The American is a new man, who acts upon new principles; he must therefore entertain new ideas, and form new opinions. From involuntary idleness, servile dependence, and useless labor, he has passed to toils of a very different nature, rewarded by ample subsistence. This is an American.

J. Hector St. John Crèvecoeur, *Letters from an American Farmer*, 1782

The Frenchman who wrote the above description of Americans in 1782 observed a very different society from the struggling colonial villages that had existed in the 17th century. The British colonies had grown, and their inhabitants had evolved a culture distinct from any in Europe. This chapter describes the mature colonies and asks: If Americans in the 1760s constituted a new kind of society, what were its characteristics and what forces shaped its “new people”?

Population Growth

At the start of the new century, in 1701, the English colonies on the Atlantic Coast had a population of barely 250,000 Europeans and Africans. By 1775, the figure had jumped to 2,500,000, a tenfold increase within the span of a single lifetime. Among African Americans, the population increase was even more dramatic: from about 28,000 in 1701 to 500,000 in 1775.

The spectacular gains in population during this period resulted from two factors: immigration of almost a million people and a sharp natural increase, caused chiefly by a high birthrate among colonial families. An abundance of fertile American land and a dependable food supply attracted thousands of European settlers each year and also supported the raising of large families.

European Immigrants

Newcomers to the British colonies came not only from England, Scotland, Wales, and Ireland, but also from other parts of Western and Central Europe. Many immigrants, most of whom were Protestants, came from France and German-speaking kingdoms and principalities. Their motives for leaving Europe were many. Some came to escape religious persecution and wars. Others sought

economic opportunity either by farming new land or setting up shop in a colonial town as an artisan or a merchant. Most immigrants settled in the middle colonies (Pennsylvania, New York, New Jersey, Maryland, and Delaware) and on the western frontier of the southern colonies (Virginia, the Carolinas, and Georgia). In the 18th century, few immigrants headed for New England, where land was both limited in extent and under Puritan control.

English Settlers from England continued to come to the American colonies. However, with fewer problems at home, their numbers were relatively small compared to others, especially the Germans and Scotch-Irish.

Germans This group of non-English immigrants settled chiefly on the rich farmlands west of Philadelphia, an area that became known as Pennsylvania Dutch country. They maintained their German language, customs, and religion (Lutheran, Amish, Brethren, Mennonite, or one of several smaller groups) and, while obeying colonial laws, showed little interest in English politics. By 1775, people of German stock comprised 6 percent of the colonial population.

Scotch-Irish These English-speaking people emigrated from northern Ireland. Since their ancestors had moved to Ireland from Scotland, they were commonly known as the Scotch-Irish or Scots-Irish. They had little respect for the British government, which had pressured them into leaving Ireland. Most settled along the frontier in the western parts of Pennsylvania, Virginia, the Carolinas, and Georgia. By 1775, they comprised 7 percent of the population.

Other Europeans Other immigrant groups included French Protestants (called Huguenots), the Dutch, and the Swedes. These groups made up 5 percent of the population of all the colonies in 1775.

Africans

The largest single group of non-English immigrants did not come to America by choice. They were Africans—or the descendants of Africans—who had been taken captive, forced into European ships, and sold as enslaved laborers to southern plantation owners and other colonists. Some Africans were granted their freedom after years of forced labor. Outside the South, thousands of African Americans worked at a broad range of occupations, such as being a laborer, bricklayer, or blacksmith. Some of these workers were enslaved and others were free wage earners and property owners. Every colony, from New Hampshire to Georgia, passed laws that discriminated against African Americans and limited their rights and opportunities.

By 1775, the African American population (both enslaved and free) made up 20 percent of the colonial population. About 90 percent lived in the southern colonies in lifelong bondage. African Americans formed a majority of the population in South Carolina and Georgia.

The Structure of Colonial Society

Each of the thirteen British colonies developed distinct patterns of life. However, they all also shared a number of characteristics.

General Characteristics

Most of the population was English in origin, language, and tradition. However, both Africans and non-English immigrants brought diverse influences that would modify the culture of the majority in significant ways.

Self-government The government of each colony had a representative assembly that was elected by eligible voters (limited to white male property owners). In only two colonies, Rhode Island and Connecticut, was the governor also elected by the people. The governors of the other colonies were either appointed by the crown (for example, New York and Virginia) or by a proprietor (Pennsylvania and Maryland).

Religious Toleration All of the colonies permitted the practice of different religions, but with varying degrees of freedom. Massachusetts, the most conservative, accepted several types of Protestants, but it excluded non-Christians and Catholics. Rhode Island and Pennsylvania were the most liberal.

No Hereditary Aristocracy The social extremes of Europe, with a nobility that inherited special privileges and masses of hungry poor, were missing in the colonies. A narrower class system, based on economics, was developing. Wealthy landowners were at the top; craft workers and small farmers made up the majority of the common people.

Social Mobility With the major exception of the African Americans, all people in colonial society had an opportunity to improve their standard of living and social status by hard work.

The Family

The family was the economic and social center of colonial life. With an expanding economy and ample food supply, people married at a younger age and reared more children than in Europe. More than 90 percent of the people lived on farms. While life in the coastal communities and on the frontier was hard, most colonists had a higher standard of living than did most Europeans.

Men While wealth was increasingly being concentrated in the hands of a few, most men did work. Landowning was primarily reserved to men, who also dominated politics. English law gave the husband almost unlimited power in the home, including the right to beat his wife.

Women The average colonial wife bore eight children and performed a wide range of tasks. Household work included cooking, cleaning, making clothes, and providing medical care. Women also educated the children. A woman usually worked next to her husband in the shop, on the plantation, or on the farm. Divorce was legal but rare, and women had limited legal and political rights. Yet the shared labors and mutual dependence with their husbands gave most women protection from abuse and an active role in decision-making.

The Economy

By the 1760s, almost half of Britain's world trade was with its American colonies. The British government permitted limited kinds of colonial manufacturing, such as making flour or rum. It restricted efforts that would compete with English industries, such as textiles. The richness of the American land and British mercantile policy produced colonies almost entirely engaged in agriculture.

As the people prospered and communities grew, increasing numbers became ministers, lawyers, doctors, and teachers. The quickest route to wealth was through the land, although regional geography often provided distinct opportunities for hardworking colonists.

New England With rocky soil and long winters, farming was limited to subsistence levels that provided just enough for the farm family. Most farms were small—under 100 acres—and most work was done by family members and an occasional hired laborer. The industrious descendants of the Puritans profited from logging, shipbuilding, fishing, trading, and rum-distilling.

Middle Colonies Rich soil produced an abundance of wheat and corn for export to Europe and the West Indies. Farms of up to 200 acres were common. Often, indentured servants and hired laborers worked with the farm family. A variety of small manufacturing efforts developed, including iron-making. Trading led to the growth of such cities as Philadelphia and New York.

Southern Colonies Because of the diverse geography and climate of the southern colonies, agriculture varied greatly. Most people lived on small subsistence family farms with no slaves. A few lived on large plantations of over 2,000 acres and relied on slave labor. Plantations were self-sufficient—they grew their own food and had their own slave craftworkers. Products were mainly tobacco in the Chesapeake and North Carolina colonies, timber and naval stores (tar and pitch) in the Carolinas, and rice and indigo in South Carolina and Georgia. Most plantations were located on rivers so they could ship exports directly to Europe.

Monetary System One way the British controlled the colonial economy was to limit the use of money. The growing colonies were forced to use much of the limited hard currency—gold and silver—to pay for the imports from Britain that increasingly exceeded colonial exports. To provide currency for domestic trade, many colonies issued paper money, but this often led to inflation. The British government also vetoed colonial laws that might harm British merchants.

Transportation Transporting goods by water was much easier than attempting to carry them over land on rough and narrow roads or trails. Therefore, trading centers such as Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Charleston were located on the sites of good harbors and navigable rivers. Despite the difficulty and expense of maintaining roads and bridges, overland travel by horse and stage became more common in the 18th century. Taverns not only provided food and lodging for travelers, but also served as social centers where news was exchanged and politics discussed. A postal system using horses on overland routes and small ships on water routes was operating both within and between the colonies by the mid-18th century.

Religion

Although Maryland was founded by a Catholic proprietor, and larger towns such as New York and Boston attracted some Jewish settlers, the overwhelming majority of colonists belonged to various Protestant denominations. In New England, Congregationalists (the successors to the Puritans) and Presbyterians were most common. In New York, people of Dutch descent often attended services of the Reformed Church, while many merchants belonged to the Church of England, also known as Anglicans (and later, Episcopalians). In Pennsylvania, Lutherans, Mennonites, and Quakers were the most common groups. Anglicans were dominant in Virginia and some of the other southern colonies.

Challenges Each religious group, even the Protestants who dominated the colonies, faced problems. Jews, Catholics, and Quakers suffered from the most serious discrimination and even persecution. Congregationalist ministers were criticized by other Protestants as domineering and for preaching an overly complex doctrine. Because the Church of England was headed by the king, it was viewed as a symbol of English control in the colonies. In addition, there was no Church of England bishop in America to ordain ministers. The absence of such leadership hampered the church's development.

Established Churches In the 17th century, most colonial governments taxed the people to support one particular Protestant denomination. Churches financed through the government are known as established churches. For example, in Virginia, the established church was the Church of England. In Massachusetts Bay it was the Congregational Church. As various immigrant groups increased the religious diversity of the colonies, governments gradually reduced their support of churches. In Virginia, all tax support for the Anglican Church ended shortly after the Revolution. In Massachusetts by the time of the Revolution, members of other denominations were exempt from supporting the Congregational Church. However, some direct tax support of the denomination remained until the 1830s.

The Great Awakening

In the first decades of the 18th century, sermons in Protestant churches tended to be long intellectual discourses and portrayed God as a benign creator of a perfectly ordered universe. Ministers gave less emphasis than in Puritan times on human sinfulness and the perils of damnation. In the 1730s, however, a dramatic change occurred that swept through the colonies with the force of a hurricane. This was the Great Awakening, a movement characterized by fervent expressions of religious feeling among masses of people. The movement was at its strongest during the 1730s and 1740s.

Jonathan Edwards In a Congregational church at Northampton, Massachusetts, Reverend Jonathan Edwards expressed the Great Awakening ideas in a series of sermons, notably one called "Sinners in the Hands of an Angry God" (1741). Invoking the Old Testament scriptures, Edwards argued that God was rightfully angry with human sinfulness. Each individual who expressed deep

penitence could be saved by God's grace, but the souls who paid no heed to God's commandments would suffer eternal damnation.

George Whitefield While Edwards mostly influenced New England, George Whitefield, who came from England in 1739, spread the Great Awakening throughout the colonies, sometimes attracting audiences of 10,000 people. In barns, tents, and fields, he delivered rousing sermons that stressed that God was all-powerful and would save only those who openly professed belief in Jesus Christ. Those who did not would be damned into hell and face eternal torments. Whitefield taught that ordinary people with faith and sincerity could understand the gospels without depending on ministers to lead them.

Religious Impact The Great Awakening had a profound effect on religious practice in the colonies. As sinners tearfully confessed their guilt and then joyously exulted in being "saved," emotionalism became a common part of Protestant services. Ministers lost some of their former authority among those who now studied the Bible in their own homes.

The Great Awakening also caused divisions within churches, such as the Congregational and Presbyterian, between those supporting its teachings ("New Lights") and those condemning them ("Old Lights"). More evangelical sects such as the Baptists and Methodists attracted large numbers. As denominations competed for followers, they also called for separation of church and state.

Political Influence A movement as powerful as the Great Awakening affected all areas of life, including politics. For the first time, the colonists—regardless of their national origins or their social class—shared in a common experience as Americans. The Great Awakening also had a democratizing effect by changing the way people viewed authority. If common people could make their own religious decisions without relying on the "higher" authority of ministers, then might they also make their own political decisions without deferring to the authority of the great landowners and merchants? This revolutionary idea was not expressed in the 1740s, but 30 years later, it would challenge the authority of a king and his royal governors.

Cultural Life

In the early 1600s, the chief concern of most colonists was economic survival. People had neither the time nor the resources to pursue leisure activities or create works of art and literature. One hundred years later, however, the colonial population had grown and matured enough that the arts could flourish, at least among the well-to-do southern planters and northern merchants.

Achievements in the Arts and Sciences

In the coastal areas, as fear of American Indians faded, people displayed their prosperity by adopting architectural and decorative styles from England.

Architecture In the 1740s and 1750s, the Georgian style of London was widely imitated in colonial houses, churches, and public buildings. Brick and stucco homes built in this style were characterized by a symmetrical placement

of windows and dormers and a spacious center hall flanked by two fireplaces. Such homes were found only on or near the eastern seaboard. On the frontier, a one-room log cabin was the common shelter.

Painting Many colonial painters were itinerant artists who wandered the countryside in search of families who wanted their portraits painted. Shortly before the Revolution, two American artists, Benjamin West and John Copley, went to England where they acquired the necessary training and financial support to establish themselves as prominent artists.

Literature With limited resources available, most authors wrote on serious subjects, chiefly religion and politics. There were, for example, widely read religious tracts by two Massachusetts ministers, Cotton Mather and Jonathan Edwards. In the years preceding the American Revolution, writers including John Adams, James Otis, John Dickinson, Thomas Paine, and Thomas Jefferson issued political essays and treatises highlighting the conflict between American rights and English authority. The lack of support for literature did not stop everyone. The poetry of Phillis Wheatley is noteworthy both for her triumph over slavery and the quality of her verse.

By far the most popular and successful American writer of the 18th century was that remarkable jack-of-all-trades, Benjamin Franklin. His witty aphorisms and advice were collected in *Poor Richard's Almanack*, a best-selling book that was annually revised from 1732 to 1757.

Science Most scientists, such as the botanist John Bartram of Philadelphia, were self-taught. Benjamin Franklin won fame for his work with electricity and his developments of bifocal eyeglasses and the Franklin stove.

Education

Basic education was limited and varied among the colonies. Formal efforts were directed to males, since females were trained only for household work.

Elementary Education In New England, the Puritans' emphasis on learning the Bible led them to create the first tax-supported schools. A Massachusetts law in 1647 required towns with more than fifty families to establish primary schools for boys, and towns with more than a hundred families to establish grammar schools to prepare boys for college. In the middle colonies, schools were either church-sponsored or private. Often, teachers lived with the families of their students. In the southern colonies, parents gave their children whatever education they could. On plantations, tutors provided instruction for the owners' children.

Higher Education The first colonial colleges were sectarian, meaning that they promoted the doctrines of a particular religious group. The Puritans founded Harvard in Cambridge, Massachusetts, in 1636 in order to give candidates for the ministry a proper theological and scholarly education. The Anglicans opened William and Mary in Virginia in 1694, and the Congregationalists started Yale in Connecticut in 1701. The Great Awakening prompted the creation of five new colleges between 1746 and 1769:

- College of New Jersey (Princeton), 1746, Presbyterian
- King's College (Columbia), 1754, Anglican
- Rhode Island College (Brown), 1764, Baptist
- Queens College (Rutgers), 1766, Reformed
- Dartmouth College, 1769, Congregationalist

Only one nonsectarian college was founded during this period. The College of Philadelphia, which later became the University of Pennsylvania, had no religious sponsors. On hand for the opening ceremonies in 1765 were the college's civic-minded founders, chief among them Benjamin Franklin.

Ministry During the 17th century, the Christian ministry was the only profession to enjoy widespread respect among the common people. Ministers were often the only well-educated person in a small community.

Physicians Colonists who fell prey to epidemics of smallpox and diphtheria were often treated by "cures" that only made them worse. One common practice was to bleed the sick, often by employing leeches or bloodsuckers. A beginning doctor received little formal medical training other than acting as an apprentice to an experienced physician. The first medical college in the colonies was begun in 1765 as part of Franklin's idea for the College of Philadelphia.

Lawyers Often viewed as talkative troublemakers, lawyers were not common in the 1600s. In that period, individuals would argue their own cases before a colonial magistrate. During the 1700s, however, as trade expanded and legal problems became more complex, people felt a need for expert assistance in court. The most able lawyers formed a bar (committee or board), which set rules and standards for aspiring young lawyers. Lawyers gained further respect in the 1760s and 1770s when they argued for colonial rights. John Adams, James Otis, and Patrick Henry were three such lawyers whose legal arguments would ultimately provide the intellectual underpinnings of the American Revolution.

The Press

News and ideas circulated in the colonies principally by means of a postal system and local printing presses.

Newspapers In 1725, only five newspapers existed in the colonies, but by 1776 the number had grown to more than 40. Issued weekly, each newspaper consisted of a single sheet folded once to make four pages. It contained such items as month-old news from Europe, ads for goods and services and for the return of runaway indentured servants and slaves, and pious essays giving advice for better living. Illustrations were few or nonexistent. The first cartoon appeared in the Philadelphia *Gazette*, placed there by, of course, Ben Franklin.

The Zenger Case Newspaper printers in colonial days ran the risk of being jailed for libel if any article offended the political authorities. In 1735, John Peter Zenger, a New York editor and publisher, was brought to trial on a charge of libelously criticizing New York's royal governor. Zenger's lawyer, Andrew Hamilton, argued that his client had printed the truth about the governor.

According to English common law at the time, injuring a governor's reputation was considered a criminal act, no matter whether a printed statement was true or false. Ignoring the English law, the jury voted to acquit Zenger. While this case did not guarantee complete freedom of the press, it encouraged newspapers to take greater risks in criticizing a colony's government.

Rural Folkways

The majority of colonists rarely saw a newspaper or read any book other than the Bible. As farmers on the frontier or even within a few miles of the coast, they worked from first daylight to sundown. The farmer's year was divided into four ever-recurring seasons: spring planting, summer growing, fall harvesting, and winter preparations for the next cycle. Food was usually plentiful, but light and heat in the colonial farmhouse were limited to the kitchen fireplace and a few well-placed candles. Entertainment for the well-to-do consisted chiefly of card playing and horse-racing in the southern colonies, theater-going in the middle colonies, and attending religious lectures in Puritan New England.

The Enlightenment

In the 18th century, some educated Americans felt attracted to a European movement in literature and philosophy that is known as the Enlightenment. The leaders of this movement believed that the "darkness" of past ages could be corrected by the use of human reason in solving most of humanity's problems.

A major influence on the Enlightenment and on American thinking was the work of John Locke, a 17th-century English philosopher and political theorist. Locke, in his *Two Treatises of Government*, reasoned that while the state (the government) is supreme, it is bound to follow "natural laws" based on the rights that people have simply because they are human. He argued that sovereignty ultimately resides with the people rather than with the state. Furthermore, said Locke, citizens had a right and an obligation to revolt against whatever government failed to protect their rights.

Other Enlightenment philosophers adopted and expounded on Locke's ideas. His stress on natural rights would provide a rationale for the American Revolution and later for the basic principles of the U.S. Constitution.

Emergence of a National Character

The colonists' motivations for leaving Europe, the political heritage of the English majority, and the influence of the American natural environment combined to bring about a distinctly American viewpoint and way of life. Especially among white male property owners, the colonists exercised the rights of free speech and a free press, became accustomed to electing representatives to colonial assemblies, and tolerated a variety of religions. English travelers in the colonies remarked that Americans were restless, enterprising, practical, and forever seeking to improve their circumstances.

Politics

By 1750, the 13 colonies had similar systems of government, with a governor acting as chief executive and a separate legislature voting either to adopt or reject the governor's proposed laws.

Structure of Government

There were eight royal colonies with governors appointed by the king (New Hampshire, Massachusetts, New York, New Jersey, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia). In the three proprietary colonies (Maryland, Pennsylvania, and Delaware), governors were appointed by the proprietors. The governors in only two of the colonies, Connecticut and Rhode Island, were elected by popular vote.

In every colony, the legislature consisted of two houses. The lower house, or assembly, elected by the eligible voters, voted for or against new taxes. Colonists thus became accustomed to paying taxes only if their chosen representatives approved. (Their unwillingness to surrender any part of this privilege would become a cause for revolt in the 1770s.) In the royal and proprietary colonies, members of the legislature's upper house—or council—were appointed by the king or the proprietor. In the two self-governing colonies, both the upper and lower houses were elective bodies.

Local Government From the earliest period of settlement, colonists in New England established towns and villages, clustering their small homes around an open space known as a green. In the southern colonies, on the other hand, towns were much less common, and farms and plantations were widely separated. Thus, the dominant form of local government in New England was the town meeting, in which people of the town would regularly come together, often in a church, to vote directly on public issues. In the southern colonies, local government was carried on by a law-enforcing sheriff and other officials who served a large territorial unit called a *county*.

Voting

If democracy is defined as the participation of all the people in the making of government policy, then colonial democracy was at best limited and partial. Those barred from voting—white women, poor white men, slaves of both sexes, and most free blacks—constituted a sizable majority of the colonial population. Nevertheless, the barriers to voting that existed in the 17th century were beginning to be removed in the 18th. Religious restrictions, for example, were removed in Massachusetts and other colonies. On the other hand, voters in all colonies were still required to own at least a small amount of property.

Another factor to consider is the degree to which members of the colonial assemblies and governors' councils represented either a privileged elite or the larger society of plain citizens. The situation varied from one colony to the next. In Virginia, membership in the House of Burgesses was tightly restricted to certain families of wealthy landowners. In Massachusetts, the legislature was more open to small farmers, although there, too, an educated, propertied elite held

power for generations. The common people everywhere tended to defer to their “better” and to depend upon the privileged few to make decisions for them.

Without question, colonial politics was restricted to participation by white males only. Even so, compared with other parts of the world, the English colonies showed tendencies toward democracy and self-government that made their political system unusual for the time.

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES: WAS COLONIAL SOCIETY DEMOCRATIC?

Was colonial America “democratic” or not? The question is important for its own sake and also because it affects one’s perspective on the American Revolution and on the subsequent evolution of democratic politics in the United States. Many historians have focused on the politics of colonial Massachusetts. Some have concluded that colonial Massachusetts was indeed democratic, at least for the times. By studying voting records and statistics, they determined that the vast majority of white male citizens could vote and were not restricted by property qualifications. According to these historians, class differences between an elite and the masses of people did not prevent the latter from participating fully in colonial politics.

Other historians question whether broad voting rights by themselves demonstrate the existence of real democracy. The true test of democratic practice, they argue, would be whether different groups in a colonial town felt free to debate political questions in a town meeting. In the records of such meetings, they found little evidence of true political conflict and debate. Instead, they found that the purpose of town meetings in colonial days was to reach a consensus and to avoid conflict and real choices. These historians believe that the nature of consensus-forming limited the degree of democracy.

A third historical perspective is based on studies of economic change in colonial Boston. According to this view, a fundamental shift from an agrarian to a maritime economy occurred in the 18th century. In the process, a new elite emerged to dominate Boston’s finances, society, and politics. The power of this elite prevented colonial Massachusetts from being considered a true democracy.

The question remains: To what extent were Massachusetts and the other colonies democratic? Much of the answer depends on the definition of democracy.

KEY TERMS BY THEME

Arts & Science (CUL)

English cultural domination
Benjamin West
John Copley
Benjamin Franklin
Poor Richard's Almanack
Phillis Wheatley
John Bartram
professions: religion, medicine, law

Religion (CUL)

religious toleration
established church
Great Awakening

Jonathan Edwards
George Whitefield
Cotton Mather
sectarian
nonsectarian

The Land (GEO)

subsistence farming

Ethnicity (NAT)

J. Hector St. John Crevecoeur
colonial families
Germans
Scotch-Irish
Huguenots
Dutch
Swedes
Africans

People (MIG)

immigrants
social mobility

Government (POL)

hereditary aristocracy
John Peter Zenger
Andrew Hamilton
Enlightenment
colonial governors
colonial legislatures
town meetings
county government
limited democracy

MULTIPLE-CHOICE QUESTIONS

Questions 1–3 refer to the excerpt below.

“To understand political power . . . we must consider what estate all men are naturally in, and that it is a state of perfect freedom to order their actions and dispose of their possessions . . . within the bounds of the law of nature, without asking leave, or depending upon the will of any other man. . . .

“Whosoever therefore out of a state of nature unite into a community must be understood to give up all the power necessary to the ends for which they unite into society, to the majority of the community . . . And this is done by barely agreeing to unite into one political society. . . . And thus that which begins and actually constitutes any political society is nothing but the consent of any number of freemen capable of a majority to unite. . . . And this is that . . . which did or could give beginning to any lawful government in the world.”

—John Locke, *Second Treatise of Government*, 1690

1. How is the topic of Locke’s writing similar to most writing in the colonies in the 18th century?
 - (A) He wrote about nature, and most writing was about nature or agriculture
 - (B) He wrote about the rights of the majority, and most writing was about rights and liberties
 - (C) He wrote about freemen, and most writing was about freedom and slavery
 - (D) He wrote about politics, and most writing was about politics or religion
2. Locke’s writings had the most direct influence on the
 - (A) American Revolution
 - (B) Great Awakening
 - (C) Mayflower Compact
 - (D) Zenger case
3. Which of the following groups in the colonies in the late 17th century would be most critical of Locke’s ideas?
 - (A) Slave owners
 - (B) Church leaders
 - (C) Merchants
 - (D) Women

Questions 4–6 refer to the excerpt below.

“[Lawyer for the prosecution:] Gentlemen of the jury; the information now before the Court, and to which the Defendant Zenger has pleaded not guilty, is an information for printing and publishing a false, scandalous, and seditious libel, in which His Excellency the Governor of this Province . . . is greatly and unjustly scandalized as a person that has no regard to law nor justice. . . . Indeed Sir, as Mr. Hamilton [Zenger’s attorney] has confessed the printing and publishing these libels, I think the jury must find a verdict for the King; for supposing they were true, the law says that they are not the less libelous for that; nay, indeed the law says their being true is an aggravation of the crime.

“[Mr. Hamilton:] Not so . . . I hope it is not our bare printing and publishing a paper that will make it libel. You will have something more to do before you make my client a libeler; for the words themselves must be libelous, that is false . . . or else we are not guilty.”

—James Alexander, lawyer for J. Peter Zenger,
The Trial of John Peter Zenger, 1736

4. Which of the following had an effect on attitudes toward traditional authority similar to the effect of the Zenger case?
 - (A) The arrival of new immigrants in the British colonies
 - (B) The growth of the legal profession
 - (C) The spread of the Great Awakening
 - (D) The westward movement of settlers
5. Which group would most strongly support Zenger’s position on the press?
 - (A) Farmers in New England
 - (B) Southern planters
 - (C) Settlers on the frontier
 - (D) Residents of cities
6. Which of the following was a long-term effect of the jury’s decision in the Zenger case?
 - (A) Zenger became a colonial leader
 - (B) The colonial press became more willing to criticize the British
 - (C) Restrictions on the press increased
 - (D) New York became the center of anti-British sentiments

Questions 7–10 refer to the excerpt below.

“For a nation thus abused to arise unanimously and to resist their prince, even to dethroning him, is not criminal but a reasonable way of vindicating their liberties and just rights; it is making use of the means, and the only means, which God has put into their power for mutual and self-defense. . . .

“To conclude, let us all learn to be free and to be loyal. . . . But let us remember . . . government is sacred and not to be trifled with. It is our happiness to live under the government of a prince who is satisfied with ruling according to law. . . . Let us prize our freedom but not use our liberty for a cloak of maliciousness. There are men who strike at liberty under the term licentiousness. There are others who aim at popularity under the disguise of patriotism. Be aware of both. Extremes are dangerous.”

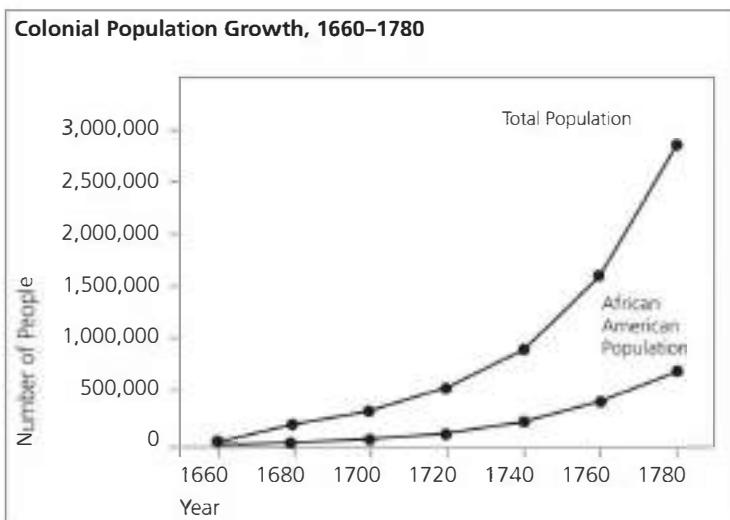
—Jonathan Mayhew, church minister, “On Unlimited Submission to Rulers,” 1750

7. According to Mayhew, the people should be willing to challenge abuses by the
 - (A) royal governors
 - (B) church ministers
 - (C) slave owners
 - (D) king
8. Which of the following possible influences on Mayhew is most clearly reflected in his statement?
 - (A) The Great Awakening
 - (B) The teachings in the colonial colleges
 - (C) The ideas of the Enlightenment
 - (D) The rulings by royal governors
9. Mayhew would probably apply his warning, “not use our liberty for a cloak of maliciousness” to
 - (A) the Mayflower Compact
 - (B) the Act of Toleration
 - (C) Bacon’s Rebellion
 - (D) the Zenger case
10. What was the context in which Mayhew was writing?
 - (A) democratic practices were slowly increasing
 - (B) opposition to British rule of the colonies was increasing
 - (C) the Great Awakening was making authorities stronger
 - (D) restrictions on voting were becoming tighter

SHORT-ANSWER QUESTIONS

Use complete sentences; an outline or bulleted list alone is not acceptable.

Question 1 is based on the following graph.



Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census. *Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1970*

1. Using the graph, answer a, b, and c.
 - a) Briefly explain the role slavery played in the population growth of this period.
 - b) Briefly describe the sources of immigrants other than from Africa during this period.
 - c) Briefly explain the impact of the non-African immigration on ONE of the following sections of the colonies.
 - New England
 - Middle Colonies
 - Southern Colonies

Question 2. Answer a, b, and c.

- a) Briefly explain the role of ONE of the following factors in the growing colonial economy by the mid-18th century.
 - agriculture
 - monetary system
 - transportation
- b) Briefly explain ONE important difference between the economies of British colonies in the South and New England by 1750.
- c) Briefly explain ONE limitation placed on the colonial economy by British government policy.

Question 3 is based on the excerpts below.

“The design of erecting a college in this province is a matter of such grand and general importance that I have frequently made it the topic of my serious meditation. . . .

“It is, in the first place, observable that, unless its constitution and government be such as will admit persons of all Protestant denominations upon a perfect parity as to privileges, it will itself be greatly prejudiced and prove a nursery of animosity, dissension and disorder . . .

“Should our college, therefore, unhappily through our own bad policy fall into the hands of any one religious sect in the province; establish its religion in the college . . . it is easy to see that Christians of all other denominations among us, will, from the same principles, rather conspire to oppose and oppress it.”

—William Livingston, Presbyterian, 1753

“Colleges are religious societies of a superior nature to all others. . . . colleges are societies of ministers for training up persons for the work of the ministry . . . all their religious instruction, worship, and ordinances are carried on within their own jurisdiction by their own officers and under their own regulations . . . And we know that religion, and the religion of these churches in particular, both as to doctrine and discipline, was the main design of the founders of this college, . . . and this design their successors are bound in duty to pursue. And, indeed, religion is a matter of so great consequences and importance that the knowledge of the arts and sciences, how excellent soever in themselves, are comparatively worth but little without it.”

—Thomas Clap, president of Yale University, 1754

3. Using the excerpts, answer a, b, and c.

- a) Briefly explain the main point in passage 1.
- b) Briefly explain the main point in passage 2.
- c) Briefly explain another implication of this debate in the mid-18th century colonies beyond the immediate question of the governance of colleges.

Question 4. Answer a, b, and c.

- a) Briefly explain the advances made in ONE of the following cultural areas during the mid-18th century in the colonies.
 - architecture
 - painting
 - literature
- b) Briefly explain the role of formal education during the mid-18th century in the cultural development you indicated in (a).
- c) Briefly explain what groups in the colonies were generally unable to share in the growing pursuit of the arts and sciences.

THINK AS A HISTORIAN: QUESTIONS ABOUT PERIODIZATION

Historians divide the flow of past events into periods that share common traits. They identify key dates that mark turning points. The choice of those traits and turning points reflects a historian's point of view. Which THREE of the following essay questions asks for an answer that emphasizes periodization?

1. Compare and contrast the ideas and influence of Jonathan Edwards and George Whitefield.
2. How did the 1730s mark an important shift in colonial religious history?
3. The years from 1607 to 1733 can be called the Era of English Settlement. Explain whether you think this label fits the era.
4. Describe the trend in ethnic diversity in the English colonies between 1607 and 1775.
5. The Massachusetts school law of 1647 marked the beginning of a new era in American education.

PERIOD 2 Review: 1607–1754

LONG-ESSAY QUESTIONS

Directions: Respond to one of each pair of questions. The suggested writing time is 35 minutes. In your response you should do the following.

- State a relevant thesis that directly addresses all parts of the question.
- Support your argument with evidence, using specific examples.
- Apply historical thinking skills as directed by the question.
- Synthesize the elements above into a persuasive essay that extends your argument, connects it to a different historical context, or connects it to a different category of analysis.

Choose EITHER Question 1 or Question 2.

1. Compare and contrast the role of religion in the founding of the Spanish colonies in the 16th century with that of the English colonies in the 17th century.
2. Analyze why freedom of religion was important in the founding of some of the English colonies while being denied in others.

Choose EITHER Question 3 or Question 4.

3. Analyze the impact of geography and the environment on the development of at least two different regions of the English colonies along the Atlantic coast in the 17th and 18th centuries.
4. Analyze the influence of TWO of the following on the development of a democratic society in the English colonies during the period from 1607 to 1745.
 - Bacon’s Rebellion
 - Enlightenment
 - Great Awakening
 - Zenger case

DOCUMENT-BASED QUESTION

Directions: Question 1 is based on the accompanying documents. The documents have been edited for the purpose of this exercise. You are advised to spend 15 minutes planning and 40 minutes writing your answer.

In your response you should do the following.

- State a relevant thesis that directly addresses all parts of the question.
 - Support the thesis or a relevant argument with evidence from all, or all but one, of the documents.
 - Incorporate analysis of all, or all but one, of the documents into your argument.
 - Focus your analysis of each document on at least one of the following: intended audience, purpose, historical context, and/or point of view.
 - Support your argument with analysis of historical examples outside the documents.
 - Connect historical phenomena relevant to your argument to broader events or processes.
 - Synthesize the elements above into a persuasive essay.
1. Analyze the similarities and differences in the various influences and approaches toward unity in the English colonies in the period of the 17th and early 18th centuries.

Document 1

Source: The Mayflower Compact, 1620

This day before we came to harbor, observing some not well affected to unity and concord, but gave some appearance of faction, it was thought good there should be an association and agreement that we should combine together in one body, and to submit to such government and governors as we should be common consent agree to make and choose, and set out hands to this that follows word for word. . . . [We] do by these present, solemnly and mutually, in the presence of God and one another, covenant and combine ourselves together into a civil body politic, for our better ordering and preservation and furtherance of the ends aforesaid; and by virtue hereof to enact, constitute, and frame such just and equal laws, ordinances, acts, constitutions, offices from time to time as shall be thought most meet and convenient for the general good of the colony.

Document 2

Source: Fundamental Orders of Connecticut, 1639

As it has pleased the Almighty God . . . we, the inhabitants and residents of Windsor, Hartford, and Wethersfield are now cohabiting and dwelling in and upon the river of Conectecotte [Connecticut] and the lands thereunto adjoining; and well knowing where a people are gathered together the Word of God requires that, to maintain the peace and union of such a people, there should be an orderly and decent government established according to God, to order and dispose of the affairs of the people at all seasons as occasion shall require; do therefore associate and conjoin ourselves to be as one public state or commonwealth, and do, for ourselves and our successors and such as shall be adjoined to us at any time hereafter, enter into combination and confederation together, to maintain and preserve the liberty and purity of the Gospel of our Lord Jesus which we now profess.

Document 3

Source: The New England Confederation, 1643

The Articles of confederation between the Plantations under the Government of the Massachusetts . . . New Plymouth . . . Connecticut and . . . New Haven with the Plantations in Combination therewith. . . .

The said United Colonies . . . hereby enter into a firm and perpetual league of friendship and amity for offence and defence, mutual advice . . . upon all just occasions . . . and for their own mutual safety and welfare. . . .

It is by these Confederates agreed that the charge of all just wars, whether offensive or defensive, upon what part or member of this Confederation soever they fall . . . be borne by all the parts of this Confederation . . .

It is further agreed that if any of these Jurisdictions or any Plantation under or in combination with them, be invaded by any enemy whatsoever, upon notice and request of any three magistrates of that Jurisdiction so invaded, the rest of the Confederates without any further meeting or expostulation shall forthwith send aid to the Confederate in danger.

Document 4

Source: William Penn, Plan of Union, 1697

A brief and plain scheme how the English colonies in the North parts of America... Boston, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New York, New Jerseys, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, and Carolinas—may be made more useful to the crown and one another's peace and safety....

1. That the several colonies before mentioned do meet . . . at least once in two years in times of peace . . . to debate and resolve of such measures as are most advisable for their better understanding and the public tranquility and safety.
2. That, in order to it, two persons . . . be appointed by each province as their representatives or deputies, which in the whole make the congress....
6. That their business shall be to hear and adjust all matters of complaint or difference between province and province . . . to consider the ways and means to support the union and safety of these provinces against the public enemies.

Document 5

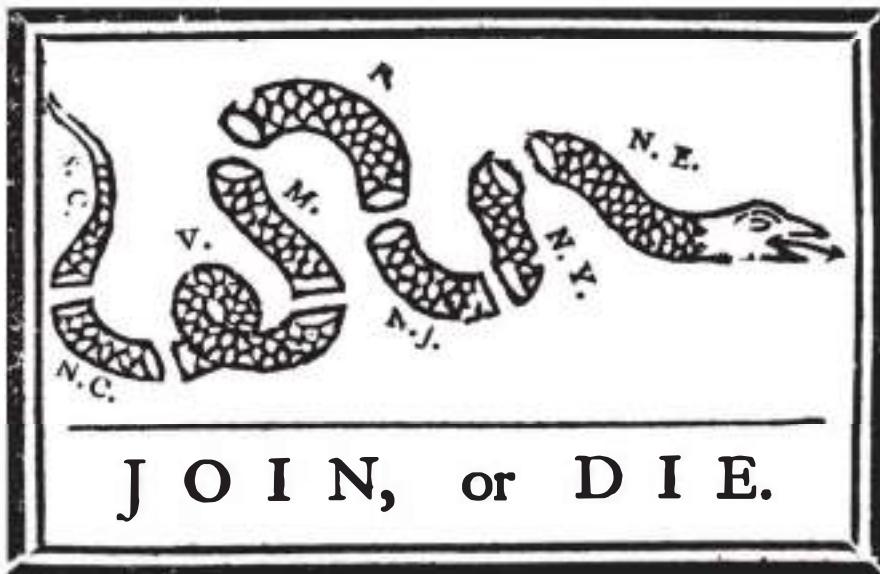
Source: The Albany Plan of Union, 1754

It is proposed that humble application be made for an act of Parliament of Great Britain, by virtue of which one general government may be formed in America, including all the said colonies, within and under which government each colony may retain its present constitution, except in the particulars wherein a change may be directed by the said act, as hereafter follows:

1. That the said general government be administered by a President-General, to be appointed and supported by the crown; and a Grand Council, to be chosen by the representatives of the people of the several Colonies met in their respective assemblies. . . .
15. That they raise and pay soldiers and build forts for the defense of any of the colonies. . . .
16. That for these purposes they have power to make laws, and lay and levy such general duties, imposts, or taxes, as to them shall appear most equal and just.

Document 6

Source: Pennsylvania *Gazette*, 1754. Library of Congress



Document 7

Source: Ben Franklin, "The Problem of Colonial Union," 1754

[On] the subject of uniting the colonies more intimately with Great Britain by allowing them representatives in Parliament, I have something further considered that matter and am of opinion that such a union would be very acceptable to the colonies, provided they had a reasonable number of representatives allowed them; and that all the old acts Parliament restraining the trade or cramping the manufacturers of the colonies be at the same time repealed. . . .

I should hope, too, that by such a union the people of Great Britain and the people of the colonies would learn to consider themselves as not belonging to different community with different interests but to one community with one interest, which I imagine, would contribute to strengthen the whole and greatly lessen the danger of future separations.

PERIOD 3: 1754–1800

Chapter 4 Imperial Wars and Colonial Protest, 1754–1774

Chapter 5 The American Revolution and Confederation, 1774–1787

Chapter 6 The Constitution and the New Republic, 1787–1800

In less than fifty years the British went from consolidating their control along the Atlantic coast of North America to watching 13 of their colonies unite in revolt and establish an independent nation.

Overview After the Seven Years' War ended in 1763, the British desired more revenue to pay for protecting their empire while many American colonists saw themselves as self-sufficient. These clashing views resulted in the colonies declaring independence, winning a war, and founding a new nation. Initially governed by Articles of Confederation with a weak federal government, the new United States soon replaced it with a new constitution that created a federal government that was stronger, though still with limited powers. Out of the debates over the new constitution and policies emerged two parties. The test of the stability of the American system came in 1800, when one party, the Federalists, peacefully transferred power to the other, the Democratic-Republicans. Throughout this period there was a continuous westward migration resulting in new opportunities, blended cultures, and increased conflicts with the American Indians and other European nations.

Alternate View Some historians start the story of the birth of the United States in 1763, at the end of the Seven Years' War. Starting in 1754 emphasizes that fighting the war drove the colonies and the British apart. While the United States declared independence in 1776 and ratified the Constitution in 1788, not until 1800 had it clearly survived the divisions of the early years.

Key Concepts

3.1: British attempts to assert tighter control over its North America colonies and the colonial resolve to pursue self-government led to a colonial independence movement and the Revolutionary War.

3.2: The American Revolution's democratic and republican ideals inspired new experiments with different forms of government.

3.3: Migration within North America and competition over resources, boundaries and trade intensified conflicts among peoples and nations.

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IMPERIAL WARS AND COLONIAL PROTEST, 1754–1774

The people, even to the lowest ranks, have become more attentive to their liberties, more inquisitive about them, and more determined to defend them than they were ever before known or had occasion to be.

John Adams, 1765

What caused American colonists in the 1760s to become, as John Adams expressed it, “more attentive to their liberties”? The chief reason for their discontent in these years was a dramatic change in Britain’s colonial policy. Britain began to assert its power in the colonies and to collect taxes and enforce trade laws much more aggressively than in the past. To explain why Britain took this fateful step, we must study the effects of its various wars for empire.

Empires at War

Late in the 17th century, war broke out involving Great Britain, France, and Spain. This was the first of a series of four wars that were worldwide in scope, with battles in Europe, India, and North America. These wars occurred intermittently over a 74-year period from 1689 to 1763. The stakes were high, since the winner of the struggle stood to gain supremacy in the West Indies and Canada and to dominate the lucrative colonial trade.

The First Three Wars

The first three wars were named after the British king or queen under whose reign they occurred. In both King William’s War (1689–1697) and Queen Anne’s War (1702–1713), the British launched expeditions to capture Quebec, but their efforts failed. American Indians supported by the French burned British frontier settlements. Ultimately, the British forces prevailed in Queen Anne’s War and gained both Nova Scotia from France and trading rights in Spanish America.

A third war was fought during the reign of George II: King George’s War (1744–1748). Once again, the British colonies were under attack from their perennial rivals, the French and the Spanish. In Georgia, James Oglethorpe led a colonial army that managed to repulse Spanish attacks. To the north,

a force of New Englanders captured Louisbourg, a major French fortress, on Cape Breton Island, controlling access to the St. Lawrence River. In the peace treaty ending the war, however, Britain agreed to give Louisbourg back to the French in exchange for political and economic gains in India. New Englanders were furious about the loss of a fort that they had fought so hard to win.

The Seven Years' War (French and Indian War)

The first three wars between Britain and France focused primarily on battles in Europe and only secondarily on conflict in the colonies. The European powers saw little value in committing regular troops to America. However, in the fourth and final war in the series, the fighting began in the colonies and then spread to Europe. Moreover, Britain and France now recognized the full importance of their colonies and shipped large numbers of troops overseas to North America rather than rely on “amateur” colonial forces. This fourth and most decisive war was known in Europe as the Seven Years’ War. The North American phase of this war is often called the French and Indian War.

Beginning of the War From the British point of view, the French provoked the war by building a chain of forts in the Ohio River Valley. One of the reasons the French did so was to halt the westward growth of the British colonies. Hoping to stop the French from completing work on Fort Duquesne (Pittsburgh) and thereby win control of the Ohio River Valley, the governor of Virginia sent a small militia (armed force) under the command of a young colonel named George Washington. After gaining a small initial victory, Washington’s troops surrendered to a superior force of Frenchmen and their American Indian allies on July 3, 1754. With this military encounter in the wilderness, the final war for empire began.

At first the war went badly for the British. In 1755, another expedition from Virginia, led by General Edward Braddock, ended in a disastrous defeat, as more than 2,000 British regulars and colonial troops were routed by a smaller force of French and American Indians near Ft. Duquesne. The Algonquin allies of the French ravaged the frontier from western Pennsylvania to North Carolina. The French repulsed a British invasion of French Canada that began in 1756.

The Albany Plan of Union Recognizing the need for coordinating colonial defense, the British government called for representatives from several colonies to meet in a congress at Albany, New York, in 1754. The delegates from seven colonies adopted a plan—the Albany Plan of Union—developed by Benjamin Franklin that provided for an intercolonial government and a system for recruiting troops and collecting taxes from the various colonies for their common defense. Each colony was too jealous of its own taxation powers to accept the plan, however, and it never took effect. The Albany congress was significant, however, because it set a precedent for later, more revolutionary congresses in the 1770s.

British Victory The British prime minister, William Pitt, concentrated the government's military strategy on conquering Canada. This objective was accomplished with the retaking of Louisbourg in 1758, the surrender of Quebec to General James Wolfe in 1759, and the taking of Montreal in 1760. After these British victories, the European powers negotiated a peace treaty (the Peace of Paris) in 1763. Great Britain acquired both French Canada and Spanish Florida. France ceded (gave up) to Spain its huge western territory, Louisiana, and claims west of the Mississippi River in compensation for Spain's loss of Florida. With this treaty, the British extended their control of North America, and French power on the continent virtually ended.

Immediate Effects of the War Britain's victory in the Seven Years' War gave them unchallenged supremacy in North America and also established them as the dominant naval power in the world. No longer did the American colonies face the threat of concerted attacks from the French, the Spanish, and their American Indian allies. More important to the colonies, though, was a change in how the British and the colonists viewed each other.

The British View The British came away from the war with a low opinion of the colonial military abilities. They held the American militia in contempt as a poorly trained, disorderly rabble. Furthermore, they noted that some of the colonies had refused to contribute either troops or money to the war effort. Most British were convinced that the colonists were both unable and unwilling to defend the new frontiers of the vastly expanded British empire.

The Colonial View The colonists took an opposite view of their military performance. They were proud of their record in all four wars and developed confidence that they could successfully provide for their own defense. They were not impressed with British troops or their leadership, whose methods of warfare seemed badly suited to the densely wooded terrain of eastern America.

Reorganization of the British Empire

More serious than the resentful feelings stirred by the war experience was the British government's shift in its colonial policies. Previously, Britain had exercised little direct control over the colonies and had generally allowed its navigation laws regulating colonial trade to go unenforced. This earlier policy of salutary neglect was abandoned as the British adopted more forceful policies for taking control of their expanded North American dominions.

All four wars—and the last one in particular—had been extremely costly. In addition, Britain now felt the need to maintain a large British military force to guard its American frontiers. Among British landowners, pressure was building to reduce the heavy taxes that the colonial wars had laid upon them. To pay for troops to guard the frontier without increasing taxes at home, King George III and the dominant political party in Parliament (the Whigs) wanted the American colonies to bear more of the cost of maintaining the British empire.

Pontiac's Rebellion The first major test of the new British imperial policy came in 1763 when Chief Pontiac led a major attack against colonial settlements on the western frontier. The American Indians were angered by the growing westward movement of European settlers onto their land and by the British refusal to offer gifts as the French had done. Pontiac's alliance of American Indians in the Ohio Valley destroyed forts and settlements from New York to Virginia. Rather than relying on colonial forces to retaliate, the British sent regular British troops to put down the uprising.

Proclamation of 1763 In an effort to stabilize the western frontier, the British government issued a proclamation that prohibited colonists from settling west of the Appalachian Mountains. The British hoped that limiting settlements would prevent future hostilities between colonists and American Indians. But the colonists reacted to the proclamation with anger and defiance. After their victory in the Seven Years' War, colonists hoped to reap benefits in the form of access to western lands. For the British to deny such benefits was infuriating. Defying the prohibition, thousands streamed westward beyond the imaginary boundary line drawn by the British. (See map, page 76.)

British Actions and Colonial Reactions

The Proclamation of 1763 was the first of a series of acts by the British government that angered colonists. From the British point of view, each act was justified as a proper method for protecting its colonial empire and making the colonies pay their share of costs for such protection. From the colonists' point of view, each act represented an alarming threat to their cherished liberties and long-established practice of representative government.

New Revenues and Regulations

In the first two years of peace, King George III's chancellor of the exchequer (treasury) and prime minister, Lord George Grenville, successfully pushed through Parliament three measures that aroused colonial suspicions of a British plot to subvert their liberties.

Sugar Act (1764) This act (also known as the Revenue Act of 1764) placed duties on foreign sugar and certain luxuries. Its chief purpose was to raise money for the crown, and a companion law also provided for stricter enforcement of the Navigation Acts to stop smuggling. Those accused of smuggling were to be tried in admiralty courts by crown-appointed judges without juries.

Quartering Act (1765) This act required the colonists to provide food and living quarters for British soldiers stationed in the colonies.

Stamp Act In an effort to raise funds to support British military forces in the colonies, Lord Grenville turned to a tax long in use in Britain. The Stamp Act, enacted by Parliament in 1765, required that revenue stamps be placed on most printed paper in the colonies, including all legal documents, newspapers,

pamphlets, and advertisements. This was the first direct tax—collected from those who used the goods—paid by the people in the colonies, as opposed to the taxes on imported goods, which were paid by merchants.

People in every colony reacted with indignation to news of the Stamp Act. A young Virginia lawyer named Patrick Henry spoke for many when he stood up in the House of Burgesses to demand that the king's government recognize the rights of all citizens—including the right not to be taxed without representation. In Massachusetts, James Otis initiated a call for cooperative action among the colonies to protest the Stamp Act. Representatives from nine colonies met in New York in 1765 to form the so-called Stamp Act Congress. They resolved that only their own elected representatives had the legal authority to approve taxes.

The protest against the stamp tax took a violent turn with the formation of the Sons and Daughters of Liberty, a secret society organized for the purpose of intimidating tax agents. Members of this society sometimes destroyed revenue stamps and tarred and feathered revenue officials.

Boycotts against British imports were the most effective form of protest. It became fashionable in the colonies in 1765 and 1766 for people not to purchase any article of British origin. Faced with a sharp drop in trade, London merchants put pressure on Parliament to repeal the controversial Stamp Act.

Declaratory Act In 1766, Grenville was replaced by another prime minister, and Parliament voted to repeal the Stamp Act. When news of the repeal reached the colonies, people rejoiced. Few colonists at the time noted that Parliament had also enacted a face-saving measure known as the Declaratory Act (1766). This act asserted that Parliament had the right to tax and make laws for the colonies “in all cases whatsoever.” This declaration of policy would soon lead to renewed conflict between the colonists and the British government.

Second Phase of the Crisis, 1767–1773

Because the British government still needed new revenues, the newly appointed chancellor of the exchequer, Charles Townshend, proposed another tax measure.

The Townshend Acts Adopting Townshend’s program in 1767, Parliament enacted new duties to be collected on colonial imports of tea, glass, and paper. The law required that the revenues raised be used to pay crown officials in the colonies, thus making them independent of the colonial assemblies that had previously paid their salaries. The Townshend Acts also provided for the search of private homes for smuggled goods. All that an official needed to conduct such a search would be a *writ of assistance* (a general license to search anywhere) rather than a judge’s warrant permitting a search only of a specifically named property. Another of the Townshend Acts suspended New York’s assembly for that colony’s defiance of the Quartering Act.

At first, most colonists accepted the taxes under the Townshend Acts because they were indirect taxes paid by merchants (not direct taxes on consumer goods). However, soon leaders began protesting the new duties. In 1767 and 1768, John Dickinson of Pennsylvania in his *Letters From a Farmer in Pennsylvania* wrote that Parliament could regulate commerce but argued that because duties were a form of taxation, they could not be levied on the colonies without the consent of their representative assemblies. Dickinson argued that the idea of no taxation without representation was an essential principle of English law.

In 1768, James Otis and Samuel Adams jointly wrote the Massachusetts Circular Letter and sent copies to every colonial legislature. It urged the various colonies to petition Parliament to repeal the Townshend Acts. British officials in Boston ordered the letter retracted, threatened to dissolve the legislature, and increased the number of British troops in Boston. Responding to the circular letter, the colonists again conducted boycotts of British goods. Merchants increased their smuggling activities to avoid the offensive Townshend duties.

Repeal of the Townshend Acts Meanwhile, in London, there was another change in the king's ministers. Lord Frederick North became the new prime minister. He urged Parliament to repeal the Townshend Acts because they damaged trade and generated a disappointingly small amount of revenue. The repeal of the Townshend Acts in 1770 ended the colonial boycott and, except for an incident in Boston (the "massacre" described below), there was a three-year respite from political troubles as the colonies entered into a period of economic prosperity. However, Parliament retained a small tax on tea as a symbol of its right to tax the colonies.

Boston Massacre Most Bostonians resented the British troops who had been quartered in their city to protect customs officials from being attacked by the Sons of Liberty. On a snowy day in March 1770, a crowd of colonists harassed the guards near the customs house. The guards fired into the crowd, killing five people including an African American, Crispus Attucks. At their trial for murder, the soldiers were defended by colonial lawyer John Adams and acquitted. Adams' more radical cousin, Samuel Adams, angrily denounced the shooting incident as a "massacre" and used it to inflame anti-British feeling.

Renewal of the Conflict

Even during the relatively quiet years of 1770–1772, Samuel Adams and a few other Americans kept alive the view that British officials were undermining colonial liberties. A principal device for spreading this idea was by means of the Committees of Correspondence initiated by Samuel Adams in 1772. In Boston and other Massachusetts towns, Adams began the practice of organizing committees that would regularly exchange letters about suspicious or potentially threatening British activities. The Virginia House of Burgesses took the concept a step further when it organized intercolonial committees in 1773.

The *Gaspee* One incident frequently discussed in the committees' letters was that of the *Gaspee*, a British customs ship that had caught several smugglers. In 1772, it ran aground off the shore of Rhode Island. Seizing their opportunity to destroy the hated vessel, a group of colonists disguised as American Indians ordered the British crew ashore and then set fire to the ship. The British ordered a commission to investigate and bring guilty individuals to Britain for trial.

Boston Tea Party The colonists continued their refusal to buy British tea because the British insisted on their right to collect the tax. Hoping to help the British East India Company out of its financial problems, Parliament passed the Tea Act in 1773, which made the price of the company's tea—even with the tax included—cheaper than that of smuggled Dutch tea.

Many Americans refused to buy the cheaper tea because to do so would, in effect, recognize Parliament's right to tax the colonies. A shipment of the East India Company's tea arrived in Boston harbor, but there were no buyers. Before the royal governor could arrange to bring the tea ashore, a group of Bostonians disguised themselves as American Indians, boarded the British ships, and dumped 342 chests of tea into the harbor. Colonial reaction to this incident (December 1773) was mixed. While many applauded the Boston Tea Party as a justifiable defense of liberty, others thought the destruction of private property was far too radical.

Intolerable Acts

In Great Britain, news of the Boston Tea Party angered the king, Lord North, and members of Parliament. In retaliation, the British government enacted a series of punitive acts (the Coercive Acts), together with a separate act dealing with French Canada (the Quebec Act). The colonists were outraged by these various laws, which were given the epithet "Intolerable Acts."

The Coercive Acts (1774) There were four Coercive Acts, directed mainly at punishing the people of Boston and Massachusetts and bringing the dissidents under control.

1. The Port Act closed the port of Boston, prohibiting trade in and out of the harbor until the destroyed tea was paid for.
2. The Massachusetts Government Act reduced the power of the Massachusetts legislature while increasing the power of the royal governor.
3. The Administration of Justice Act allowed royal officials accused of crimes to be tried in Great Britain instead of in the colonies.
4. A fourth law expanded the Quartering Act to enable British troops to be quartered in private homes. It applied to all colonies.

Quebec Act (1774) When it passed the Coercive Acts, the British government also passed a law organizing the Canadian lands gained from France. This plan was accepted by most French Canadians, but it was resented by many in the 13 colonies. The Quebec Act established Roman Catholicism as the official

religion of Quebec, set up a government without a representative assembly, and extended Quebec's boundary to the Ohio River.

The colonists viewed the Quebec Act as a direct attack on the American colonies because it took away lands that they claimed along the Ohio River. They also feared that the British would attempt to enact similar laws in America to take away their representative government. The predominantly Protestant Americans also resented the recognition given to Catholicism.

BRITISH COLONIES: PROCLAMATION LINE OF 1763 AND QUEBEC ACT OF 1774



Philosophical Foundations of the American Revolution

For Americans, especially those who were in positions of leadership, there was a long tradition of loyalty to the king and Great Britain. As the differences between them grew, many Americans tried to justify this changing relationship. As discussed in Chapter 3, the Enlightenment, particularly the writings of John Locke, had a profound influence on the colonies.

Enlightenment Ideas The era of the Enlightenment (see Chapter 3) was at its peak in the mid-18th century—the very years that future leaders of the American Revolution (Washington, Jefferson, Franklin, and Adams) were coming to maturity. Many Enlightenment thinkers in Europe and America were Deists, who believed that God had established natural laws in creating the universe, but that the role of divine intervention in human affairs was minimal. They believed in rationalism and trusted human reason to solve the many problems of life and society, and emphasized reason, science, and respect for humanity. Their political philosophy, derived from Locke and developed further by the French philosopher Jean-Jacques Rousseau, had a profound influence on educated Americans in the 1760s and 1770s—the decades of revolutionary thought and action that finally culminated in the American Revolution.

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES: WHY DID THE COLONIES REBEL?

Did America's break with Great Britain in the 18th century signify a true revolution with radical change, or was it simply the culmination of evolutionary changes in American life? For many years, the traditional view of the founding of America was that a revolution based on the ideas of the Enlightenment had fundamentally altered society.

During the 20th century, historians continued to debate whether American independence from Great Britain was revolutionary or evolutionary. At the start of the century, Progressive historians believed that the movement to end British dominance had provided an opportunity to radically change American society. A new nation was formed with a republican government based on federalism and stressing equality and the rights of the individual. The revolution was social as well as political.

During the second half of the 20th century, a different interpretation argued that American society had been more democratic and changed long before the war with Great Britain. Historian Bernard Bailyn has suggested that the changes that are viewed as revolutionary—representative government, expansion of the right to vote, and written constitutions—had all developed earlier, during the colonial period. According to this perspective, what was revolutionary or significant about the break from Great Britain was the recognition of an American philosophy based on liberty and democracy that would guide the nation.

KEY TERMS BY THEME

Colonial Unrest (NAT, POL) Patrick Henry Stamp Act Congress Sons and Daughters of Liberty John Dickinson; "Letters From . . ." Samuel Adams James Otis Massachusetts Circular Letter Committees of Correspondence Intolerable Acts Rulers & Policies (WXT) George III Whigs Parliament salutary neglect Lord Frederick North	American Indians (MIG) Pontiac's Rebellion Proclamation of 1763 Empire (POL, GEO) Seven Years' War (French and Indian War) Albany Plan of Union (1754) Edward Braddock George Washington Peace of Paris (1763)	Economic Policies (WOR) Sugar Act (1764) Quartering Act (1765) Stamp Act (1765) Declaratory Act (1766) Townshend Acts (1767) Writs of Assistance Tea Act (1773) Coercive Acts (1774) —Port Act —Massachusetts Government Act —Administration of Justice Act Quebec Act (1774) Philosophy (CUL) Enlightenment Deism Rationalism John Locke Jean-Jacques Rousseau
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MULTIPLE-CHOICE QUESTIONS

Questions 1–3 refer to the excerpt below.

“We apprehend that as freemen and English subjects, we have an indisputable title to the same privileges and immunities with His Majesty’s other subjects who reside in the interior counties . . . , and therefore ought not to be excluded from an equal share with them in the very important privilege of legislation. . . . We cannot but observe with sorrow and indignation that some persons in this province are at pains to extenuate the barbarous cruelties practised by these savages on our murdered brethren and relatives . . . by this means the Indians have been taught to despise us as a weak and disunited people, and from this fatal source have arisen many of our calamities. . . . We humbly pray therefore that this grievance may be redressed.”

—The Paxton Boys, to the Pennsylvania Assembly, “A Remonstrance of Distressed and Bleeding Frontier Inhabitants,” 1764

1. The protests by the Paxton Boys occurred during a period when many colonists were objecting to British policies that were a result of the
 - (A) Albany Plan of Union
 - (B) Great Awakening
 - (C) Seven Years’ War
 - (D) Enlightenment
2. The concern expressed in this excerpt helps explain why the British passed the
 - (A) Peace of Paris
 - (B) Proclamation of 1763
 - (C) Quartering Act
 - (D) Port Act
3. Which of the following leaders from an earlier period represented a group in a similar situation as cited in this excerpt?
 - (A) Edmond Andros
 - (B) Nathaniel Bacon
 - (C) John Smith
 - (D) Roger Williams

Questions 4–6 refer to the excerpt below.

“It is inseparably essential to the freedom of a People, and the undoubted Right of Englishmen, that no taxes be imposed on them, but with their own Consent, given personally, or by their representatives. . . . That it is the indispensable duty of these colonies, to the best of sovereigns . . . to procure the repeal of the act for granting and applying certain stamp duties, of all clauses of any other acts of Parliament . . . for the restriction of American commerce.”

—Resolutions of the Stamp Act Congress, 1765

4. The resolution of the Stamp Act Congress expressed respect for which person or group?
 - (A) Colonial merchants
 - (B) The king
 - (C) Leaders in Parliament
 - (D) Residents of England
5. For the first time, the Stamp Act placed on the colonies a tax that was
 - (A) indirect
 - (B) direct
 - (C) to regulate trade
 - (D) to support a church
6. Which of the following was a direct British response to the colonial views expressed by the Stamp Act Congress?
 - (A) Quartering Act for British soldiers
 - (B) Sugar Act taxing luxuries
 - (C) Coercive Act closing the port of Boston
 - (D) Declaratory Act stating the right to tax

Questions 7–8 refer to the excerpt below.

“The unhappy disputes between Great Britain and her American colonies . . . have proceeded to lengths so dangerous and alarming as to excite just apprehensions in the minds of His Majesty’s faithful subjects of this colony. . . .

“It cannot admit of a doubt but that British subjects in America are entitled to the same rights and privileges as their fellow subjects possess in Britain; and therefore, that the power assumed by the British Parliament to bind America by their statutes in all cases whatsoever is unconstitutional, and the source of these unhappy differences. . . .

“To obtain a redress of these grievances, without which the people of America can neither be safe, free, nor happy, they are willing to undergo the great inconvenience that will be derived to them from stopping all imports whatsoever from Great Britain.”

—Instructions to the Virginia Delegates to the First Continental Congress, Williamsburg, 1774

7. Which of the following actions by the colonists is most similar to the one recommended in the excerpt above?
 - (A) The Boston Massacre
 - (B) The Boston Tea Party
 - (C) The formation of the Committees of Correspondence
 - (D) The distribution of the Massachusetts Circular Letter
8. Which of the following is the underlying goal of the colonists in the excerpt?
 - (A) Win political representation
 - (B) Declare independence
 - (C) Promote free trade
 - (D) Reduce the overall level of taxes

SHORT-ANSWER QUESTIONS

Use complete sentences; an outline or bulleted list alone is not acceptable.

Question 1. Answer a, b, and c.

- a) Briefly explain the British view of how the Seven Years' War fundamentally changed the relationship between Britain and its American colonies.
- b) Briefly explain the colonial view as a result of the war.
- c) Briefly describe an initial reaction taken as a result of the changing views by either the British or colonists.

Question 2 is based on the excerpts below.

"If the towns of Manchester and Birmingham, sending no representatives to Parliament, are notwithstanding there represented, why are not the cities of Albany and Boston equally represented in that Assembly? . . . Are they not Englishmen? Or are they only Englishmen when they solicit for protection, but not Englishmen when taxes are required to enable this country to protect them?"

—Soame Jenyns, member of the British Parliament, "The Objections to the Taxation of Our American Colonies Considered," 1765

"That the petitioners have been long concerned in carrying on the trade between this country and the British colonies on the continent of North America; . . . From the nature of this trade, consisting of British manufactures exported and of the import of raw materials from America, many of them used in our manufactures and all of them tending to lessen our dependence on neighboring states, it must be deemed of the highest importance in the commercial system of this nation."

—London Merchants Against the Stamp Act, 1766

2. Using the excerpts, answer a, b, and c.

- a) Briefly explain the main point in excerpt 1.
- b) Briefly explain the main point in excerpt 2.
- c) Briefly explain an action, in response to ONE of the two views expressed, taken by the British government from the period between 1763 and 1774.

Question 3 is based on the cartoon below.



Source: *Political Register*, London, 1767. Library of Congress

3. Using the cartoon, answer a, b, and c. In the cartoon, the labels on the limbs are “Virg,” “Pensyl,” “New York,” and “New Eng.”
 - a) Explain the point of view reflected in the cartoon regarding ONE of the following.
 - British colonial policies
 - efforts at colonial unity
 - Seven Years’ War
 - b) Explain how ONE element of the cartoon expresses the point of view you identified in Part A.
 - c) Explain how the point of view you identified in Part A helped to shape ONE particular colonial government action between 1607 and 1774.

Question 4. Answer a, b, and c.

- a) Briefly explain the reasons why the British issued the Proclamation of 1763.
- b) Briefly explain why the colonists objected to the Proclamation.
- c) Briefly explain how effective the Proclamation was.

THINK AS A HISTORIAN: QUESTIONS ABOUT COMPARISONS

Historians often compare events to highlight similarities and differences. They might compare two contemporary developments or two developments in different time periods. Which THREE of the questions or statements below would be best answered with an essay that emphasizes comparison?

1. How did Pontiac’s Rebellion support the British argument for the Proclamation of 1763?
2. Explain how the Declaratory Act was a cause of the Boston Tea Party.
3. Describe the similarities between Patrick Henry and James Otis.
4. How was the relationship between the colonies and Great Britain before and after the Seven Years’ War different?
5. Analyze differences between Bacon’s Rebellion and the Stamp Act Congress.

THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION AND CONFEDERATION, 1774–1787

*O! ye that love mankind! Ye that dare oppose not only the tyranny but
the tyrant, stand forth! Every spot of the Old World is overrun with
oppression. Freedom hath been hunted round the globe. . . . O! receive
the fugitive and prepare in time an asylum for mankind.*

Thomas Paine, *Common Sense*, 1776

Parliament's passage of the Intolerable Acts in 1774 intensified the conflict between the colonies and Great Britain. In the next two years, many Americans reached the conclusion—unthinkable only a few years earlier—that the only solution to their quarrel with the British government was to sever all ties with it. How did events from 1774 to 1776 lead ultimately to this revolutionary outcome?

The First Continental Congress

The punitive Intolerable Acts drove all the colonies except Georgia to send delegates to a convention in Philadelphia in September 1774. The purpose of the convention—later known as the First Continental Congress—was to respond to what the delegates viewed as Britain's alarming threats to their liberties. However, most Americans had no desire for independence. They simply wanted to protest parliamentary infringements of their rights and restore the relationship with the crown that had existed before the Seven Years' War.

The Delegates

The delegates were a diverse group, whose views about the crisis ranged from radical to conservative. Leading the radical faction—those demanding the greatest concessions from Britain—were Patrick Henry of Virginia and Samuel Adams and John Adams of Massachusetts. The moderates included George Washington of Virginia and John Dickinson of Pennsylvania. The conservative delegates—those who favored a mild statement of protest—included John Jay of New York and Joseph Galloway of Pennsylvania. Unrepresented were the loyal colonists, who would not challenge the king's government in any way.

Actions of the Congress

The delegates voted on a series of proposed measures, each of which was intended to change British policy without offending moderate and conservative colonists. Joseph Galloway proposed a plan, similar to the Albany Plan of 1754, that would have reordered relations with Parliament and formed a union of the colonies within the British empire. By only one vote, Galloway's plan failed to pass. Instead, the convention adopted these measures:

1. It endorsed the Suffolk Resolves, a statement originally issued by Massachusetts. The Resolves called for the immediate repeal of the Intolerable Acts and for colonies to resist them by making military preparations and boycotting British goods.
2. It passed the Declaration and Resolves. Backed by moderate delegates, this petition urged the king to redress (make right) colonial grievances and restore colonial rights. In a conciliatory gesture, it recognized Parliament's authority to regulate commerce.
3. It created the Continental Association (or just Association), a network of committees to enforce the economic sanctions of the Suffolk Resolves.
4. It declared that if colonial rights were not recognized, delegates would meet again in May 1775.

Fighting Begins

Angrily dismissing the petition of the First Continental Congress, the king's government declared Massachusetts to be in a state of rebellion and sent additional troops to put down any further disorders there. The combination of colonial defiance and British determination to suppress it led to violent clashes in Massachusetts—what would prove to be the first battles of the American Revolution.

Lexington and Concord

On April 18, 1775, General Thomas Gage, the commander of British troops in Boston, sent a large force to seize colonial military supplies in the town of Concord. Warned of the British march by two riders, Paul Revere and William Dawes, the militia (or Minutemen) of Lexington assembled on the village green to face the British. The Americans were forced to retreat under heavy British fire; eight of their number were killed in the brief encounter. Who fired the first shot of this first skirmish of the American Revolution? The evidence is ambiguous, and the answer will probably never be known.

Continuing their march, the British entered Concord, where they destroyed some military supplies. On the return march to Boston, the long column of British soldiers was attacked by hundreds of militiamen firing at them from behind stone walls. The British suffered 250 casualties—and also considerable humiliation at being so badly mauled by “amateur” fighters.

Bunker Hill

Two months later, on June 17, 1775, a true battle was fought between opposing armies on the outskirts of Boston. A colonial militia of Massachusetts farmers fortified Breed's Hill, next to Bunker Hill, for which the ensuing battle was wrongly named. A British force attacked the colonists' position and managed to take the hill, suffering over a thousand casualties. Americans claimed a victory of sorts, having succeeded in inflicting heavy losses on the attacking British army.

The Second Continental Congress

Soon after the fighting broke out in Massachusetts, delegates to the Second Continental Congress met in Philadelphia in May 1775. The congress was divided. One group of delegates, mainly from New England, thought the colonies should declare their independence. Another group, mainly from the middle colonies, hoped the conflict could be resolved by negotiating a new relationship with Great Britain.

Military Actions

The congress adopted a Declaration of the Causes and Necessities for Taking Up Arms and called on the colonies to provide troops. George Washington was appointed the commander-in-chief of a new colonial army and sent to Boston to lead the Massachusetts militia and volunteer units from other colonies. Congress also authorized a force under Benedict Arnold to raid Quebec in order to draw Canada away from the British empire. An American navy and marine corps was organized in the fall of 1775 for the purpose of attacking British shipping.

Peace Efforts

At first the congress adopted a contradictory policy of waging war while at the same time seeking a peaceful settlement. Many in the colonies did not want independence, for they valued their heritage and Britain's protection, but they did want a change in their relationship with Britain. In July 1775, the delegates voted to send an "Olive Branch Petition" to King George III, in which they pledged their loyalty and asked the king to intercede with Parliament to secure peace and the protection of colonial rights.

King George angrily dismissed the congress' plea and agreed instead to Parliament's Prohibitory Act (August 1775), which declared the colonies in rebellion. A few months later, Parliament forbade all trade and shipping between Britain and the colonies.

Thomas Paine's Argument for Independence

In January 1776, a pamphlet was published that quickly had a profound impact on public opinion and the future course of events. The pamphlet, written by

Thomas Paine, a recent English immigrant to the colonies, argued strongly for what until then had been considered a radical idea. Entitled *Common Sense*, Paine's essay argued in clear and forceful language for the colonies becoming independent states and breaking all political ties with the British monarchy. Paine argued that it was contrary to common sense for a large continent to be ruled by a small and distant island and for people to pledge allegiance to a king whose government was corrupt and whose laws were unreasonable.

The Declaration of Independence

After meeting for more than a year, the congress gradually and somewhat reluctantly began to favor independence rather than reconciliation. On June 7, 1776, Richard Henry Lee of Virginia introduced a resolution declaring the colonies to be independent. Five delegates including Thomas Jefferson formed a committee to write a statement in support of Lee's resolution. The declaration drafted by Jefferson listed specific grievances against George III's government and also expressed the basic principles that justified revolution: "We hold these truths to be self-evident: That all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are Life, Liberty, and the pursuit of Happiness."

The congress adopted Lee's resolution calling for independence on July 2; Jefferson's work, the Declaration of Independence, was adopted on July 4, 1776.

The Revolutionary War

From the first shots fired on Lexington green in 1775 to the final signing of a peace treaty in 1783, the American War for Independence, or Revolutionary War, was a long and bitter struggle. As Americans fought they also forged a new national identity, as the former colonies became the United States of America.

About 2.6 million people lived in the 13 colonies at the time of the war. Maybe 40 percent of the population actively participated in the struggle against Britain. They called themselves American Patriots. Around 20 to 30 percent sided with the British as Loyalists. Everyone else tried to remain neutral and uninvolved.

Patriots

The largest number of Patriots were from the New England states and Virginia. Most of the soldiers were reluctant to travel outside their own region. They would serve in local militia units for short periods, leave to work their farms, and then return to duty. Thus, even though several hundred thousand people fought on the Patriot side in the war, General Washington never had more than 20,000 regular troops under his command at one time. His army was chronically short of supplies, poorly equipped, and rarely paid.

African Americans Initially, George Washington rejected the idea of African Americans serving in the Patriot army. However, when the British promised freedom to enslaved people who joined their side, Washington and the congress quickly made the same offer. Approximately 5,000 African Americans fought as Patriots. Most of them were free citizens from the North, who fought in mixed racial forces, although there were some all-African-American units. African Americans took part in most of the military actions of the war, and a number, including Peter Salem, were recognized for their bravery.

Loyalists

Tories The Revolutionary War was in some respects a civil war in which anti-British Patriots fought pro-British Loyalists. Those who maintained their allegiance to the king were also called Tories (after the majority party in Parliament). Almost 60,000 American Tories fought next to British soldiers, supplied them with arms and food, and joined in raiding parties that pillaged Patriot homes and farms. Members of the same family sometimes joined opposite sides. For example, while Benjamin Franklin was a leading patriot, his son William joined the Tories and served as the last royal governor of New Jersey.

How many American Tories were there? Estimates range from 520,000 to 780,000 people—roughly 20 to 30 percent of the population. In New York, New Jersey, and Georgia, they were probably in the majority. Toward the end of the war, about 80,000 Loyalists emigrated from the states to settle in Canada or Britain rather than face persecution at the hands of the victorious Patriots.

Although Loyalists came from all groups and classes, they tended to be wealthier and more conservative than the Patriots. Most government officials and Anglican clergy in America remained loyal to the crown.

American Indians At first, American Indians tried to stay out of the war. Eventually, however, attacks by colonists prompted many American Indians to support the British, who promised to limit colonial settlements in the West.

Initial American Losses and Hardships

The first three years of the war, 1775 to 1777, went badly for Washington's poorly trained and equipped revolutionary army. It barely escaped complete disaster in a battle for New York City in 1776, in which Washington's forces were routed by the British. By the end of 1777, the British occupied both New York and Philadelphia. After losing Philadelphia, Washington's demoralized troops suffered through the severe winter of 1777–1778 camped at Valley Forge in Pennsylvania.

Economic troubles added to the Patriots' bleak prospects. British occupation of American ports resulted in a 95 percent decline in trade between 1775 and 1777. Goods were scarce and inflation was rampant. The paper money issued by Congress, known as continentals, became almost worthless.

Alliance With France

The turning point for the American revolutionaries came with a victory at Saratoga in upstate New York in October 1777. British forces under General John Burgoyne had marched from Canada in an ambitious effort to link up with other forces marching from the west and south. Their objective was to cut off New England from the rest of the colonies (or states). But Burgoyne's troops were attacked at Saratoga by troops commanded by American generals Horatio Gates and Benedict Arnold. The British army was forced to surrender.

The diplomatic outcome of the Battle of Saratoga was even more important than the military result. News of the surprising American victory persuaded France to join in the war against Britain. France's king, Louis XVI, was an absolute monarch who had no interest in aiding a revolutionary movement. Nevertheless, he saw a chance to weaken his country's traditional foe, Great Britain, by helping to undermine its colonial empire. France had secretly extended aid to the American revolutionaries as early as 1775, giving both money and supplies. After Saratoga, in 1778, France openly allied itself with the Americans. (A year later, Spain and Holland also entered the war against Britain.) The French alliance proved a decisive factor in the American struggle for independence because it widened the war and forced the British to divert military resources away from America.

Victory

Faced with a larger war, Britain decided to consolidate its forces in America. British troops were pulled out of Philadelphia, and New York became the chief base of British operations. In a campaign through 1778–1779, the Patriots, led by George Rogers Clark, captured a series of British forts in the Illinois country to gain control of parts of the vast Ohio territory. In 1780, the British army adopted a southern strategy, concentrating its military campaigns in Virginia and the Carolinas where Loyalists were especially numerous and active.

Yorktown In 1781, the last major battle of the Revolutionary War was fought near Yorktown, Virginia, on the shores of Chesapeake Bay. Strongly supported by French naval and military forces, Washington's army forced the surrender of a large British army commanded by General Charles Cornwallis.

Treaty of Paris News of Cornwallis's defeat at Yorktown was a heavy blow to the Tory party in Parliament that was conducting the war. The war had become unpopular in Britain, partly because it placed a heavy strain on the economy and the government's finances. Lord North and other Tory ministers resigned and were replaced by Whig leaders who wanted to end the war.

In Paris, in 1783, a treaty of peace was finally signed by the various belligerents. The Treaty of Paris provided for the following: (1) Britain would recognize the existence of the United States as an independent nation. (2) The Mississippi River would be the western boundary of that nation. (3) Americans would have fishing rights off the coast of Canada. (4) Americans would pay debts owed to British merchants and honor Loyalist claims for property confiscated during the war.

Organization of New Governments

While the Revolutionary War was being fought, leaders of the 13 colonies worked to change them into independently governed states, each with its own constitution (written plan of government). At the same time, the revolutionary Congress that originally met in Philadelphia tried to define the powers of a new central government for the nation that was coming into being.

State Governments

By 1777, ten of the former colonies had written new constitutions. Most of these documents were both written and adopted by the states' legislatures. In a few of the states (Maryland, Pennsylvania, and North Carolina), a proposed constitution was submitted to a vote of the people for ratification (approval).

Each state constitution was the subject of heated debate between conservatives, who stressed the need for law and order, and liberals, who were most concerned about protecting individual rights and preventing future tyrannies. Although the various constitutions differed on specific points, they had the following features in common:

List of Rights Each state constitution began with a “bill” or “declaration” listing the basic rights and freedoms, such as a jury trial and freedom of religion, that belonged to all citizens by right and that state officials could not infringe (encroach on).

Separation of Powers With a few exceptions, the powers of state government were given to three separate branches: (1) legislative powers to an elected two-house legislature, (2) executive powers to an elected governor, and (3) judicial powers to a system of courts. The principle of separation of powers was intended to be a safeguard against tyranny—especially against the tyranny of a too-powerful executive.

Voting The right to vote was extended to all white males who owned some property. The property requirement, usually for a minimal amount of land or money, was based on the assumption that propertyowners had a larger stake in government than did the poor and propertyless.

Office-Holding Those seeking elected office were usually held to a higher property qualification than the voters.

The Articles of Confederation

At Philadelphia in 1776, as Jefferson was writing the Declaration of Independence, John Dickinson drafted the first constitution for the United States as a

nation. Congress modified Dickinson's plan to protect the powers of the individual states. The Articles of Confederation, as the document was called, was adopted by Congress in 1777 and submitted to the states for ratification.

Ratification Ratification of the Articles was delayed by a dispute over the vast American Indian lands west of the Alleghenies. Seaboard states such as Rhode Island and Maryland insisted that these lands be under the jurisdiction of the new central government. When Virginia and New York finally agreed to cede their claims to western lands, the Articles were ratified in March 1781.

Structure of Government The Articles established a central government that consisted of just one body, a congress. In this unicameral (one-house) legislature, each state was given one vote, with at least 9 votes out of 13 required to pass important laws. Amending the Articles required a unanimous vote. A Committee of States, with one representative from each state, could make minor decisions when the full congress was not in session.

THE UNITED STATES IN 1783



Powers The Articles gave the congress the power to wage war, make treaties, send diplomatic representatives, and borrow money. However, Congress did not have the power to regulate commerce or to collect taxes. To finance any of its decisions, the congress had to rely upon taxes voted by each state. Neither did the government have executive power to enforce its laws.

Accomplishments Despite its weaknesses, the congress under the Articles did succeed in accomplishing the following:

1. Winning the war. The U.S. government could claim some credit for the ultimate victory of Washington's army and for negotiating favorable terms in the treaty of peace with Britain.
2. Land Ordinance of 1785. Congress established a policy for surveying and selling the western lands. The policy provided for setting aside one section of land in each township for public education.
3. Northwest Ordinance of 1787. For the large territory lying between the Great Lakes and the Ohio River, the congress passed an ordinance (law) that set the rules for creating new states. The Northwest Ordinance granted limited self-government to the developing territory and prohibited slavery in the region.

Problems with the Articles The 13 states intended the central government to be weak—and it was. The government faced three kinds of problems:

1. Financial. Most war debts were unpaid. Individual states as well as the congress issued worthless paper money. The underlying problem was that the congress had no taxing power and could only request that the states donate money for national needs.
2. Foreign. European nations had little respect for a new nation that could neither pay its debts nor take effective and united action in a crisis. Britain and Spain threatened to take advantage of U.S. weakness by expanding their interests in the western lands soon after the war ended.
3. Domestic. In the summer of 1786, Captain Daniel Shays, a Massachusetts farmer and Revolutionary War veteran, led other farmers in an uprising against high state taxes, imprisonment for debt, and lack of paper money. The rebel farmers stopped the collection of taxes and forced the closing of debtors' courts. In January 1787, when Shays and his followers attempted to seize weapons from the Springfield armory, the state militia of Massachusetts broke Shays's Rebellion.

Social Change

In addition to revolutionizing the politics of the 13 states, the War for Independence also profoundly changed American society. Some changes occurred immediately before the war ended, while others evolved gradually as the ideas of the Revolution began to filter into the attitudes of the common people.

Abolition of Aristocratic Titles

State constitutions and laws abolished old institutions that had originated in medieval Europe. No legislature could grant titles of nobility, nor could any court recognize the feudal practice of primogeniture (the first born son's right to inherit his family's property). Whatever aristocracy existed in colonial America was further weakened by the confiscation of large estates owned by Loyalists. Many such estates were subdivided and sold to raise money for the war.

Separation of Church and State

Most states adopted the principle of separation of church and state; in other words, they refused to give financial support to any religious group. The Anglican Church, which formerly had been closely tied to the king's government, was disestablished (lost state support) in the South. Only in three New England states—New Hampshire, Connecticut, and Massachusetts—did the Congregational Church continue to receive state support in the form of a religious tax. This practice was finally discontinued in New England early in the 1830s.

Women

During the war, both the Patriots and Loyalists depended on the active support of women. Some women followed their men into the armed camps and worked as cooks and nurses. In a few instances, women actually fought in battle, either taking their husband's place, as Mary McCauley (Molly Pitcher) did at the Battle of Monmouth, or passing as a man and serving as a soldier, as Deborah Sampson did for a year.

The most important contribution of women during the war was in maintaining the colonial economy. While fathers, husbands, and sons were away fighting, women ran the family farms and businesses. They provided much of the food and clothing necessary for the war effort.

Despite their contributions, women remained in a second-class status. Unanswered went pleas such of those of Abigail Adams to her husband, John Adams: “I desire you would remember the ladies and be more generous and favorable to them than your ancestors.”

Slavery

The institution of slavery contradicted the spirit of the Revolution and the idea that “all men are created equal.” For a time, the leaders of the Revolution recognized this and took some corrective steps. The Continental Congress abolished the importation of enslaved people, and most states went along with the prohibition. Most northern states ended slavery, while in the South, some owners voluntarily freed their slaves.

However, in the decades following the Revolutionary War, more and more slaveowners came to believe that enslaved labor was essential to their economy. As explained in later chapters, they developed a rationale for slavery that found religious and political justification for continuing to hold human beings in lifelong bondage.

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES: HOW RADICAL WAS THE REVOLUTION?

Was the American Revolution (1) a radical break with the past or (2) a conservative attempt simply to safeguard traditional British liberties? One approach to this question is to compare the American Revolution with other revolutions in world history.

In his *Anatomy of a Revolution* (1965), historian Crane Brinton found striking similarities between the American Revolution and two later revolutions—the French Revolution (1789–1794) and the Russian Revolution (1917–1922). He observed that each revolution passed through similar stages and became increasingly radical from one year to the next.

Other historians have been more impressed with the differences between the American experience and the revolutions in Europe. They argue that the French and Russian revolutionaries reacted to conditions of feudalism and aristocratic privilege that did not exist in the American colonies. In their view, Americans did not revolt against outmoded institutions but, in their quest for independence, merely carried to maturity a liberal, democratic movement that had been gaining force for years.

In comparing the three revolutions, a few historians have concentrated on the actions of revolutionary groups of citizens, such as the American Sons of Liberty. Again there are two divergent interpretations: (1) the groups in all three countries engaged in the same radical activities, and (2) the Americans had a much easier time of it than the French and Russians, who encountered ruthless repression by military authorities.

Another interpretation of the American Revolution likens it to the colonial rebellions that erupted in Africa and Asia after World War II. According to this view, the colonial experience in America caused a gradual movement away from Britain that culminated in demands for independence. Other studies of the military aspects of the Revolution have pointed out similarities between American guerrilla forces in the 1770s and the guerrilla bands that fought in such countries as Cuba in the 1950s and Vietnam in the 1960s. Recall that the British controlled the cities while the American revolutionaries controlled the countryside—a pattern that in the 20th century was often repeated in revolutionary struggles throughout the world. Typically, as in the case of the American Revolution, insurgent forces were weak in the cities, but strong in the surrounding territory.

Since the American Revolution pre-dated the other modern revolutions it is compared to, its influence on them is a topic of study. Seeing the American Revolution in the context of other uprisings provides insights to help understand it better.

KEY TERMS BY THEME

Separation (NAT)

Intolerable Acts
Patrick Henry
Samuel Adams
John Adams
John Dickinson
John Jay
First Continental Congress (1774)
Joseph Galloway
Suffolk Resolves
economic sanctions
Declaration of Rights and Grievances
Second Continental Congress (1775)
Olive Branch Petition
Declaration of the Causes and Necessities for Taking Up Arms
Thomas Jefferson
Declaration of Independence
George Washington

Expansion (MIG, POL)

Land Ordinance of 1785
Northwest Ordinance of 1787

War (POL)
Paul Revere
William Dawes
Lexington
Concord
Battle of Bunker Hill
Battle of Saratoga
George Rogers Clark
Battle of Yorktown
Articles of Confederation
unicameral legislature

Final Break (WOR)

absolute monarch
Prohibitory Act (1775)
Treaty of Paris (1783)

A New Nation (CUL)
Thomas Paine;
 Common Sense
Patriots
Loyalists (Tories)
Minutemen
Continents
Valley Forge
Abigail Adams
Deborah Sampson
Mary McCauley (Molly Pitcher)
Shays's Rebellion

MULTIPLE-CHOICE QUESTIONS

Questions 1–3 refer to the excerpt below.

“The authors and promoters of this desperate conspiracy have . . . meant only to amuse, by vague expressions of attachment to the parent state, and the strongest protestations of loyalty to me, whilst they were preparing for a general revolt. . . . The resolutions of Parliament breathed a spirit of moderation and forbearance; conciliatory propositions accompanied the measures taken to enforce authority. . . . I have acted with the same temper, anxious to prevent, if it had been possible . . . the calamities which are inseparable from a state of war; still hoping that my people in America would have discerned the traitorous views of their leaders, and have been convinced, that to be a subject of Great Britain, with all its consequences, is to be the freest member of any civil society in the known world.”

—King George III, Speech to Parliament, October 27, 1775

1. King George’s rejection of the Olive Branch Petition demonstrates that he believed that most colonists
 - (A) were personally loyal to him
 - (B) blamed Parliament for their problems
 - (C) had always planned to revolt
 - (D) failed to understand his policies
2. Which of the following documents most forcefully disagreed with the views King George expressed in this excerpt?
 - (A) Galloway’s plan for a union of colonies
 - (B) Declaration and Resolves
 - (C) Olive Branch Petition
 - (D) *Common Sense* by Thomas Paine
3. Which of the following groups or individuals would have been most likely to agree with King George?
 - (A) Continentals
 - (B) Loyalists
 - (C) John Dickenson
 - (D) Thomas Paine

Questions 4–6 refer to the excerpt below.

“A Declaration of Rights made by the representatives of the good people of Virginia . . .

- Section 1. That all men are by nature equally free and independent and have certain inherent rights. . . .
- Section 2. That all power is vested in and consequently derived from, the people. . . .
- Section 4. That no man, or set of men, is entitled to exclusive or separate . . . privileges from the community. . . .
- Section 5. That the legislative and executive powers of the state should be separate and distinct from the judiciary. . . .
- Section 6. That elections of members . . . as representatives of the people, in assembly, ought to be free; and that all men, having sufficient evidence of permanent common interest with and attachment to the community, have the right of suffrage. . . .
- Section 12. That freedom of the press is one of the great bulwarks of liberty. . . .
- Section 16. All men are equally entitled to the free exercise of religion.”

—Virginia Declaration of Rights, 1776

- 4. In the context of the various disputes between the colonists and Britain, which of the following would be the most important right cited?
 - (A) Section 1: all people are by nature free
 - (B) Section 2: all power comes from the people
 - (C) Section 4: no person has special privileges
 - (D) Section 16: people should be able to worship freely
- 5. Which of the rights in the excerpt is expressed in a way that would today be considered a limitation of individual rights?
 - (A) Section 5: separation of government powers
 - (B) Section 2: origins of governmental power
 - (C) Section 6: right to vote
 - (D) Section 12: freedom of the press
- 6. The group most likely to oppose the ideas expressed in this excerpt would have been
 - (A) the Minutemen of Lexington
 - (B) advocates of a unicameral legislature
 - (C) Tories such as William Franklin
 - (D) supporters of Shays’s Rebellion

Questions 7–8 refer to the excerpt below.

“I have not the least doubt that the Negroes will make very excellent soldiers, with proper management. . . .

“I foresee that this project will have to combat much opposition from prejudice and self-interest. The contempt we have been taught to entertain for the black makes us fancy many things that are founded neither in reason nor experience; and an unwillingness to part with property of so valuable a kind will furnish a thousand arguments to show the impracticability or pernicious tendency of a scheme which requires such a sacrifice. But it should be considered that if we do not make use of them in this way, the enemy probably will. . . . An essential part of the plan is to give them their freedom with their muskets.”

—Alexander Hamilton, “A Proposal to Arm and Then Free the Negroes,” 1779

7. For some the Revolutionary War was also a civil war because of the role played in the war by the
 - (A) American Indians
 - (B) African Americans
 - (C) Quakers
 - (D) Tories
8. Which of the following was the primary reason for Hamilton’s call for African American soldiers?
 - (A) The New York militia was short of troops
 - (B) The British were recruiting African Americans
 - (C) The Declaration of Independence called for equal rights
 - (D) General Washington trusted that blacks would make good soldiers

SHORT-ANSWER QUESTIONS

Use complete sentences; an outline or bulleted list alone is not acceptable.

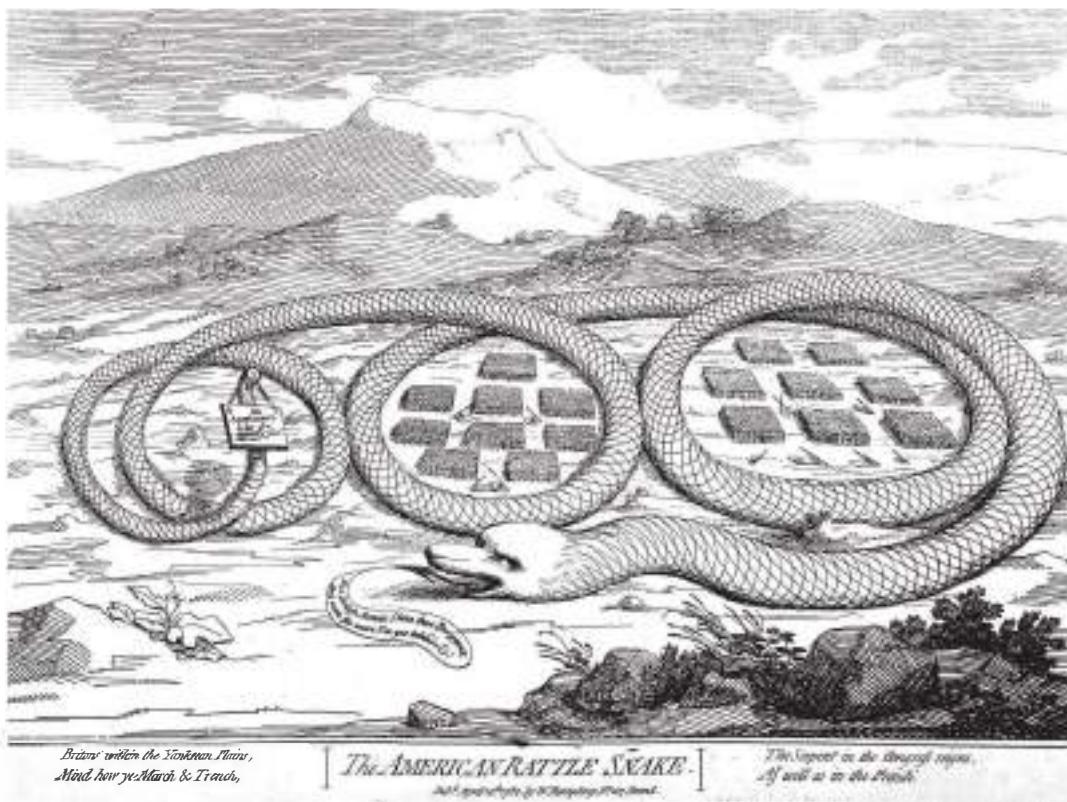
Question 1. Answer a, b, and c.

- a) Briefly explain support for the argument that the Articles of Confederation succeeded in guiding the United States through its first decade using ONE of the choices below.
 - victory in the Revolutionary War
 - Land Ordinance of 1785
 - Northwest Ordinance
- b) Briefly explain a challenge to the statement during this period using ONE of the choices below.
 - financial circumstances
 - foreign affairs
 - domestic concerns
- c) Briefly explain using either ONE of the choices above or your own historical knowledge whether you agree or disagree with the statement.

Question 2. Answer a, b, and c.

- a) The Revolutionary War was in some respects a civil war in which anti-British Patriots fought pro-British Loyalists. Briefly explain who the Patriots were.
- b) Briefly explain who the Loyalists were.
- c) Briefly explain the role played in the war by ONE of the following.
 - African Americans
 - American Indians
 - France

Question 3 is based on the cartoon below.



Source: James Gillray, London, 1782. Library of Congress

3. Using the cartoon, answer a, b, and c. The title of the cartoon is “The American Rattle Snake.” The squares surrounded by the snake’s coils represent British soldiers.
 - a) Briefly explain the point of view reflected in the cartoon above regarding ONE of the following.
 - the British public
 - the French government
 - the American cartoon, “Join or Die”
 - Yorktown
 - b) Briefly explain a point of view the French government would be expected to have toward this cartoon at the time it was published.
 - c) Briefly explain how ONE specific historical event or development from the period between 1776 and 1783 could be used to support the French view of the cartoon.

Question 4 is based on the excerpt below.

“I wish I knew what mighty things were fabricating. If a form of government is to be established here, what one will be assumed? Will it be left to our assemblies to choose one? And will not many men have many minds? And shall we not run into dissensions among ourselves?

“I am more and more convinced that man is a dangerous creature; and that power, whether vested in many or a few, is ever grasping. . . .

“How shall we be governed so as to retain our liberties? Who shall frame these laws? Who will give them force and energy. . . .

“When I consider these things, and the prejudices of people in favor of ancient customs and regulations, I feel anxious for the fate of our monarchy or democracy, or whatever is to take place.”

—Abigail Adams, Letter to John Adams, November 27, 1775

4. Using the excerpt, answer a, b, and c.

- a) Briefly explain the point of view expressed by Abigail Adams about ONE of the following.
 - power
 - liberties
 - prejudices
- b) Briefly explain ONE development in the period leading up to independence that led to the point of view expressed here by Abigail Adams.
- c) Briefly explain ONE development in the period immediately after the Revolutionary War that challenges or supports the point of view expressed by Abigail Adams.

THINK AS A HISTORIAN: QUESTIONS ABOUT CONTEXTUALIZATION

Contextualization is explaining and evaluating how an event is shaped by broader trends or its historical setting. Which THREE of the items below would be best answered with an essay that emphasizes contextualization?

1. Explain how geography shaped the conflict between Great Britain and its American colonies.
2. How did the Enlightenment influence the American Revolution?
3. Explain why the ideas expressed in the Articles of Confederation would make conducting a war difficult.
4. What caused the American Revolution?
5. How did the American and French revolutions differ?

THE CONSTITUTION AND THE NEW REPUBLIC, 1787–1800

Thus I consent, sir, to this Constitution, because I expect no better, and because I am not sure that it is not the best. The opinions I have had of its errors I sacrifice to the public good. . . .

Benjamin Franklin, 1787

With these words, Benjamin Franklin, the oldest delegate at the Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia, attempted to overcome the skepticism of other delegates about the document that they had created. Would the new document, the Constitution, establish a central government strong enough to hold 13 states together in a union that could prosper and endure?

In September 1787, when Franklin, Washington, and other delegates signed the Constitution that they had drafted, their young country was in a troubled condition. This chapter will summarize the problems leading to the Constitutional Convention, the debates in the various states on whether to ratify the new plan of government, and the struggles of two presidents, Washington and Adams, to meet the domestic and international challenges of the 1790s.

The United States Under the Articles, 1781–1787

Four years separated the signing of the Treaty of Paris of 1783 and the meeting of the Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia. During that time, the government operated under the Articles of Confederation, which consisted of a one-house congress, no separate executive, and no separate judiciary (court system). The country faced several major problems.

Foreign Problems

Relations between the United States and the major powers of Europe were troubled from the start. States failed to adhere to the Treaty of Paris, which required that they restore property to Loyalists and repay debts to foreigners. In addition, the U.S. government under the Articles was too weak to stop Britain from maintaining military outposts on the western frontier and restricting trade.

Economic Weakness and Interstate Quarrels

Reduced foreign trade and limited credit because states had not fully repaid war debts contributed to widespread economic depression. The inability to levy national taxes and the printing of worthless paper money by many states added to the problems. In addition, the 13 states treated one another with suspicion and competed for economic advantage. They placed tariffs and other restrictions on the movement of goods across state lines. A number of states faced boundary disputes with neighbors that increased interstate rivalry and tension.

The Annapolis Convention

To review what could be done about the country's inability to overcome critical problems, George Washington hosted a conference at his home in Mt. Vernon, Virginia (1785). Representatives from Virginia, Maryland, Delaware, and Pennsylvania agreed that the problems were serious enough to hold further discussions at a later meeting at Annapolis, Maryland, at which all the states might be represented. However, only five states sent delegates to the Annapolis Convention in 1786. After discussing ways to improve commercial relations among the states, James Madison and Alexander Hamilton persuaded the others that another convention should be held in Philadelphia for the purpose of revising the Articles of Confederation.

Drafting the Constitution at Philadelphia

After a number of states elected delegates to the proposed Philadelphia convention, congress consented to give its approval to the meeting. It called upon all 13 states to send delegates to Philadelphia "for the sole and express purpose of revising the Articles of Confederation." Only Rhode Island, not trusting the other states, refused to send delegates.

The Delegates

Of the 55 delegates who went to Philadelphia for the convention in the summer of 1787, all were white, all were male, and most were college-educated. As a group, they were relatively young (averaging in their early forties). With few exceptions, they were far wealthier than the average American of their day. They were well acquainted with issues of law and politics. A number of them were practicing lawyers, and many had helped to write their state constitutions.

The first order of business was to elect a presiding officer and decide whether or not to communicate with the public at large. The delegates voted to conduct their meetings in secret and say nothing to the public about their discussions until their work was completed. George Washington was unanimously elected chairperson. Benjamin Franklin, the elder statesman at age 81, provided a calming and unifying influence. The work in fashioning specific articles of the Constitution was directed by James Madison (who came to be known as the Father of the Constitution), Alexander Hamilton, Gouverneur

Morris, and John Dickinson. While they represented different states, these convention leaders shared the common goal of wanting to strengthen the young nation.

Several major leaders of the American Revolution were not at the convention. John Jay, Thomas Jefferson, John Adams, and Thomas Paine were on diplomatic business abroad. Samuel Adams and John Hancock were not chosen as delegates. Patrick Henry, who opposed any growth in federal power, refused to take part in the convention.

Key Issues

The convention opened with the delegates disagreeing sharply on its fundamental purpose. Some wanted to simply revise the Articles. Strong nationalists, such as Madison and Hamilton, wanted to draft an entirely new document. The nationalists quickly took control of the convention.

Americans in the 1780s generally distrusted government and feared that officials would seize every opportunity to abuse their powers, even if they were popularly elected. Therefore, Madison and other delegates wanted the new constitution to be based on a system of checks and balances so that the power of each branch would be limited by the powers of the others.

Representation Especially divisive was the issue of whether the larger states such as Virginia and Pennsylvania should have proportionally more representatives in Congress than the smaller states such as New Jersey and Delaware. Madison's proposal—the Virginia Plan—favored the large states; it was countered by the New Jersey Plan, which favored the small states. The issue was finally resolved by a compromise solution. Roger Sherman of Connecticut proposed what was called the Connecticut Plan or the Great Compromise. It provided for a two-house Congress. In the Senate, states would have equal representation, but in the House of Representatives, each state would be represented according to the size of its population.

Slavery Two of the most contentious issues grew out of slavery. Should enslaved people be counted in the state populations? The delegates agreed to the Three-Fifths Compromise, which counted each enslaved individual as three-fifths of a person for the purposes of determining a state's level of taxation and representation. Should the slave trade be allowed? The delegates decided to guarantee that slaves could be imported for at least 20 years longer, until 1808. Congress could vote to abolish the practice after that date if it wished.

Trade The northern states wanted the central government to regulate interstate commerce and foreign trade. The South was afraid that export taxes would be placed on its agricultural products such as tobacco and rice. The Commercial Compromise allowed Congress to regulate interstate and foreign commerce, including placing tariffs (taxes) on foreign imports, but it prohibited placing taxes on any exports.

The Presidency The delegates debated over the president's term of office—some argued that the chief executive should hold office for life. The delegates limited the president's term to four years but with no limit on the number of terms. They also debated the method for electing a president. Rather than having voters elect a president directly, the delegates decided to assign to each state a number of electors equal to the total of that state's representatives and senators. This electoral college system was instituted because the delegates feared that too much democracy might lead to mob rule. Finally, the delegates debated what powers to give the president. They finally decided to grant the president considerable power, including the power to veto acts of Congress.

Ratification On September 17, 1787, after 17 weeks of debate, the Philadelphia convention approved a draft of the Constitution to submit to the states for ratification. Anticipating opposition to the document, the Framers (delegates) specified that a favorable vote of only nine states out of 13 would be required for ratification. Each state would hold popularly elected conventions to debate and vote on the proposed Constitution.

Federalists and Anti-Federalists

Ratification was fiercely debated for almost a year, from September 1787 until June 1788. Supporters of the Constitution and its strong federal government were known as Federalists. Opponents were known as Anti-Federalists. Federalists were most common along the Atlantic Coast and in the large cities while Anti-Federalists tended to be small farmers and settlers on the western frontier. (See table on the next page for more on the two groups.)

The Federalist Papers

A key element in the Federalist campaign for the Constitution was a series of highly persuasive essays written for a New York newspaper by James Madison, Alexander Hamilton, and John Jay. The 85 essays, later published in book form as *The Federalist Papers*, presented cogent reasons for believing in the practicality of each major provision of the Constitution.

Outcome

The Federalists won early victories in the state conventions in Delaware, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania—the first three states to ratify. By promising to add a bill of rights to the Constitution, they successfully addressed the Anti-Federalists' most telling objection. With New Hampshire voting yes in June 1788, the Federalists won the necessary nine states to achieve ratification of the Constitution. Even so, the larger states of Virginia and New York had not yet acted. If they failed to ratify, any chance for national unity and strength would be in dire jeopardy.

Debating the Constitution		
	Federalists	Anti-Federalists
Leaders	George Washington, Benjamin Franklin, James Madison, Alexander Hamilton	From Virginia: George Mason and Patrick Henry; From Massachusetts: James Winthrop and John Hancock; From New York: George Clinton
Arguments	Stronger central government was needed to maintain order and preserve the Union	Stronger central government would destroy the work of the Revolution, limit democracy, and restrict states' rights
Strategy	Emphasized the weaknesses of the Articles of Confederation; showed their opponents as merely negative opponents with no solutions	Argued that the proposed Constitution contained no protection of individual rights, that it gave the central government more power than the British ever had
Advantages	Strong leaders; well organized	Appealed to popular distrust of government based on colonial experiences
Disadvantages	Constitution was new and untried; as originally written, it lacked a bill of rights	Poorly organized; slow to respond to Federalist challenge

Virginia In 1788, Virginia was by far the most populous of the original 13 states. There, the Anti-Federalists rallied behind two strong leaders, George Mason and Patrick Henry, who viewed the Constitution and a strong central government as threats to Americans' hard-won liberty. Virginia's Federalists, led by Washington, Madison, and John Marshall, managed to prevail by a close vote only after promising a bill of rights.

Final States News of Virginia's vote had enough influence on New York's ratifying convention (combined with Alexander Hamilton's efforts) to win the day for the Constitution in that state. North Carolina in November 1789 and Rhode Island in May 1790 reversed their earlier rejections and thus became the last two states to ratify the Constitution as the new "supreme law of the land."

Adding the Bill of Rights

Did the Constitution need to list the rights of individuals? Anti-Federalists argued vehemently that it did, while Federalists argued that it was unnecessary.

Arguments for a Bill of Rights

Anti-Federalists argued that Americans had fought the Revolutionary War to escape a tyrannical government in Britain. What was to stop a strong central government under the Constitution from acting similarly? Only by adding a bill of rights could Americans be protected against such a possibility.

Arguments Against a Bill of Rights

Federalists argued that since members of Congress would be elected by the people, they did not need to be protected against themselves. Furthermore, people should assume that all rights were protected rather than create a limited list of rights that might allow unscrupulous officials to assert that unlisted rights could be violated at will.

In order to win adoption of the Constitution in the ratifying conventions, the Federalists finally backed off their position and promised to add a bill of rights to the Constitution as the first order of business for a newly elected Congress.

The First Ten Amendments

In 1789, the first Congress elected under the Constitution acted quickly to adopt a number of amendments listing people's rights. Drafted largely by James Madison, the amendments were submitted to the states for ratification. The ten that were adopted in 1791 have been known ever since as the U.S. Bill of Rights. Originally, they provided protection against abuses of power by the central (or federal) government. Since the ratification of the 14th Amendment in 1868, most of the protections have been extended to apply to abuses by state governments as well. Below is the text of the Bill of Rights.

First Amendment “Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.”

Second Amendment “A well regulated Militia, being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear Arms, shall not be infringed.”

Third Amendment “No Soldier shall, in time of peace be quartered in any house, without the consent of the Owner, nor in time of war, but in a manner prescribed by law.”

Fourth Amendment “The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures shall not be violated, and no Warrants shall issue, but upon probable cause, supported by Oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized.”

Fifth Amendment “No person shall be held to answer for a capital, or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a Grand Jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the Militia, when in actual service in time of War or public danger; nor shall any person be subject for the same offence to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use without just compensation.”

Sixth Amendment “In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed; which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have the assistance of counsel for his defense.”

Seventh Amendment “In suits of common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved, and no fact tried by a jury shall be otherwise re-examined in any Court of the United States, than according to the rules of the common law.”

Eighth Amendment “Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.”

Ninth Amendment “The enumeration in the Constitution of certain rights shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.”

Tenth Amendment “The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.”

Washington’s Presidency

Members of the first Congress under the Constitution were elected in 1788 and began their first session in March 1789 in New York City (then the nation’s temporary capital). People assumed that George Washington would be the electoral college’s unanimous choice for president, and indeed he was.

Organizing the Federal Government

Washington took the oath of office as the first U.S. president on April 30, 1789. From then on, what the Constitution and its system of checks and balances actually meant in practice would be determined from day to day by the decisions of Congress as the legislative branch, the president as the head of the executive branch, and the Supreme Court as the top federal court in the judicial branch.

Executive Departments As chief executive, Washington's first task was to organize new departments of the executive (law-enforcing) branch. The Constitution authorizes the president to appoint chiefs of departments, although they must be confirmed, or approved, by the Senate. Washington appointed four heads of departments: Thomas Jefferson as secretary of state, Alexander Hamilton as secretary of the treasury, Henry Knox as secretary of war, and Edmund Randolph as attorney general. These four men formed a cabinet of advisers with whom President Washington met regularly to discuss major policy issues. Today, presidents still meet with their cabinets to obtain advice and information.

Federal Court System The only federal court mentioned in the Constitution is the Supreme Court. Congress, however, was given the power to create other federal courts with lesser powers and to determine the number of justices making up the Supreme Court. One of Congress' first laws was the Judiciary Act of 1789, which established a Supreme Court with one chief justice and five associate justices. This highest court was empowered to rule on the constitutionality of decisions made by state courts. The act also provided for a system of 13 district courts and three circuit courts of appeals.

Hamilton's Financial Program

One of the most pressing problems faced by Congress under the Articles had been the government's financial difficulties. Alexander Hamilton, secretary of the treasury, presented to Congress a plan for putting U.S. finances on a stable foundation. Hamilton's plan included three main actions. (1) Pay off the national debt at face value and have the federal government assume the war debts of the states. (2) Protect the young nation's "infant" (new and developing) industries and collect adequate revenues at the same time by imposing high tariffs on imported goods. (3) Create a national bank for depositing government funds and printing banknotes that would provide the basis for a stable U.S. currency. Support for this program came chiefly from northern merchants, who would gain directly from high tariffs and a stabilized currency.

Opponents of Hamilton's financial plan included the Anti-Federalists, who feared that the states would lose power to the extent that the central government gained it. Thomas Jefferson led a faction of southern Anti-Federalists who viewed Hamilton's program as benefiting only the rich at the expense of indebted farmers. After much political wrangling and bargaining, Congress finally adopted Hamilton's plan in slightly modified form. For example, the tariffs were not as high as Hamilton wanted.

Debt Jefferson and his supporters agreed to Hamilton's urgent insistence that the U.S. government pay off the national debt at face value and also assume payment of the war debts of the states. In return for Jefferson's support on this vital aspect of his plan, Hamilton agreed to Jefferson's idea to establish the nation's capital in the South along the Potomac River (an area that, after Washington's death, would be named Washington, D.C.).

National Bank Jefferson argued that the Constitution did not give Congress the power to create a bank. But Hamilton took a broader view of the Constitution, arguing that the document’s “necessary and proper” clause authorized Congress to do whatever was necessary to carry out its enumerated powers. Washington supported Hamilton on the issue, and the proposed bank was voted into law. Although chartered by the federal government, the Bank of the United States was privately owned. As a major shareholder of the bank, the federal government could print paper currency and use federal deposits to stimulate business.

Foreign Affairs

Washington’s first term as president (1789–1793) coincided with the outbreak of revolution in France, a cataclysmic event that was to touch off a series of wars between the new French Republic and the monarchies of Europe. Washington’s entire eight years as president, as well as the four years of his successor, John Adams, were taken up with the question of whether to give U.S. support to France, France’s enemies, or neither side.

The French Revolution Americans generally supported the French people’s aspiration to establish a republic, but many were also horrified by reports of mob hysteria and mass executions. To complicate matters, the U.S.–French alliance remained in effect, although it was an alliance with the French monarchy, not with the revolutionary republic. Jefferson and his supporters sympathized with the revolutionary cause. They also argued that, because Britain was seizing American merchant ships bound for French ports, the United States should join France in its defensive war against Britain.

Proclamation of Neutrality (1793) Washington, however, believed that the young nation was not strong enough to engage in a European war. Resisting popular clamor, in 1793 he issued a proclamation of U.S. neutrality in the conflict. Jefferson resigned from the cabinet in disagreement with Washington’s policy.

“Citizen” Genêt Objecting to Washington’s policy, “Citizen” Edmond Genêt, the French minister to the United States, broke all the normal rules of diplomacy by appealing directly to the American people to support the French cause. So outrageous was his conduct that even Jefferson approved of Washington’s request to the French government that they remove the offending diplomat. Recalled by his government, Genêt chose to remain in the United States, where he married and became a U.S. citizen.

The Jay Treaty (1794) Washington sent Chief Justice John Jay on a special mission to Britain to talk that country out of its offensive practice of searching and seizing American ships and impressing seamen into the British navy. After a year of negotiations, Jay brought back a treaty in which Britain agreed to evacuate its posts on the U.S. western frontier. But the treaty said nothing about British seizures of American merchant ships. Narrowly ratified

by the Senate, the unpopular Jay Treaty angered American supporters of France, but it did maintain Washington's policy of neutrality, which kept the United States at peace.

The Pinckney Treaty (1795) Totally unexpected was the effect that the Jay Treaty had on Spain's policy toward its territories in the Americas. Seeing the treaty as a sign that the United States might be drawing closer to Spain's longtime foe Britain, Spain decided to consolidate its holdings in North America. The Spanish influence in the Far West had been strengthened by a series of Catholic missions along the California coast but they were concerned about their colonies in the Southeast. Thomas Pinckney, the U.S. minister to Spain, negotiated a treaty in which Spain agreed to open the lower Mississippi River and New Orleans to American trade. The right of deposit was granted to Americans so that they could transfer cargoes in New Orleans without paying duties to the Spanish government. Spain further agreed to accept the U.S. claim that Florida's northern boundary should be at the 31st parallel (not north of that line, as Spain had formerly insisted).

Domestic Concerns

In addition to coping with foreign challenges, stabilizing the nation's credit, and organizing the new government, Washington faced a number of domestic problems and crises.

PINCKNEY'S TREATY, 1795



American Indians Through the final decades of the 18th century, settlers crossed the Alleghenies and moved the frontier steadily westward into the Ohio Valley and beyond. In an effort to resist the settlers' encroachment on their lands, a number of the tribes formed the Northwest (or Western) Confederacy. Initially the tribes, including the Shawnee, Delaware, Iroquois, and others under the Miami war chief Little Turtle, won a series of bloody victories over the local militia. Americans on the frontier were incensed by evidence that the British were supplying the American Indians with arms and encouraging them to attack the "intruding" Americans. In 1794 the U.S. army led by General Anthony Wayne defeated the Confederacy tribes at the Battle of Fallen Timbers in northwestern Ohio. The next year, the chiefs of the defeated peoples agreed to the Treaty of Greenville, in which they surrendered claims to the Ohio Territory and promised to open it up to settlement.

The Whiskey Rebellion (1794) Hamilton, to make up the revenue lost because the tariffs were lower than he wanted, persuaded Congress to pass excise taxes, particularly on the sale of whiskey. In western Pennsylvania, the refusal of a group of farmers to pay the federal excise tax on whiskey seemed to pose a major challenge to the viability of the U.S. government under the Constitution. The rebelling farmers could ill afford to pay a tax on the whiskey that they distilled from surplus corn. Rather than pay the tax, they defended their "liberties" by attacking the revenue collectors.

Washington responded to this crisis by federalizing 15,000 state militiamen and placing them under the command of Alexander Hamilton. The show of force had its intended effect, causing the Whiskey Rebellion to collapse with almost no bloodshed. Some Americans applauded Washington's action, contrasting it with the previous government's helplessness to do anything about Shays's Rebellion. Among westerners, however, the military action was widely resented and condemned as an unwarranted use of force against the common people. The government's chief critic, Thomas Jefferson, gained in popularity as a champion of the western farmer.

Western Lands In the 1790s, the Jay Treaty and the victory at the Battle of Fallen Timbers gave the federal government control of vast tracts of land. Congress encouraged the rapid settlement of these lands by passing the Public Land Act in 1796, which established orderly procedures for dividing and selling federal lands at reasonable prices. The process for adding new states to the Union, as set forth in the Constitution, went smoothly. In 1791 Vermont became the first new state, followed by Kentucky in 1792 and Tennessee in 1796.

Political Parties

Washington's election by unanimous vote of the Electoral College in 1789 underscored the popular belief that political parties were not needed. The Constitution itself did not mention political parties, and the Framers assumed none would arise. They were soon proven wrong. The debates between Federalists and Anti-Federalists in 1787 and 1788 were the first indication that a two-party system would emerge as a core feature of American politics.

Origins

In colonial times, groups of legislators commonly formed temporary factions and voted together either for or against a specific policy. When an issue was settled, the factions would dissolve. The dispute between Federalists and Anti-Federalists over the ratification of the Constitution closely resembled the factional disputes of an earlier period. What was unusual about this conflict was that it was organized—at least by the Federalists—across state lines and in that sense prefigured the national parties that emerged soon afterward.

In the 1790s, sometimes called the Federalist era because it was dominated largely by Federalist policies, political parties began to form around two leading figures, Hamilton and Jefferson. The Federalist party supported Hamilton and his financial program. An opposition party known as the Democratic-Republican party supported Jefferson and tried to elect candidates in different states who opposed Hamilton's program. The French Revolution further solidified the formation of national political parties. Americans divided sharply over whether to support France. A large number of them followed Jefferson's lead in openly challenging President Washington's neutrality policy.

NEW STATES IN THE UNION, 1791–1796



Differences Between the Parties

The Federalists were strongest in the northeastern states and advocated the growth of federal power. The Democratic-Republicans were strongest in the southern states and on the western frontier and argued for states' rights. (See the table on the next page for additional differences between the parties.) By 1796, the two major political parties were already taking shape and becoming better organized. In that year, President Washington announced that he intended to retire to private life at the end of his second term.

Washington's Farewell Address

Assisted by Alexander Hamilton, the retiring president wrote a farewell address for publication in the newspapers in late 1796. In this message, which had enormous influence because of Washington's prestige, the president spoke about policies and practices that he considered unwise. He warned Americans

- not to get involved in European affairs
- not to make "permanent alliances" in foreign affairs
- not to form political parties
- not to fall into sectionalism

For the next century, future presidents would heed as gospel Washington's warning against "permanent alliances." However, in the case of political parties, Washington was already behind the times, since political parties were well on their way to becoming a vital part of the American political system.

One long-range consequence of Washington's decision to leave office after two terms was that later presidents followed his example. Presidents elected to two terms (including Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, and Jackson) would voluntarily retire even though the Constitution placed no limit on a president's tenure in office. The two-term tradition continued unbroken until 1940 when Franklin Roosevelt won election to a third term. Then, the 22nd Amendment, ratified in 1951, made the two-term limit a part of the Constitution.

John Adams' Presidency

Even as Washington was writing his Farewell Address, political parties were working to gain majorities in the two houses of Congress and to line up enough electors from the various states to elect the next president. The vice president, John Adams, was the Federalists' candidate, while former secretary of state Thomas Jefferson was the choice of the Democratic-Republicans.

Adams won by three electoral votes. Jefferson became vice-president, since the original Constitution gave that office to the candidate receiving the second highest number of electoral votes. (Since the ratification of the 12th Amendment in 1804, the president and vice-president have run as a team.)

Comparison of Federalist and Democratic-Republican Parties

	Federalists	Democratic-Republicans
Leaders	John Adams Alexander Hamilton	Thomas Jefferson James Madison
View of the Constitution	Interpret loosely Create strong central government	Interpret strictly Create weak central government
Foreign Policy	Pro-British	Pro-French
Military Policy	Develop large peacetime army and navy	Develop small peacetime army and navy
Economic Policy	Aid business Create a national bank Support high tariffs	Favor agriculture Oppose a national bank Oppose tariffs
Chief Supporters	Northern business owners Large landowners	Skilled workers Small farmers Plantation owners

The XYZ Affair

Troubles abroad related to the French Revolution presented Adams with the first major challenge of his presidency. Americans were angered by reports that U.S. merchant ships were being seized by French warships and privateers. Seeking a peaceful settlement, Adams sent a delegation to Paris to negotiate with the French government. Certain French ministers, known only as X, Y, and Z because their names were never revealed, requested bribes as the basis for entering into negotiations. The American delegates indignantly refused. Newspaper reports of the demands made by X, Y, and Z infuriated many Americans, who now clamored for war against France. “Millions for defense, but not one cent for tribute” became the slogan of the hour. One faction of the Federalist party, led by Alexander Hamilton, hoped that by going to war the United States could gain French and Spanish lands in North America.

President Adams, on the other hand, resisted the popular sentiment for war. Recognizing that the U.S. Army and Navy were not yet strong enough to fight a major power, the president avoided war and sent new ministers to Paris.

The Alien and Sedition Acts

Anger against France strengthened the Federalists in the congressional elections of 1798 enough to win a majority in both houses. The Federalists took advantage of their victory by enacting laws to restrict their political opponents, the Democratic-Republicans. For example, since most immigrants voted Democratic-Republican, the Federalists passed the Naturalization Act, which increased from 5 to 14 the years required for immigrants to qualify for U.S. citizenship. They also passed the Alien Acts, which authorized the president to deport aliens considered dangerous and to detain enemy aliens in time of war. Most seriously, they passed the Sedition Act, which made it illegal for newspaper editors to criticize either the president or Congress and imposed fines or imprisonment for editors who violated the law.

The Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions

Democratic-Republicans argued that the Alien and Sedition Acts violated rights guaranteed by the 1st Amendment of the Constitution. In 1799, however, the Supreme Court had not yet established the principle of judicial review (see Chapter 7). Democratic-Republican leaders challenged the legislation of the Federalist Congress by enacting nullifying laws of their own in the state legislatures. The Kentucky legislature adopted a resolution that had been written by Thomas Jefferson, and the Virginia legislature adopted a resolution introduced by James Madison. Both resolutions declared that the states had entered into a “compact” in forming the national government, and, therefore, if any act of the federal government broke the compact, a state could nullify the federal law. Although only Kentucky and Virginia adopted nullifying resolutions in 1799, they set forth an argument and rationale that would be widely used in the nullification controversy of the 1830s (see Chapter 10).

The immediate crisis over the Alien and Sedition Acts faded when the Federalists lost their majority in Congress after the election of 1800, and the new Democratic-Republican majority allowed the acts to expire or repealed them. In addition, the Supreme Court under John Marshall asserted its power in deciding whether a certain federal law was constitutional.

The Election of 1800

During Adams’ presidency, the Federalists rapidly lost popularity. People disliked the Alien and Sedition Acts and complained about the new taxes imposed by the Federalists to pay the costs of preparing for a war against France. Though Adams avoided war, he had persuaded Congress that building up the U.S. Navy was necessary for the nation’s defense.

Election Results

The election of 1800 swept the Federalists from power in both the executive and legislative branches of the U.S. government. A majority of the presidential electors cast their ballots for two Democratic-Republicans: Thomas Jefferson and Aaron Burr. Because both these candidates received the same number of electoral ballots, it was necessary (according to the rules in the original Constitution) to hold a special election in the House of Representatives to break the tie. In December 1800 the Federalists still controlled the House. They debated and voted for days before they finally gave a majority to Jefferson. (Alexander Hamilton had urged his followers to vote for Jefferson, whom he considered less dangerous and of higher character than Burr.)

Democratic-Republican lawmakers elected in 1800 took control of both the House and the Senate when a new Congress met in March 1801.

A Peaceful Revolution

The passing of power in 1801 from one political party to another was accomplished without violence. This was a rare event for the times and a major indication that the U.S. constitutional system would endure the various strains that were placed upon it. The Federalists quietly accepted their defeat in the election of 1800 and peacefully relinquished control of the federal government to Jefferson's party, the Democratic-Republicans. The change from Federalist to Democratic-Republican control is known as the Revolution of 1800.

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES: WHAT DOES THE CONSTITUTION MEAN?

From the moment it was drafted in 1787, the U.S. Constitution has been a continuing subject of controversy. As political issues changed from one era to the next, Americans changed their views of how the Constitution should be interpreted. The dispute between the Federalists and the Anti-Federalists over the proper powers of the central government has never been completely resolved and, to a certain extent, continues to be debated by modern-day Republicans and Democrats.

In the decades preceding the Civil War (1790–1860), the chief constitutional issue concerned the nature of the federal union and whether the states could nullify acts of the federal government. The North's triumph in the Civil War settled the issue in favor of centralized power and against southern champions of states' rights. In the post-Civil War era, northerners regarded Hamilton and other Federalist Framers of the Constitution as heroes. At the same time, states'-rights advocates were portrayed as demagogues and traitors.

In the early 20th century, a change in politics again brought a change in scholars' views toward the Framers of the Constitution. Reacting to the excesses of big business, certain historians identified economic factors and class conflict as the primary force behind the Constitutional

Convention of 1787. Published in 1913, at the height of the Progressive era, Charles Beard's *An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution* argued that, in writing the Constitution, the Framers were chiefly motivated by their own economic interests in preserving their wealth and property. Beard's controversial thesis dominated historical scholarship on the Constitution for almost 50 years. Expanding on Beard's thesis, some historians have argued that even the sectional differences between northern Framers and southern Framers were chiefly economic in nature.

In recent years, many historians have concluded that the economic interpretation of the Framers' motives, while valid up to a point, oversimplifies the issues of the 1780s. Historians place greater stress on the philosophical and intellectual backgrounds of the delegates at Philadelphia and explain how they shared similar 18th-century views of liberty, government, and society.

KEY TERMS BY THEME

Founders (NAT, CUL)

James Madison
Alexander Hamilton
Framers of the Constitution
Gouverneur Morris
John Dickinson
Federalists
Anti-Federalists
The Federalist Papers
Bill of Rights; amendments
Washington's Farewell Address
"permanent alliances"
Alien and Sedition Acts
Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions

Disputes (WXT)

slave trade
infant industries
national bank
tariffs; excise taxes

Expansion (MIG, POL)

Battle of Fallen Timbers
Treaty of Greenville
Public Land Act (1796)

A Constitution (POL)
Mt. Vernon Conference
Annapolis Convention
Constitutional Convention
checks and balances
Virginia Plan
New Jersey Plan
Connecticut Plan; Great Compromise
House of Representatives
Senate
Three-Fifths Compromise
Commercial Compromise
electoral college system
legislative branch

Congress

A New Republic (POL)

executive departments; cabinet
Henry Knox
Edmund Randolph
Judiciary Act (1789)
federal courts
Supreme Court
national debt
Whiskey Rebellion
Federalist era
Democratic-Republican party
political parties
two-term tradition
John Adams
Revolution of 1800

Foreign Affairs (WOR)

French Revolution
Proclamation of Neutrality (1793)
"Citizen" Genêt
Jay Treaty (1794)
Pinckney Treaty (1795)
right of deposit
XYZ Affair

MULTIPLE-CHOICE QUESTIONS

Questions 1–3 refer to the excerpt below.

“It is not denied that there are implied as well as express powers, and that the former are as effectually delegated as the latter.

“It is conceded that implied powers are to be considered as delegated equally with express ones. Then it follows, that as a power of erecting a corporation [such as a bank] may as well be implied as any other thing, it may as well be employed as an instrument or means of carrying into execution any of the specified powers. . . . But one may be erected in relation to the trade with foreign countries, or to the trade between the States . . . because it is the province of the federal government to regulate those objects, and because it is incident to a general sovereign or legislative power to regulate a thing, to employ all the means which relate to its regulation to the best and greatest advantage.”

—Alexander Hamilton, *Constitutionality of the Bank of the United States*, 1791

1. Hamilton’s constitutional argument was based on which of the following types of powers?
 - (A) Employed
 - (B) Expressed
 - (C) Implied
 - (D) Regulated
2. Which of the following benefited most directly from the bank that Hamilton strongly supported?
 - (A) Manufacturers
 - (B) Farmers
 - (C) State governments
 - (D) Slaveowners
3. Who of the following would be most critical of Hamilton’s position on the bank?
 - (A) George Washington
 - (B) John Adams
 - (C) Thomas Jefferson
 - (D) Henry Knox

Questions 4–5 refer to the excerpt below.

“Friends and Fellow Citizens: I should now apprise you of the resolution I have formed to decline being considered among the number of those out of whom a choice is to be made. . . .

“I have already intimated to you the danger of parties . . . with particular reference to . . . geographical discriminations. . . .

“Let it simply be asked—where is the security for property, for reputation, for life, if the sense of religious obligation desert the oaths. . . .

“As a very important source of strength and security, cherish public credit . . . avoiding likewise the accumulation of debt . . . which unavoidable wars may have occasioned . . . in mind that toward the payment of debt there must be . . . taxes. . . .

“By interweaving our destiny with that of any part of Europe, [we] entangle our peace and prosperity in the toils of European ambition, rivalship, interest, humor, or caprice. . . . It is our true policy to steer clear of permanent alliances with any portion of the foreign world.”

—George Washington, Farewell Address, 1796

4. One of the strong reasons Washington and others warned against political parties was concern about
 - (A) damages to the national reputation
 - (B) divisive sectionalism
 - (C) rights of property owners
 - (D) unavoidable wars
5. In addition to his Farewell Address, part of Washington’s legacy was that he
 - (A) started the two-party system
 - (B) established the precedent of a two-term limit
 - (C) created the first presidential library
 - (D) advocated for greater involvement overseas

Questions 6–8 refer to the excerpt below.

“Resolved, that the several States composing the United States of America are not united on the principle of unlimited submission to their general government; but that by compact under the style and title of a Constitution for the United States and of amendments thereto, they constituted a general government for specific purposes, delegated to that government certain definite powers, reserving, each State to itself, the residuary mass of right to their own self-government; and that whenever the general government assumes undelegated powers, its acts are unauthorized, void, and of no force. . . .

“That this would be to surrender the form of government we have chosen, and to live under one deriving its powers from its own will, and not from our authority; and that the co-States, recurring to their natural right in cases not made Federal, will concur in declaring these acts void and of no force.”

—Thomas Jefferson (anonymously), Kentucky Resolutions,
November 16, 1798

6. The Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions were issued in reaction to the
 - (A) ratification of the Bill of Rights
 - (B) passage of the Alien and Sedition Acts
 - (C) the revelations about the XYZ Affair
 - (D) the declaration of the Proclamation of Neutrality
7. The dispute involving the Kentucky Resolutions demonstrated that some people had rejected George Washington’s warning against
 - (A) creating a national bank
 - (B) forming permanent foreign alliances
 - (C) getting involved in European affairs
 - (D) encouraging sectional differences
8. Which individual or group among the following would be the strongest supporter of the Kentucky Resolution?
 - (A) John Adams
 - (B) Democratic-Republicans
 - (C) Federalists
 - (D) Alexander Hamilton

SHORT-ANSWER QUESTIONS

Use complete sentences; an outline or bulleted list alone is not acceptable.

Question 1 is based on the excerpt below.

“Sir, suffer me to recall to your mind that time, in which the arms and tyranny of the British crown were exerted. . . .

“This, Sir, was a time when you clearly saw into the injustice of a State of slavery . . . that you publicly held forth this true and invaluable doctrine. . . . ‘We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights. . . .’

“But, Sir, how pitiable is it to reflect, that although you were so fully convinced of the benevolence of the Father of Mankind, and of his equal and impartial distribution of these rights and privileges, which he hath conferred upon them, that you should at the same time counteract his mercies, in detaining by fraud and violence so numerous a part of my brethren, under groaning captivity, and cruel oppression.”

—Benjamin Banneker, African American scientist and surveyor, letter to Secretary of State Thomas Jefferson, 1792

1. Using the excerpt, answer a, b, and c.

- a) Briefly explain why Banneker questioned Jefferson’s actions on slavery.
- b) Briefly explain why ONE of the following people would either support or question Banneker’s view.
 - Ben Franklin
 - John Adams
 - George Washington
- c) Briefly explain how Thomas Jefferson might have responded to Banneker’s questions about slavery.

Question 2. Answer a, b, and c.

- a) Briefly explain how ONE of the following best supports the statement that “the United States Constitution is a bundle of compromises.” Provide at least ONE piece of evidence to support your explanation.
 - the office of the presidency
 - the system of representation
 - the institution of slavery
- b) Briefly explain a criticism of ONE of the compromises cited above.
- c) Identify and briefly explain the role played by an individual at the Constitutional Convention in bringing about ONE of the compromises mentioned above or a compromise not mentioned.

Question 3 is based on the excerpts below.

“The freedom of the press and opinions was never understood to give the right of publishing falsehoods and slanders, nor of exciting sedition, insurrection, and slaughter, with impunity. A man is always answerable for the malicious publication of falsehood; and what more does this bill require?

“Such liberty of the press and of opinion is calculated to destroy all confidence between man and man; it leads to a dissolution of every bond of union; it cuts asunder every ligament that unites man to his family, man to his neighbor, man to society and to government. God deliver us from such liberty.”

—Congressional Representative John Allen, Speech for the Sedition Act,
1798

“Does the situation of the country, at this time require that any law of this kind should pass? Do there exist such new and alarming symptoms of sedition as render it necessary to adopt, in addition to the existing laws, any extraordinary measure for the purpose of suppressing unlawful combinations, and of restricting the freedom of speech and the press? For such were the objects of the bill, whatever modifications it might receive. . . .

“While, therefore, they support the bill in its present shape, do they not avow that the true object of the law is to enable one party to oppress the other. . . . Is it not their object to frighten and suppress all presses which they consider as contrary to their views; to prevent a free circulation of opinion; . . . to delude and deceive . . . and through those means, to perpetuate themselves in power?”

—Congressional Representative Albert Gallatin, Speech Against the
Sedition Act, 1798

3. Using the excerpts, answer a, b, and c.
 - a) Briefly explain the main point of the first excerpt.
 - b) Briefly explain the main point of the second excerpt.
 - c) Provide ONE piece of evidence from the era before 1800 that is not included in the excerpt and explain how it supports the interpretation of either excerpt.

Question 4. Answer a, b, and c.

- a) Choose ONE of the choices below, and explain why it best supports this statement: “America’s first foreign policy under Presidents Washington and Adams had the primary goal of avoiding war.”
 - Citizen Genêt controversy
 - Jay Treaty
 - XYZ Affair
- b) Contrast your choice against ONE of the other options, demonstrating why that option is not as good as your choice.
- c) Briefly explain an argument for war involving ONE of the choices provided OR another situation during this period of the first two presidents.

THINK AS A HISTORIAN: QUESTIONS ABOUT ARGUMENTATION

A historical argument is a carefully written chain of thoughts that includes a clear thesis and analysis supported with evidence. Which THREE of the following questions would be best answered with an essay that makes a historical argument?

1. Summarize the differences between the Federalists and the Anti-Federalists.
2. Using more than one type of evidence, support or oppose this statement: “The Founders failed to see fundamental developments in American politics.”
3. Explain whether you agree or disagree that differences in foreign policy in the 1700s were rooted in economic interests.
4. Explain whether you think the information in this chapter supports or opposes the idea that compromise has been an essential part of American government since the founding of the country.
5. Explain the main points of Hamilton’s financial plan.

PERIOD 3 Review: 1754–1800

LONG-ESSAY QUESTIONS

Directions: Respond to one of each pair of questions. The suggested writing time is 35 minutes. In your response you should do the following.

- State a relevant thesis that directly addresses all parts of the question.
- Support your argument with evidence, using specific examples.
- Apply historical thinking skills as directed by the question.
- Synthesize the elements above into a persuasive essay that extends your argument, connects it to a different historical context, or connects it to a different category of analysis.

Choose EITHER Question 1 or Question 2.

1. It has been argued that the American Revolution came about primarily through an evolving series of meetings, conventions, and congresses. Support, modify, or refute this contention using specific evidence.
2. It has been argued that the U.S. Constitution came about primarily through an evolving series of meetings, conventions, and congresses. Support, modify, or refute this contention using specific evidence.

Choose EITHER Question 3 or Question 4.

3. For some historians, the leadership provided by the Founders during events leading up to the Revolutionary War was the key to the successful developments. Support, modify, or refute this contention using specific evidence.
4. For some historians, the leadership provided by the Founders during events leading up to the writing of the Constitution was the key to the successful developments. Support, modify, or refute this contention using specific evidence.

Choose EITHER Question 5 or Question 6.

5. For some, the role of enslaved African Americans and American Indians before and during the Revolutionary War had a significant influence on events. Support, modify, or refute this contention using specific evidence.
6. For some, the role of enslaved African Americans and American Indians before and during the writing of the Constitution had a significant influence on events. Support, modify, or refute this contention using specific evidence.

DOCUMENT-BASED QUESTION

Directions: Question 1 is based on the accompanying documents. The documents have been edited for the purpose of this exercise. You are advised to spend 15 minutes planning and 40 minutes writing your answer.

In your response you should do the following.

- State a relevant thesis that directly addresses all parts of the question.
 - Support the thesis or a relevant argument with evidence from all, or all but one, of the documents.
 - Incorporate analysis of all, or all but one, of the documents into your argument.
 - Focus your analysis of each document on at least one of the following: intended audience, purpose, historical context, and/or point of view.
 - Support your argument with analysis of historical examples outside the documents.
 - Connect historical phenomena relevant to your argument to broader events or processes.
 - Synthesize the elements above into a persuasive essay.
1. To what extent was the demand for no taxation without representation both the primary force motivating the American revolutionary movement and a symbol for democracy?

Document 1

Source: Resolution of the Virginia House of Burgesses, 1764

Resolved, That a most humble and dutiful Address be presented to his Majesty, imploring his Royal Protection of his faithful Subjects, the People of this Colony, in the Enjoyment of all their natural and civil Rights, as Men, and as Descendents of Britons; which rights must be violated, if Laws respecting the internal Government, and Taxation of themselves, are imposed upon them by any other Power than that derived from their own Consent, by and with the Approbation of their Sovereign, or his Substitute.

Document 2

Source: Resolutions of the Stamp Act Congress, 1765

Section 4. That the people of these colonies are not, and from their local circumstances cannot be, represented in the House of Commons in Great-Britain.

Section 5. That the only representatives of the people of these colonies, are persons chosen therein by themselves, and that no taxes ever have been, or can be constitutionally imposed on them, but by their respective legislatures.

Document 3

Source: Daniel Dulany, Maryland lawyer, “Considerations on the Propriety of Imposing Taxes in the British Colonies,” 1765

A right to impose an internal tax on the colonies, without their consent for the single purpose of revenue, is denied, a right to regulate their trade without their consent is admitted.

Document 4

Source: Joseph Warren, Boston patriot, speech in Boston, March 5, 1772

And as it was soon found that this taxation could not be supported by reason and argument, it seemed necessary that one act of oppression should be enforced by another, and therefore—contrary to our just rights as possessing, or at least having a just title to possess, all the liberties and immunities of British subjects, a standing army was established among us in time of peace; and evidently for the purpose of effecting that which it was one principal design of the founders of the constitution to prevent (when they declared a standing army in a time of peace to be against law), namely, for the enforcement of obedience to acts which, upon fair examination, appeared to be unjust and unconstitutional.

Document 5

Source: Second Continental Congress, Declaration of the Causes and Necessity of Taking Up Arms, July 6, 1775

They [Parliament] have undertaken to give and grant our money without our consent, though we have ever exercised an exclusive right to dispose of our own property; statutes have been passed for extending the jurisdiction of courts of Admiralty and Vice-Admiralty beyond their ancient limits; for depriving us of the accustomed and inestimable privilege of trial by jury, in cases affecting both life and property; for suspending the legislature of one of the colonies; for interdicting all commerce to the capital of another; and for altering fundamentally the form of government established by charter, and secured by acts of its own legislature solemnly confirmed by the crown; for exempting the “murderers” of colonists from legal trial.

Document 6

Source: Thomas Paine, *Common Sense*, 1776

Small islands not capable of protecting themselves are the proper objects for kingdoms to take under their care; but there is something very absurd in supposing a continent to be perpetually governed by an island. In no instance hath nature made the satellite larger than its primary planet; and as England and America, with respect to each other, reverse the common order of nature, it is evident that they belong to different systems. England to Europe: America to itself.

Document 7

Source: Petition of Seven Free Negroes to the Massachusetts Legislature in Protest of Taxation Without the Right to Vote, February 10, 1780

Petitioners farther sheweth that we apprehend ourselves to be Agreeved, in that while we are not allowed the Privilage of freemen of the State having no vote or influence in the Election of those that Tax us yet many of our Colour (as is well known) have cheerfully Entered the field of Battle in the defence of the Common Cause and that (as we conceive) against a similar Exertion of Power (in Regard to taxation).

PERIOD 4: 1800–1848

Chapter 7 *The Age of Jefferson, 1800–1816*

Chapter 8 *Nationalism and Economic Development, 1816–1848*

Chapter 9 *Sectionalism, 1820–1860*

Chapter 10 *The Age of Jackson, 1824–1844*

Chapter 11 *Society, Culture, and Reform, 1820–1860*

In 1826, in the midst of the years covered in this period, the young nation celebrated its 50th birthday with great optimism. The founders of the country were passing on and leadership had passed to a new generation.

Overview The new republic worked to define itself during a time of rapid demographic, economic, and territorial growth. It increased suffrage; reformed its schools, prisons, and asylums; and developed its own art, literature, and philosophy. These changes took place as a market economy emerged and people benefited from the addition of fertile land farther west and advances in industry and transportation everywhere. The country focused on expanding its borders and trade while avoiding European entanglements.

Alternate View While this period saw growth, it also had increased conflict with American Indians and its neighbors. Many of the immigrants attracted by new opportunities also found prejudice and discrimination. Rights for the common man excluded American Indians, African Americans, and women. Efforts to improve life succeeded for many but not those enslaved. Landmarks in the institution of slavery came earlier, with the development of the cotton gin in 1793 and the end of the importation of enslaved Africans in 1808. Others came later, such as the Compromise of 1850.

Key Concepts

4.1: The United States began to develop a modern democracy and celebrated a new national culture, while Americans sought to define the nation’s democratic ideals and change their society and institutions to match them.

4.2: Innovations in technology, agriculture, and commerce powerfully accelerated the American economy, precipitated profound changes in U.S. society and to national and regional identities.

4.3: The U.S. interest in increasing foreign trade and expanding its national borders shaped the nation’s foreign policy and spurred government and private initiatives.

Source: AP® United States History Course and Exam Description, Updated Fall 2015

THE AGE OF JEFFERSON, 1800–1816

Let us then, fellow-citizens, unite with one heart and one mind. Let us restore to social intercourse that harmony and affection without which liberty and even life itself are but dreary things. . . . But every difference of opinion is not a difference of principle. We have called by different names brethren of the same principle. We are all Republicans, we are all Federalists.

Thomas Jefferson, First Inaugural Address, 1801

In the election of 1800, there had been much animosity and bitter partisan feeling between the two national political parties. Following this Revolution of 1800, Thomas Jefferson, the new president, recognized the need for a smooth and peaceful transition of power from the Federalists to the Democratic-Republicans. That is why, in his inaugural address of 1801, Jefferson stressed the popular acceptance of the basic principles of constitutional government when he stated: “We are all Republicans, we are all Federalists.”

By 1816, Jefferson’s call for unity seems to have been realized. The Federalists had nearly disappeared, but the Democratic-Republicans had adopted many of their positions. Under Jefferson and his close friend James Madison, the nation experienced peaceful political change, expanded territorially, survived another war, and strengthened its democratic and nationalistic spirit. It was thriving, even as it faced significant problems—including slavery, the treatment of American Indians, and loyalty to local interests.

Jefferson’s Presidency

During his first term, Jefferson attempted to win the allegiance and trust of Federalist opponents by maintaining the national bank and debt-repayment plan of Hamilton. In foreign policy, he carried on the neutrality policies of Washington and Adams. At the same time, Jefferson retained the loyalty of Democratic-Republican supporters by adhering to his party’s guiding principle of limited central government. He reduced the size of the military, eliminated a number of federal jobs, repealed the excise taxes—including those on whiskey—and lowered the national debt. Only Republicans were named to his cabinet, as he sought to avoid the internal divisions that distracted Washington.

Compared to Adams' troubled administration, Jefferson's first four years in office were relatively free of discord. The single most important achievement of these years was the acquisition by purchase of vast western lands known as the Louisiana Territory.

The Louisiana Purchase

The Louisiana Territory encompassed a large and largely unexplored tract of western land through which the Mississippi and Missouri rivers flowed. At the mouth of the Mississippi lay the territory's most valuable property in terms of commerce—the port of New Orleans. For many years, Louisiana and New Orleans had been claimed by Spain. But in 1800, the French military and political leader Napoleon Bonaparte secretly forced Spain to give the Louisiana Territory back to its former owner, France. Napoleon hoped to restore the French empire in the Americas. By 1803, however, Napoleon had lost interest in this plan for two reasons: (1) he needed to concentrate French resources on fighting England and (2) a rebellion led by Toussaint l'Ouverture against French rule on the island of Santo Domingo had resulted in heavy French losses.

U.S. Interest in the Mississippi River During Jefferson's presidency, the western frontier extended beyond Ohio and Kentucky into the Indiana Territory. Settlers in this region depended for their economic existence on transporting goods on rivers that flowed westward into the Mississippi and southward as far as New Orleans. They were greatly alarmed therefore when in 1802 Spanish officials, who were still in charge of New Orleans, closed the port to Americans. They revoked the *right of deposit* granted in the Pinckney Treaty of 1795, which had allowed American farmers tax-free use of the port. People on the frontier clamored for government action. In addition to being concerned about the economic impact of the closing of New Orleans, President Jefferson was troubled by its consequences on foreign policy. He feared that, so long as a foreign power controlled the river at New Orleans, the United States risked entanglement in European affairs.

Negotiations Jefferson sent ministers to France with instructions to offer up to \$10 million for both New Orleans and a strip of land extending from that port eastward to Florida. If the American ministers failed in their negotiations with the French, they were instructed to begin discussions with Britain for a U.S.-British alliance. Napoleon's ministers, seeking funds for a war against Britain, offered to sell not only New Orleans but also the entire Louisiana Territory for \$15 million. The surprised American ministers quickly went beyond their instructions and accepted.

Constitutional Predicament Jefferson and most Americans strongly approved of the Louisiana Purchase. Nevertheless, a constitutional problem troubled the president. Jefferson was committed to a strict interpretation of the Constitution and rejected Hamilton's argument that certain powers were

implied. No clause in the Constitution explicitly stated that a president could purchase foreign land. In this case, Jefferson determined to set aside his idealism for the country's good. He submitted the purchase agreement to the Senate, arguing that lands could be added to the United States as an application of the president's power to make treaties. Casting aside the criticisms of Federalist senators, the Republican majority in the Senate quickly ratified the purchase.

Consequences The Louisiana Purchase more than doubled the size of the United States, removed a European presence from the nation's borders, and extended the western frontier to lands beyond the Mississippi. Furthermore, the acquisition of millions of acres of land strengthened Jefferson's hopes that his country's future would be based on an agrarian society of independent farmers rather than Hamilton's vision of an urban and industrial society. In political terms, the Louisiana Purchase increased Jefferson's popularity and showed the Federalists to be a weak, sectional (New England-based) party that could do little more than complain about Democratic-Republican policies.

THE LOUISIANA PURCHASE, 1803



Lewis and Clark Expedition Even before Louisiana was purchased, Jefferson had persuaded Congress to fund a scientific exploration of the trans-Mississippi West to be led by Captain Meriwether Lewis and Lieutenant William Clark. The Louisiana Purchase greatly increased the importance of the expedition. Lewis and Clark set out from St. Louis in 1804, crossed the Rockies, reached the Oregon coast on the Pacific Ocean, then turned back and completed the return journey in 1806. The benefits of the expedition were many: greater geographic and scientific knowledge of the region, stronger U.S. claims to the Oregon Territory, better relations with American Indians, and more accurate maps and land routes for fur trappers and future settlers.

John Marshall and the Supreme Court

After the sweeping Democratic-Republican victory of 1800, the only power remaining to the Federalists was their control of the federal courts. The Federalist appointments to the courts, previously made by Washington and Adams, were not subject to recall or removal except by impeachment. Federalist judges therefore continued in office, much to the annoyance of the Democratic-Republican president, Jefferson.

John Marshall Ironically, the Federalist judge who caused Jefferson the most grief was one of his own cousins from Virginia, John Marshall. Marshall had been appointed Chief Justice of the Supreme Court during the final months of John Adams' presidency. He held his post for 34 years, in which time he exerted as strong an influence on the Supreme Court as Washington had exerted on the presidency. Marshall's decisions in many landmark cases generally strengthened the central government, often at the expense of states' rights.

Case of Marbury v. Madison (1803) The first major case decided by Marshall put him in direct conflict with President Jefferson. Upon taking office, Jefferson wanted to block the Federalist judges appointed by his predecessor, President John Adams. He ordered Secretary of State James Madison not to deliver the commissions to those Federalist judges. One of Adams' "midnight appointments," William Marbury, sued for his commission. The case of *Marbury v. Madison* went to the Supreme Court in 1803. Marshall ruled that Marbury had a right to his commission according to the Judiciary Act passed by Congress in 1789. However, Marshall said the Judiciary Act of 1789 had given to the Court greater power than the Constitution allowed. Therefore, the law was unconstitutional, and Marbury would not receive his commission.

In effect, Marshall sacrificed what would have been a small Federalist gain (the appointment of Marbury) for a much larger, long-term judicial victory. By ruling a law of Congress to be unconstitutional, Marshall established the doctrine of *judicial review*. From this point on, the Supreme Court would exercise the power to decide whether an act of Congress or of the president was allowed by the Constitution. The Supreme Court could now overrule actions of the other two branches of the federal government.

Judicial Impeachments Jefferson tried other methods for overturning past Federalist measures and appointments. Soon after entering office, he suspended the Alien and Sedition Acts and released those jailed under them. Hoping to remove partisan Federalist judges, Jefferson supported a campaign of impeachment. The judge of one federal district was found to be mentally unbalanced. The House voted his impeachment and the Senate then voted to remove him. The House also impeached a Supreme Court justice, Samuel Chase, but the Senate acquitted him after finding no evidence of “high crimes.” Except for these two cases, the impeachment campaign was largely a failure, as almost all the Federalist judges remained in office. Even so, the threat of impeachment caused the judges to be more cautious and less partisan in their decisions.

Jefferson’s Reelection

In 1804 Jefferson won reelection by an overwhelming margin, receiving all but 14 of the 176 electoral votes. His second term was marked by growing difficulties. There were plots by his former vice president, Aaron Burr; opposition by a faction of his own party (the “Quids”), who accused him of abandoning Democratic-Republican principles; and foreign troubles from the Napoleonic wars in Europe.

Aaron Burr

A Democratic-Republican caucus (closed meeting) in 1804 decided not to nominate Aaron Burr for a second term as vice president. Burr then embarked on a series of ventures, one of which threatened to break up the Union and another of which resulted in the death of Alexander Hamilton.

Federalist Conspiracy Secretly forming a political pact with some radical New England Federalists, Burr planned to win the governorship of New York in 1804, unite that state with the New England states, and then lead this group of states to secede from the nation. Most Federalists followed Alexander Hamilton in opposing Burr, who was defeated in the New York election. The conspiracy then disintegrated.

Duel with Hamilton Angered by an insulting remark attributed to Hamilton, Burr challenged the Federalist leader to a duel and fatally shot him. Hamilton’s death in 1804 deprived the Federalists of their last great leader and earned Burr the enmity of many.

Trial for Treason By 1806, Burr’s intrigues had turned westward with a plan to take Mexico from Spain and possibly unite it with Louisiana under his rule. Learning of the conspiracy, Jefferson ordered Burr’s arrest and trial for treason. Presiding at the trial was Chief Justice of the Supreme Court John Marshall, a long-time adversary of Jefferson. A jury acquitted Burr, basing its decision on Marshall’s narrow definition of treason and the lack of witnesses to any “overt act” by Burr.

Difficulties Abroad

As a matter of policy and principle, Jefferson tried to avoid war. Rejecting permanent alliances, he sought to maintain U.S. neutrality despite increasing provocations from both France and Britain during the Napoleonic wars.

Barbary Pirates The first major challenge to Jefferson's foreign policy came not from a major European power, but from the piracy practiced by the Barbary states on the North African coast. To protect U.S. merchant ships from being seized by Barbary pirates, Presidents Washington and Adams had reluctantly agreed to pay tribute to the Barbary governments. The ruler of Tripoli demanded a higher sum in tribute from Jefferson. Refusing to pay, Jefferson sent a small fleet of the U.S. Navy to the Mediterranean. Sporadic fighting with Tripoli lasted for four years (1801–1805). Although the American navy did not achieve a decisive victory, it did gain some respect and also offered a measure of protection to U.S. vessels trading in Mediterranean waters.

Challenges to U.S. Neutrality Meanwhile, the Napoleonic wars continued to dominate the politics of Europe—and to shape the commercial economy of the United States. The two principal belligerents, France and Britain, attempted naval blockades of enemy ports. They regularly seized the ships of neutral nations and confiscated their cargoes. The chief offender from the U.S. point of view was Britain, since its navy dominated the Atlantic. Most infuriating was the British practice of capturing U.S. sailors who it claimed were British citizens and impressing (forcing) them to serve in the British navy.

Chesapeake-Leopard Affair One incident at sea especially aroused American anger and almost led to war. In 1807, only a few miles off the coast of Virginia, the British warship *Leopard* fired on the U.S. warship *Chesapeake*. Three Americans were killed and four others were taken captive and impressed into the British navy. Anti-British feeling ran high, and many Americans demanded war. Jefferson, however, resorted to diplomacy and economic pressure as his response to the crisis.

Embargo Act (1807) As an alternative to war, Jefferson persuaded the Democratic-Republican majority in Congress to pass the Embargo Act in 1807. This measure prohibited American merchant ships from sailing to any foreign port. Since the United States was Britain's largest trading partner, Jefferson hoped that the British would stop violating the rights of neutral nations rather than lose U.S. trade. The embargo, however, backfired and brought greater economic hardship to the United States than to Britain. The British were determined to control the seas at all costs, and they had little difficulty substituting supplies from South America for U.S. goods. The embargo's effect on the U.S. economy, however, was devastating, especially for the merchant marine and shipbuilders of New England. So bad was the depression that a movement developed in the New England states to secede from the Union.

Recognizing that the Embargo Act had failed, Jefferson called for its repeal in 1809 during the final days of his presidency. Even after repeal, however, U.S. ships could trade legally with all nations except Britain and France.



Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census. *Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1970*

Madison's Presidency

Jefferson believed strongly in the precedent set by Washington of voluntarily retiring from the presidency after a second term. For his party's nomination for president, he supported his close friend, Secretary of State James Madison.

The Election of 1808

Ever since leading the effort to write and ratify the Constitution, Madison was widely viewed as a brilliant thinker. He had worked tirelessly with Jefferson in developing the Democratic-Republican party. On the other hand, he was a weak public speaker, possessed a stubborn temperament, and lacked Jefferson's political skills. With Jefferson's backing, Madison was nominated for president by a caucus of congressional Democratic-Republicans. Other factions of the Democratic-Republican party nominated two other candidates. Even so, Madison was able to win a majority of electoral votes and to defeat both his Democratic-Republican opponents and the Federalist candidate, Charles Pinckney. Nevertheless, the Federalists managed to gain seats in Congress as a result of the widespread unhappiness with the effects of the embargo.

Commercial Warfare

Madison's presidency was dominated by the same European problems that had plagued Jefferson's second term. Like Jefferson, he attempted a combination of diplomacy and economic pressure to deal with the Napoleonic wars. Unlike Jefferson, he finally consented to take the United States to war.

Nonintercourse Act of 1809 After the repeal of Jefferson's disastrous embargo act, Madison hoped to end economic hardship while maintaining his country's rights as a neutral nation. The Nonintercourse Act of 1809 provided that Americans could now trade with all nations except Britain and France.

Macon's Bill No. 2 (1810) Economic hardships continued into 1810. Nathaniel Macon, a member of Congress, introduced a bill that restored U.S. trade with Britain and France. Macon's Bill No. 2 provided, however, that if either Britain or France formally agreed to respect U.S. neutral rights at sea, then the United States would prohibit trade with that nation's foe.

Napoleon's Deception Upon hearing of Congress' action, Napoleon announced his intention of revoking the decrees that had violated U.S. neutral rights. Taking Napoleon at his word, Madison carried out the terms of Macon's Bill No. 2 by embagoing U.S. trade with Britain in 1811. However, he soon realized that Napoleon had no intention of fulfilling his promise. The French continued to seize American merchant ships.

The War of 1812

Neither Britain nor the United States wanted their dispute to end in war. And yet war between them did break out in 1812.

Causes of the War

From the U.S. point of view, the pressures leading to war came from two directions: the continued violation of U.S. neutral rights at sea and troubles with the British on the western frontier.

Free Seas and Trade As a trading nation, the United States depended upon the free flow of shipping across the Atlantic. Yet the chief belligerents in Europe, Britain, and France, had no interest in respecting neutral rights so long as they were locked in a life-and-death struggle with each other. They well remembered that Britain had seemed a cruel enemy during the American Revolution, and the French had supported the colonists. In addition, Jeffersonian Democratic-Republicans applauded the French for having overthrown their monarchy in their own revolution. Moreover, even though both the French and the British violated U.S. neutral rights, the British violations were worse because of the British navy's practice of impressing American sailors.

Frontier Pressures Added to long-standing grievances over British actions at sea were the ambitions of western Americans for more open land. Americans on the frontier longed for the lands of British Canada and Spanish Florida. Standing in the way were the British and their Indian and Spanish allies.

Conflict with the American Indians was a perennial problem for the restless westerners. For decades, settlers had been gradually pushing the American Indians farther and farther westward. In an effort to defend their lands from further encroachment, Shawnee brothers—Tecumseh, a warrior, and Prophet, a religious leader—attempted to unite all of the tribes east of the Mississippi River. White settlers became suspicious of Tecumseh and persuaded the governor of the Indiana Territory, General William Henry Harrison, to take aggressive action. In the Battle of Tippecanoe, in 1811, Harrison destroyed the Shawnee headquarters and put an end to Tecumseh's efforts to form an Indian

confederacy. The British had provided only limited aid to Tecumseh. Nevertheless, Americans on the frontier blamed the British for instigating the rebellion.

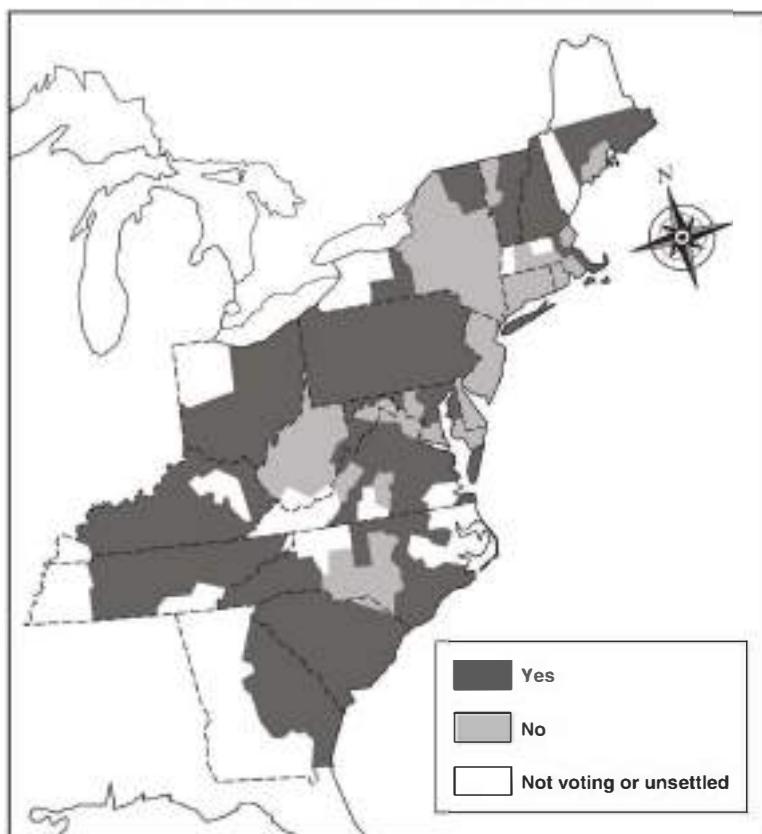
War Hawks A congressional election in 1810 had brought a group of new, young Democratic-Republicans to Congress, many of them from frontier states (Kentucky, Tennessee, and Ohio). Known as war hawks because of their eagerness for war with Britain, they quickly gained significant influence in the House of Representatives. Led by Henry Clay of Kentucky and John C. Calhoun of South Carolina, the war-hawk members of Congress argued that war with Britain would be the only way to defend American honor, gain Canada, and destroy American Indian resistance on the frontier.

Declaration of War British delays in meeting U.S. demands over neutral rights combined with political pressures from the war hawks finally persuaded Madison to seek a declaration of war against Britain. Ironically, the British government had by this time (June 1812) agreed to suspend its naval blockade. News of its decision reached the White House after Congress had declared war.

A Divided Nation

Neither Congress nor the American people were united in support of the war. In Congress, Pennsylvania and Vermont joined the southern and western states to provide a slight majority for the war declaration. Voting against the war were most representatives from New York, New Jersey, and the rest of the states in New England.

VOTE ON DECLARING WAR IN 1812



Election of 1812 A similar division of opinion was seen in the presidential election of 1812, in which Democratic-Republican strength in the South and West overcame Federalist and antiwar Democratic-Republican opposition to war in the North. Madison won reelection, defeating De Witt Clinton of New York, the candidate of the Federalists and antiwar Democratic-Republicans.

Opposition to the War Americans who opposed the war viewed it as “Mr. Madison’s War” and the work of the war hawks in Congress. Most outspoken in their criticism of the war were New England merchants, Federalist politicians, and “Quids,” or “Old” Democratic-Republicans. New England merchants were opposed because, after the repeal of the Embargo Act, they were making sizable profits from the European war and viewed impressment as merely a minor inconvenience. Both commercial interests and religious ties to Protestantism made them more sympathetic to the Protestant British than to the Catholic French. Federalist politicians viewed the war as a Democratic-Republican scheme to conquer Canada and Florida, with the ultimate aim of increasing Democratic-Republican voting strength. For their part, the “Quids” criticized the war because it violated the classic Democratic-Republican commitment to limited federal power and to the maintenance of peace.

Military Defeats and Naval Victories

Facing Britain’s overwhelming naval power, Madison’s military strategists based their hope for victory on (1) Napoleon’s continued success in Europe and (2) a U.S. land campaign against Canada.

Invasion of Canada A poorly equipped American army initiated military action in 1812 by launching a three-part invasion of Canada, one force starting out from Detroit, another from Niagara, and a third from Lake Champlain. These and later forays into Canada were easily repulsed by the British defenders. An American raid and burning of government buildings in York (Toronto) in 1813 only served to encourage retaliation by the British.

Naval Battles The U.S. navy achieved some notable victories, due largely to superior shipbuilding and the valorous deeds of American sailors, including many free African Americans. In late 1812, the U.S. warship Constitution (nicknamed “Old Ironsides”) raised American morale by defeating and sinking a British ship off the coast of Nova Scotia. American privateers, motivated by both patriotism and profit, captured numerous British merchant ships. Offsetting these gains was the success of the British navy in establishing a blockade of the U.S. coast, which crippled trading and fishing.

Probably the most important naval battle of the war was in 1813 on Lake Erie with American Captain Oliver Hazard Perry, declaring victory with, “We have met the enemy and they are ours.” This led the way for General William Henry Harrison’s victory at the Battle of Thames River (near Detroit), in which Tecumseh was killed. The next year, 1814, ships commanded by Thomas Macdonough defeated a British fleet on Lake Champlain. As a result, the British had to retreat and abandon their plan to invade New York and New England.

Chesapeake Campaign By the spring of 1814, the defeat of Napoleon in Europe enabled the British to increase their forces in North America. In the summer of that year, a British army marched through the nation's capital, Washington, D.C., and set fire to the White House, the Capitol, and other government buildings. The British also attempted to take Baltimore, but Fort McHenry held out after a night's bombardment—an event immortalized by Francis Scott Key in the words of "The Star-Spangled Banner."

Southern Campaign Meanwhile, U.S. troops in the South were ably commanded by General Andrew Jackson. In March 1814, at the Battle of Horseshoe Bend in present-day Alabama, Jackson ended the power of an important British ally, the Creek nation. The victory eliminated the Indians and opened new lands to white settlers. A British effort to control the Mississippi River was halted at New Orleans by Jackson leading a force of frontier soldiers, free African Americans, and Creoles. The victory was impressive—but also meaningless. The Battle of New Orleans was fought on January 8, 1815, two weeks after a treaty ending the war had been signed in Ghent, Belgium.

The Treaty of Ghent

By 1814, the British were weary of war. Having fought Napoleon for more than a decade, they now faced the prospect of maintaining the peace in Europe. At the same time, Madison's government recognized that the Americans would be unable to win a decisive victory. American peace commissioners traveled to Ghent, Belgium, to discuss terms of peace with British diplomats. On Christmas Eve 1814, an agreement was reached. The terms halted fighting, returned all conquered territory to the prewar claimant, and recognized the prewar boundary between Canada and the United States.

The Treaty of Ghent, promptly ratified by the Senate in 1815, said nothing at all about the grievances that led to war. Britain made no concessions concerning impressment, blockades, or other maritime differences. Thus, the war ended in stalemate with no gain for either side.

The Hartford Convention

Just before the war ended, the New England states threatened to secede from the Union. Bitterly opposed to both the war and the Democratic-Republican government in Washington, radical Federalists in New England urged that the Constitution be amended and that, as a last resort, secession be voted upon. To consider these matters, a special convention was held at Hartford, Connecticut, in December 1814. Delegates from the New England states rejected the radical calls for secession. But to limit the growing power of the Democratic-Republicans in the South and West, they adopted a number of proposals. One of them called for a two-thirds vote of both houses for any future declaration of war.

Shortly after the convention dissolved, news came of both Jackson's victory at New Orleans and the Treaty of Ghent. These events ended criticism of the war and further weakened the Federalists by stamping them as unpatriotic.

The War's Legacy

From Madison's point of view, the war achieved none of its original aims. Nevertheless, it had a number of important consequences for the future development of the American republic, including the following:

1. Having survived two wars with Britain, the United States gained the respect of other nations.
2. The United States accepted Canada as a part of the British Empire.
3. Denounced for its talk of secession, the Federalist party came to an end as a national force and declined even in New England.
4. Talk of nullification and secession in New England set a precedent that would later be used by the South.
5. Abandoned by the British, American Indians were forced to surrender land to white settlement.
6. With the British naval blockade limiting European goods, U.S. factories were built and Americans moved toward industrial self-sufficiency.
7. War heroes such as Andrew Jackson and William Henry Harrison would soon be in the forefront of a new generation of political leaders.
8. The feeling of nationalism grew stronger as did a belief that the future for the United States lay in the West and away from Europe.

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES: WHAT CAUSED POLITICAL PARTIES?

Thomas Jefferson's election to the presidency was popularly known as the Revolution of 1800. The real revolution in 1800 was the complete absence of violence in the transition of power. While the Framers of the Constitution had opposed political parties, parties were accepted as an essential element of the U.S. political system.

Historians have identified various stages in the emergence of two major parties. At first (1787–1789), Federalist and Anti-Federalist factions arose in the various state ratifying conventions as people debated the merits and pitfalls of the proposed Constitution. The second stage was the initial years of the new federal government (1789–1800). Especially during Adams' controversial presidency, the Anti-Federalists became a true political party—Jefferson's Democratic-Republican party. In 1800, for the first time, a party actively recruited members (both voters and candidates for office) and forged alliances with politicians in every state. As a result of their organized efforts, the Democratic-Republicans took power in 1800.

Over time, historians' interpretations of the early parties have changed. In the early 20th century, historians described the partisan struggles of the 1790s as a conflict between the undemocratic, elitist

Hamiltonian Federalists and the democratic, egalitarian Jeffersonian Democratic-Republicans. Charles Beard's *Economic Origins of Jeffersonian Democracy* interpreted the struggle as one between Hamilton's capitalist class and Jefferson's agrarian class. More recently, historians have focused more on personalities in defining the two parties. Finding general agreement in the practices of the opposing parties, these historians emphasize the differing characters of Jefferson and Hamilton and the significance of Washington's friendship with Hamilton and of Jefferson's friendship with Madison.

Richard Hofstadter, a leading historian of the 1950s and 1960s, observed both the differences and the shared ideas of the Democratic-Republicans and Federalists. He saw the parties maturing in 1800, moving past excessive rhetoric to accommodation, as both came to terms with the same political realities.

KEY TERMS BY THEME

Decisions (NAT, POL)

Thomas Jefferson

Louisiana Purchase

war hawks

Henry Clay

John C. Calhoun

The West (MIG)

Tecumseh

Prophet

William Henry Harrison

Battle of Tippecanoe

Supreme Court (POL)

strict interpretation

John Marshall

judicial review

Marbury v. Madison

Aaron Burr

"Quids"

Hartford Convention
(1814)

War (WOR)

Napoleon Bonaparte

Toussaint l'Ouverture

Barbary pirates

neutrality

impressment

Chesapeake-Leopard

affair

Embargo Act (1807)

James Madison

Nonintercourse Act
(1809)

Macon's Bill No. 2
(1810)

War of 1812

"Old Ironsides"

Battle of Lake Erie

Oliver Hazard Perry

Battle of the Thames
River

Thomas Macdonough

Battle of Lake

Champlain

Andrew Jackson

Battle of Horseshoe
Bend

Creek nation

Battle of New Orleans

Treaty of Ghent (1814)

Exploration (GEO)

Lewis and Clark

expedition

The Anthem (CUL)

Francis Scott Key

"The Star-Spangled
Banner"

MULTIPLE-CHOICE QUESTIONS

Questions 1–3 refer to the excerpt below.

“I am ready to allow, Mr. President, that both Great Britain and France have given us abundant cause for war. . . . My plan would be, and my first wish is, to prepare for it—to put the country in complete armor—in the attitude imperiously demanded in a crisis of war, and to which it must be brought before any war can be effective. . . . I must call on every member of this Senate to pause before he leaps into or crosses the Rubicon—declaring war is passing the Rubicon in reality.”

—Senator Obadiah German of New York, speech in the Senate,
June 1812

1. In the United States, support for the War of 1812 was the strongest from
 - (A) frontier settlers who wanted land and protection from American Indians
 - (B) New England merchants who feared impressment
 - (C) Protestants who had religious sympathies with Great Britain
 - (D) “Quids” who held classic Democratic-Republican beliefs
2. Who of the following would be most likely to agree with German’s position on the war?
 - (A) John Calhoun and other politicians from the South
 - (B) Henry Clay and other politicians from the West
 - (C) James Madison and other politicians from the executive branch
 - (D) Merchants from New England
3. Which of the following is the best support for German’s claim that the United States has “abundant cause for war”?
 - (A) the impressment of U.S. sailors
 - (B) the controversy over the Louisiana Purchase
 - (C) the actions by the Barbary pirates
 - (D) the findings of the Lewis and Clark expedition

Questions 4–6 refer to the excerpt below.

“All, too, will bear in mind this sacred principle, that though the will of the majority is in all cases to prevail, that will to be rightful must be reasonable; that the minority possess their equal rights, which equal law must protect, and to violate would be oppression.

“We have called by different names brethren of the same principle. We are all Republicans, we are all Federalists. If there be any among us who would wish to dissolve this Union or to change its republican form, let them stand undisturbed as monuments of the safety with which error of opinion may be tolerated where reason is left free to combat it. . . .

“Equal and exact justice to all men, of whatever state or persuasion, religious or political; peace, commerce, and honest friendship with all nations, entangling alliances with none.”

—Thomas Jefferson, First Inaugural Address, 1801

4. Which of the following describes a policy of Jefferson’s that reflects the attitude toward Federalists expressed in this speech?
 - (A) He adopted a Federalist plan for increasing the size of the military.
 - (B) He appealed to Federalists by increasing taxes to pay for new roads.
 - (C) He attempted to gain the trust of Federalists by continuing the national bank.
 - (D) He showed that party was unimportant by appointing some Federalists to his cabinet.
5. Jefferson’s statement “that the minority possesses their equal rights, which equal law must protect” was supported by his actions with regard to
 - (A) the case of *Marbury v. Madison*
 - (B) the Alien and Sedition Acts
 - (C) the Louisiana Purchase
 - (D) the Federalist Conspiracy
6. Jefferson’s call to avoid entangling alliances is similar to advice found in
 - (A) the Declaration of Independence
 - (B) *The Federalist Papers*
 - (C) the Kentucky Resolutions
 - (D) Washington’s Farewell Address

Questions 7–8 refer to the excerpt below.

“It is true I am a Shawnee. My forefathers were warriors. Their son is a warrior. From them I take only my existence; from my tribe I take nothing. . . . [I] come to Governor Harrison to ask him to tear the treaty . . . but I would say to him:

“Sir, you have liberty to return to your own country.”

“Once, nor until lately, there was no white man on this continent. . . . It then all belonged to red men. . . . Once a happy race, since made miserable by the white people, who are never contented but always encroaching. The way, and the only way, to check and to stop this evil, is for all the red men to unite in claiming a common and equal right in the land. . . . For it never was divided, but belongs to all for the use of each. For no part has a right to sell.”

—Tecumseh, Letter to Governor William Henry Harrison, August 1810

7. Tecumseh believed that which of the following would be the best way for the American Indians to respond to the desire of white settlers for land?
 - (A) Signing a treaty with the United States
 - (B) Joining the British in order to stop westward expansion
 - (C) Moving westward to lands unoccupied by American Indians
 - (D) Forming a confederacy among all American Indians
8. Based on this excerpt, which of the following would Tecumseh most likely have objected to?
 - (A) The War of 1812
 - (B) The Alien and Sedition Acts
 - (C) British actions on the western frontier
 - (D) The Louisiana Purchase

SHORT-ANSWER QUESTIONS

Use complete sentences; an outline or bulleted list alone is not acceptable.

Question 1. Answer a, b, and c.

- a) Choose ONE of the choices below, and explain why your choice best demonstrates how Presidents Jefferson and Madison largely relied on economic policies to carry out their foreign policies.
 - Louisiana Purchase
 - Embargo Act
 - Macon's Bill No. 2
- b) Contrast your choice against ONE of the other options, demonstrating why that option is not as good as your choice.
- c) Provide ONE piece of evidence involving one of the choices provided or another situation during this period of Presidents Jefferson and Madison that either supports or contradicts their reliance on economic policies to carry out their foreign policies.

Question 2. Answer a, b, and c.

- a) Briefly explain ONE specific reason given by those in the United States who opposed the War of 1812.
- b) Briefly explain ONE specific reason given by those in the United States who supported the War of 1812.
- c) Briefly explain how ONE of the reasons for or against the War of 1812 would continue after the war to play a major role in the politics and policies of the United States.

Question 3 is based on the following excerpts.

“What, Mr. Speaker, are we now called on to decide? It is, whether we will resist by force the attempt, made by that Government [Britain], to subject our maritime rights to the arbitrary and capricious rule of her will; for my part I am not prepared to say that this country shall submit to have her commerce interdicted or regulated, by any foreign nation. Sir, I prefer war to submission. . . .

“The British Government, for many years past they have been in the practice of impressing our seamen, from merchant vessels; this unjust and lawless invasion of personal liberty, calls loudly for the interposition of this Government . . .

“This war . . . will have its advantages. We shall drive the British from our continent—they will no longer . . . [be] intriguing with our Indian neighbors. . . . I am willing to receive the Canadians as adopted brethren.”

—Felix Grundy, Speech in the House of Representatives,
December 1811

“This war of conquest, a war for the acquisition of territory and subjects, is to be a new commentary on the doctrine that republics are destitute of ambition; that they are addicted to peace. . . .

“But is war the true remedy? Who will profit by it? Speculators—a few lucky merchants. . . . Who must suffer by it? The people. It is their blood, their taxes that must flow to support it.

“Our people will not submit to be taxed for this war of conquest and dominion. The government of the United States was not calculated to wage offensive war; it was instituted for the common defense and general welfare; and whosoever should embark it in a war of offense would put it to a test which it was by no means calculated to endure.”

—John Randolph, Speech in the House of Representatives,
December 1811

3. Using the excerpts, answer a, b, and c.
 - a) Briefly explain the main point of excerpt 1.
 - b) Briefly explain the main point of excerpt 2.
 - c) Provide ONE piece of evidence from the debate over war during this period that is not included in the excerpts and explain how it supports the interpretation in either excerpt.

Question 4 is based on the following excerpt.

“And if this court is not authorized to issue a writ of mandamus. . . . It must be because the law is unconstitutional and therefore absolutely incapable of conferring the authority. . . .

“Certainly, all those who have framed written constitutions contemplate them as forming the fundamental and paramount law . . . and consequently . . . an act of the legislature repugnant to the constitution is void. . . .

“If, then, the courts are to regard the Constitution, and the Constitution is superior to any ordinary act of the legislature, the Constitution, and not such ordinary act must govern the case to which they both apply.

“The judicial power of the United States is extended to all cases arising under the Constitution. . . .

“Thus, the particular phraseology of the Constitution . . . confirms and strengthens the principle . . . that a law repugnant to the Constitution is void and that courts, as well as other departments, are bound by that instrument.”

—John Marshall, *Marbury v. Madison*, 1803

4. Using the excerpt, answer a, b, and c.

- a) Briefly explain the significance of Marshall’s opinion, which was presented as Jefferson became the third president of the United States.
- b) Briefly explain how Thomas Jefferson would either support or question Marshall’s opinion.
- c) Briefly explain how John Adams would either support or question Marshall’s opinion.

THINK AS A HISTORIAN: USES OF HISTORICAL EVIDENCE

A key skill of historians is the ability to use evidence accurately. Describe the kind of evidence that should be included in essays responding to each of these questions.

1. If the Supreme Court was asked to decide the constitutionality of the Louisiana Purchase, how would you expect John Marshall to have ruled?
2. How important was the War of 1812 to the development of the United States?
3. Explain whether you think westward expansion was the most important issue for the new country.

NATIONALISM AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT, 1816–1848

A high and honorable feeling generally prevails, and the people begin to assume, more and more, a national character; and to look at home for the only means, under divine goodness, of preserving their religion and liberty.

Hezekiah Niles, *Niles' Weekly Register*, September 2, 1815

The election of James Monroe as president in 1816 (less than two years after the last battle of the War of 1812) inaugurated what one newspaper editorial characterized as an “Era of Good Feelings.” The term gained wide currency and was later adopted by historians to describe Monroe’s two terms in office.

The Era of Good Feelings

The period’s nickname suggests the Monroe years were marked by a spirit of nationalism, optimism, and goodwill. In some ways, they were. One party, the Federalists, faded into oblivion and Monroe’s party, the Democratic-Republicans, adopted some of their policies and dominated politics.

This perception of unity and harmony, however, can be misleading and oversimplified. Throughout the era people had heated debates over tariffs, the national bank, internal improvements, and public land sales. Sectionalist tensions over slavery were becoming ever more apparent. Moreover, a sense of political unity was illusory, since antagonistic factions within the Democratic-Republican party would soon split it in two. The actual period of “good feelings” may have lasted only from the election of 1816 to the Panic of 1819.

James Monroe

As a young man, James Monroe had fought in the Revolutionary War and suffered through the Valley Forge winter. He had become prominent in Virginia politics and had served as Jefferson's minister to Great Britain and as Madison's secretary of state. He continued the Virginia dynasty: of the first five presidents, four were from Virginia. The other, John Adams, was from Massachusetts.

In the election of 1816, Monroe defeated the Federalist, Rufus King, overwhelmingly—183 electoral votes to 34. By 1820, the Federalist party had practically vanished and Monroe received every electoral vote except one. With no organized political opposition, Monroe represented the growing nationalism of the American people. Under Monroe, the country acquired Florida, agreed on the Missouri Compromise, and adopted the Monroe Doctrine.

Cultural Nationalism

The popular votes for James Monroe were cast by a younger generation of Americans whose concerns differed from those of the nation's founders. The young were excited about the prospects of the new nation expanding westward and had little interest in European politics now that the Napoleonic wars (as well as the War of 1812) were in the past. As fervent nationalists, they believed their young country was entering an era of unlimited prosperity.

Patriotic themes infused every aspect of American society, from art to schoolbooks. Heroes of the Revolution were enshrined in the paintings by Gilbert Stuart, Charles Willson Peale, and John Trumbull. A fictionalized biography extolling the virtues of George Washington, written by Parson Mason Weems, was widely read. The expanding public schools embraced Noah Webster's blue-backed speller, which promoted patriotism long before his famous dictionary was published. The basic ideas and ideals of nationalism and patriotism would dominate most of the 19th century.

Economic Nationalism

Parallel with cultural nationalism was a political movement to support the growth of the nation's economy. Subsidizing internal improvements (the building of roads and canals) was one aspect of the movement. Protecting budding U.S. industries from European competition was a second aspect.

Tariff of 1816 Before the War of 1812, Congress had levied low tariffs on imports as a method for raising government revenue. Then, during the war, manufacturers erected many factories to supply goods that previously had been imported from Britain. Now in peacetime, these American manufacturers feared that British goods would be dumped on American markets and take away much of their business. Congress raised tariffs for the express purpose of protecting U.S. manufacturers from competition. This was the first protective tariff in U.S. history—the first of many to come.

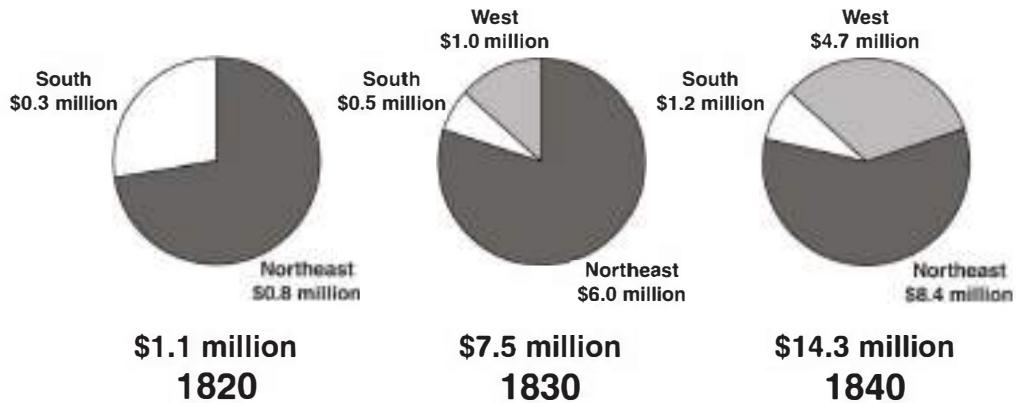
New England, which had little manufacturing at the time, was the only section to oppose the higher tariffs. Even the South and West, which had opposed tariffs in the past and would oppose them in the future, generally supported the 1816 tariff, believing that it was needed for national prosperity.

Henry Clay's American System Henry Clay of Kentucky, a leader in the House of Representatives, proposed a comprehensive method for advancing the nation's economic growth. His plan, which he called the American System, consisted of three parts: (1) protective tariffs, (2) a national bank, and (3) internal improvements. Clay argued that protective tariffs would promote American manufacturing and also raise revenue with which to build a national transportation system of federally constructed roads and canals. A national bank would keep the system running smoothly by providing a national currency. The tariffs would chiefly benefit the East, internal improvements would promote growth in the West and the South, and the bank would aid the economies of all sections.

Two parts of Clay's system were already in place in 1816, the last year of James Madison's presidency. Congress in that year adopted a protective tariff and also chartered the Second Bank of the United States. (The charter of the First Bank—Hamilton's brainchild—had been allowed to expire in 1811.)

On the matter of internal improvements, however, both Madison and Monroe objected that the Constitution did not explicitly provide for the spending of federal money on roads and canals. Throughout his presidency, Monroe consistently vetoed acts of Congress providing funds for road-building and canal-building projects. Thus, the individual states were left to make internal improvements on their own.

CANAL BUILDING, 1820 to 1840



Source: Bureau of the Census, *Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1970*

The Panic of 1819

The Era of Good Feelings was fractured in 1819 by the first major financial panic since the Constitution had been ratified. The economic disaster was largely the fault of the Second Bank of the United States, which had tightened credit in a belated effort to control inflation. Many state banks closed and unemployment, bankruptcies, and imprisonment for debt increased sharply. The depression was most severe in the West, where many people were in debt because they speculated on land during the postwar euphoria. In 1819, the Bank of the United States foreclosed on large amounts of western farmland.

As a result of the bank panic and depression, nationalistic beliefs were shaken. In the West, the economic crisis changed many voters' political outlook. Westerners began calling for land reform and expressing strong opposition to both the national bank and debtors' prisons.

Political Changes

A principal reason for the rapid decline of the Federalist party was its failure to adapt to the changing needs of a growing nation. Having opposed the War of 1812 and presided over a secessionist convention at Hartford, the party seemed completely out of step with the nationalistic temper of the times. After its crushing defeat in the election of 1816, it ceased to be a national party and failed to nominate a presidential candidate in 1820.

Changes in the Democratic-Republican Party Meanwhile, the Democratic-Republican party, as the only remaining national party, underwent serious internal strains as it adjusted to changing times. Members such as John Randolph clung to the old party ideals of limited government and a strict interpretation of the Constitution. Most members, however, adopted what had once been Federalist ideas, such as the need for maintaining of a large army and navy and support for a national bank. Some members reversed their views from one decade to the next. For example, Daniel Webster of Massachusetts, strongly opposed both the tariffs of 1816 and 1824 but then supported even higher tariff rates in 1828. John C. Calhoun of South Carolina was another Democratic-Republican leader who reversed positions. An outspoken war hawk and nationalist in 1812, Calhoun championed states' rights after 1828.

Political factions and sectional differences became more intense during Monroe's second term. When Monroe, honoring the two-term tradition, declined to be a candidate again, four other Republicans sought election as president in 1824. How this election split of the Democratic-Republican party and led to the emergence of two rival parties is explained in Chapter 10.

Marshall's Supreme Court and Central Government Powers

One Federalist official continued to have major influence throughout the years of Democratic-Republican ascendancy: John Marshall. He had been appointed to the Supreme Court in 1800 by Federalist President John Adams and was still leading the Court as its chief justice. His decisions consistently favored the

central government and the rights of property against the advocates of states' rights. Even when justices appointed by Democratic-Republican presidents formed a majority on the Court, they often sided with Marshall because they were persuaded that the U.S. Constitution had created a federal government with strong and flexible powers. Several of Marshall's decisions became landmark rulings that defined the relationship between the central government and the states. The first of these cases, *Marbury v. Madison* (1803), established the principle of judicial review. It was described in Chapter 7. Six others influential cases are described below.

Fletcher v. Peck (1810) In a case involving land fraud in Georgia, Marshall concluded that a state could not pass legislation invalidating a contract. This was the first time that the Supreme Court declared a state law to be unconstitutional and invalid. (In *Marbury v. Madison*, the Court ruled a federal law unconstitutional.)

Martin v. Hunter's Lease (1816) The Supreme Court established that it had jurisdiction over state courts in cases involving constitutional rights.

Dartmouth College v. Woodward (1819) This case involved a law of New Hampshire that changed Dartmouth College from a privately chartered college into a public institution. The Marshall Court struck down the state law as unconstitutional, arguing that a contract for a private corporation could not be altered by the state.

McCulloch v. Maryland (1819) Maryland attempted to tax the Second Bank of the United States located in Maryland. Marshall ruled that a state could not tax a federal institution because "the power to tax is the power to destroy," and federal laws are supreme over state laws. In addition, Marshall settled the long-running debate over constitutionality of the national bank. Using a loose interpretation of the Constitution, Marshall ruled that, even though no clause in the Constitution specifically mentions a national bank, the Constitution gave the federal government the *implied power* to create one.

Cohens v. Virginia (1821) A pair of brothers named Cohens were convicted in Virginia of illegally selling lottery tickets for a lottery authorized by Congress for Washington, D.C. While Marshall and the Court upheld the conviction, they established the principle that the Supreme Court could review a state court's decision involving any of the powers of the federal government.

Gibbons v. Ogden (1821) Could the state of New York grant a monopoly to a steamboat company if that action conflicted with a charter authorized by Congress? In ruling that the New York monopoly was unconstitutional, Marshall established the federal government's broad control of interstate commerce.

Western Settlement and the Missouri Compromise

Less than ten years after the start of the War of 1812, the population west of the Appalachian Mountains had doubled. Much of the nationalistic and economic interest in the country was centered on the West, which presented both opportunities and new questions.

Reasons for Westward Movement

Several factors combined to stimulate rapid growth along the western frontier during the presidencies of Madison and Monroe.

Acquisition of American Indians' Lands Large areas were open for settlement after American Indians were driven from their lands by the victories of Generals William Henry Harrison in the Indiana Territory and Andrew Jackson in Florida and the South.

Economic Pressures The economic difficulties in the Northeast from the embargo and the war caused people from this region to seek a new future across the Appalachians. In the South, tobacco planters needed new land to replace the soil exhausted by years of poor farming methods. They found good land for planting cotton in Alabama, Mississippi, and Arkansas.

Improved Transportation Pioneers had an easier time reaching the frontier as a result of the building of roads and canals, steamboats, and railroads.

Immigrants More Europeans were being attracted to America by speculators offering cheap land in the Great Lakes region and in the valleys of the Ohio, Cumberland, and Mississippi rivers.

New Questions and Issues

Despite their rapid growth, the new states of the West had small populations relative to those of the other two sections. To enhance their limited political influence in Congress, western representatives bargained with politicians from other sections to obtain their objectives. Of greatest importance to the western states were: (1) "cheap money" (easy credit) from state banks rather than from the Bank of the United States, (2) low prices for land sold by the federal government, and (3) improved transportation.

However, on the critical issue of slavery, westerners could not agree whether to permit it or to exclude it. Those settling territory to the south wanted slavery for economic reasons (labor for the cotton fields), while those settling to the north had no use for slavery. In 1819, when the Missouri Territory applied to Congress for statehood, the slavery issue became a subject of angry debate.

The Missouri Compromise

Ever since 1791–1792, when Vermont entered the Union as a free state and Kentucky entered as a slave state, politicians in Congress had attempted to preserve a sectional balance between the North and the South. Keeping a balance in the House of Representatives was difficult because population in the North was growing more rapidly than in the South. By 1818 the northern states held a majority of 105 to 81 in the House. However, in the Senate, the votes remained divided evenly: 11 slave and 11 free states. As long as this balance was preserved, southern senators could block legislation that they believed threatened the interests of their section.

Missouri's bid for statehood alarmed the North because slavery was well established there. If Missouri came in as a slave state, it would tip the political

balance in the South's favor. Furthermore, Missouri was the first part of the Louisiana Purchase to apply for statehood. Southerners and northerners alike worried about the future status of other new territories applying for statehood from the rest of the vast Louisiana Purchase.

Tallmadge Amendment Representative James Tallmadge from New York ignited the debate about the Missouri question by proposing an amendment to the bill for Missouri's admission. The amendment called for (1) prohibiting the further introduction of slaves into Missouri and (2) requiring the children of Missouri slaves to be emancipated at the age of 25. If adopted, the Tallmadge Amendment would have led to the gradual elimination of slavery in Missouri. The amendment was defeated in the Senate as enraged southerners saw it as the first step in a northern effort to abolish slavery in all states.

THE UNITED STATES IN 1821
AFTER THE MISSOURI COMPROMISE



Clay's Proposals After months of heated debate in Congress and throughout the nation, Henry Clay won majority support for three bills that, taken together, represented a compromise:

1. Admit Missouri as a slave-holding state.
2. Admit Maine as a free state.
3. Prohibit slavery in the rest of the Louisiana Territory north of latitude 36° 30'.

Both houses passed the bills, and President Monroe added his signature in March 1820 to what became known as the Missouri Compromise.

Aftermath Sectional feelings on the slavery issue subsided after 1820. The Missouri Compromise preserved sectional balance for more than 30 years and provided time for the nation to mature. Nevertheless, if an era of good feelings existed, it was badly damaged by the storm of sectional controversy over Missouri. After this political crisis, Americans were torn between feelings of nationalism (loyalty to the Union) on the one hand and feelings of sectionalism (loyalty to one's own region) on the other.

Foreign Affairs

Following the War of 1812, the United States adopted a more aggressive, nationalistic approach to its relations with other nations. During Madison's presidency, when problems with the Barbary pirates again developed, a fleet under Stephen Decatur was sent in 1815 to force the rulers of North Africa to allow American shipping the free use of the Mediterranean. President Monroe and Secretary of State John Quincy Adams continued to follow a nationalistic policy that actively advanced American interests while maintaining peace.

Canada

Although the Treaty of Ghent of 1814 had ended the war between Britain and the United States, it left unresolved most of their diplomatic differences, including many involving Canada.

Rush-Bagot Agreement (1817) During Monroe's first year as president, British and American negotiators agreed to a major disarmament pact. The Rush-Bagot Agreement strictly limited naval armament on the Great Lakes. In time the agreement was extended to place limits on border fortifications as well. Ultimately, the border between the United States and Canada was to become the longest unfortified border in the world.

Treaty of 1818 Improved relations between the United States and Britain continued in a treaty that provided for (1) shared fishing rights off the coast of Newfoundland; (2) joint occupation of the Oregon Territory for ten years; and (3) the setting of the northern limits of the Louisiana Territory at the 49th parallel, thus establishing the western U.S.-Canada boundary line.

Florida

During the War of 1812, U.S. troops had occupied western Florida, a strip of land on the Gulf of Mexico extending all the way to the Mississippi delta. Previously, this land had been held by Spain, Britain's ally. After the war, Spain had difficulty governing the rest of Florida (the peninsula itself) because its troops had been removed from Florida to battle revolts in the South American colonies. The chaotic conditions permitted groups of Seminoles, runaway slaves, and white outlaws to conduct raids into U.S. territory and retreat to safety across the Florida border. These disorders gave Monroe and General Andrew Jackson an opportunity to take military action in Spanish Florida, a territory long coveted by American expansionists.

Jackson's Military Campaign In late 1817, the president commissioned General Jackson to stop the raiders and, if necessary, pursue them across the border into Spanish west Florida. Jackson carried out his orders with a vengeance and probably went beyond his instructions. In 1818, he led a force of militia into Florida, destroyed Seminole villages, and hanged two Seminole chiefs. Capturing Pensacola, Jackson drove out the Spanish governor, and hanged two British traders accused of aiding the Seminoles.

Many members of Congress feared that Jackson's overzealousness would precipitate a war with both Spain and Britain. However, Secretary of State John Quincy Adams persuaded Monroe to support Jackson, and the British decided not to intervene.

Florida Purchase Treaty (1819) Spain, worried that the United States would seize Florida and preoccupied with troubles in Latin America, decided to get the best possible terms for Florida. By treaty in 1819, Spain turned over all of its possessions in Florida and its own claims in the Oregon Territory to the United States. In exchange, the United States agreed to assume \$5 million in claims against Spain and give up any U.S. territorial claims to the Spanish province of Texas. The agreement is also called the Adams-Onís Treaty.

The Monroe Doctrine

Although focused on its own growth, the United States did not ignore the ambitions of Europe in the Western Hemisphere. The restoration of a number of monarchies in Europe after the fall of Napoleon in 1815 produced a backlash against republican movements. Restored monarchies in France, Austria, and Prussia, together with Russia, worked together to suppress liberal elements in Italy and Spain. They also considered helping Spain to return to power in South America, where a number of republics had recently declared their independence. In addition, Russia's presence in Alaska worried both Britain and the United States. Using their trading posts in Alaska as a base, Russian seal hunters had spread southward and established a trading post at San Francisco Bay. British and U.S. leaders decided they had a common interest in protecting North and South America from possible aggression by a European power.

British Initiative British naval power deterred the Spanish from attempting a comeback in Latin America. But to maintain British trade with the Latin American republics required diplomacy. British Foreign Secretary George Canning proposed to Richard Rush, the U.S. minister in London, a joint Anglo-American warning to the European powers not to intervene in South America.

American Response Monroe and most of his advisers thought Canning's idea of a joint declaration made sense. However, Secretary of State John Quincy Adams disagreed. He believed that joint action with Britain would restrict U.S. opportunities for further expansion in the hemisphere. Adams reasoned as follows: (1) If the United States acted alone, Britain could be counted upon to stand behind the U.S. policy. (2) No European power would risk going to war in South America, and if it did, the British navy would surely defeat the aggressor. President Monroe decided to act as Adams advised—to issue a statement to the world that did not have Britain as a coauthor.

The Doctrine On December 2, 1823, President Monroe inserted into his annual message to Congress a declaration of U.S. policy toward Europe and Latin America. The Monroe Doctrine, as it came to be called, asserted

as a principle in which the rights and interests of the United States are involved, that the American continents, by the free and independent condition which they have assumed and maintain, are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European powers.

Monroe declared further that the United States opposed attempts by a European power to interfere in the affairs of any republic in the Western Hemisphere.

Impact Monroe's bold words of nationalistic purpose were applauded by the American public but soon forgotten, as most citizens were more concerned with domestic issues. In Britain, Canning was annoyed by the doctrine because he recognized that it applied, not just to the other European powers, but to his country as well. The British too were warned not to intervene and not to seek new territory in the Western Hemisphere. The European monarchs reacted angrily to Monroe's message. Still, they recognized that their purposes were thwarted, not by his words, but by the might of the British navy.

The Monroe Doctrine had less significance at the time than in later decades, when it would be hailed by politicians and citizens alike as the cornerstone of U.S. foreign policy toward Latin America. In the 1840s, President James Polk was the first of many presidents to justify his foreign policy by referring to Monroe's warning words.

A National Economy

In the early 1800s, the Jeffersonian dream of a nation of independent farmers remained strong in rural areas. As the century progressed, however, an increasing percentage of the American people were swept up in the dynamic

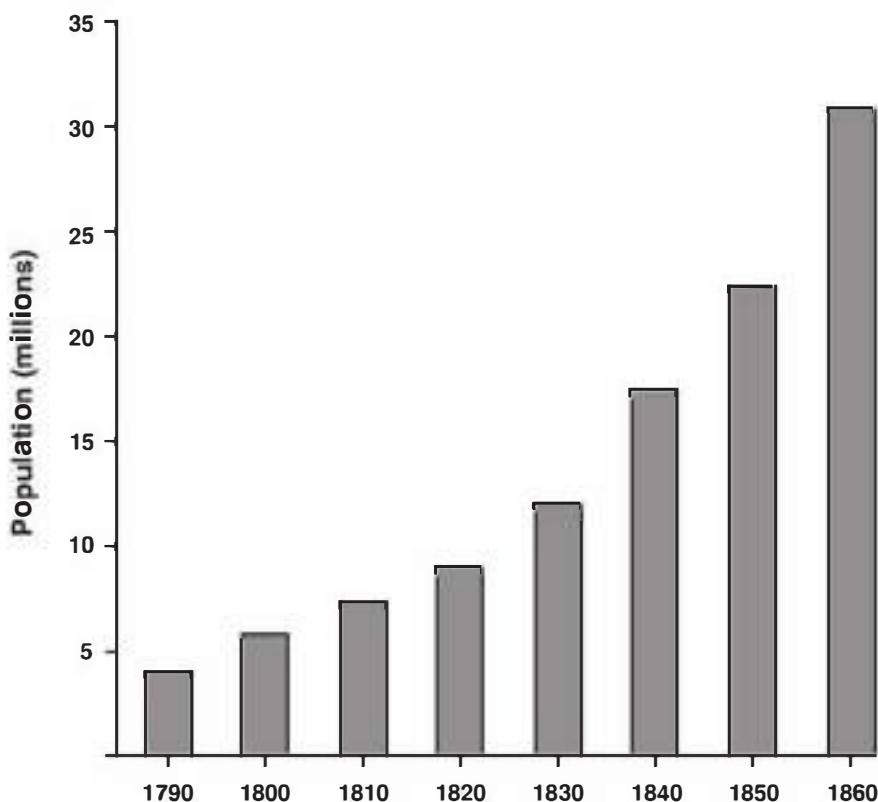
economic changes of the Industrial Revolution. Political conflicts over tariffs, internal improvements, and the Bank of the United States reflected the importance to people's lives of a national economy that was rapidly growing.

Population Growth

Population growth provided both the laborers and the consumers required for industrial development. Between 1800 and 1825, the U.S. population doubled; in the following 25 years it doubled again. A high birthrate accounted for most of this growth, but it was strongly supplemented after 1830 by immigrants arriving from Europe, particularly from Great Britain and Germany. The nonwhite population—African Americans and American Indians—grew despite the ban on the importation of slaves after 1808. However, as a percentage of the total population, nonwhites declined from almost 20 percent in 1790 to 15 percent in the 1850s.

By the 1830s, almost one-third of the population lived west of the Alleghenies. At the same time, both old and new urban areas were growing rapidly.

UNITED STATES POPULATION, 1790 to 1860



Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census. *Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1970*

Transportation

Vital to the development of both a national and an industrial economy was an efficient network of interconnecting roads and canals for moving people, raw materials, and manufactured goods.

Roads Pennsylvania's Lancaster Turnpike, built in the 1790s, connected Philadelphia with the rich farmlands around Lancaster. Its success stimulated the construction of other privately built and relatively short toll roads that, by the mid-1820s, connected most of the country's major cities.

Despite the need for interstate roads, states' righters blocked the spending of federal funds on internal improvements. Construction of highways that crossed state lines was therefore unusual. One notable exception was the National, or Cumberland Road, a paved highway and major route to the west extending more than a thousand miles from Maryland to Illinois. It was begun in 1811 and completed in the 1850s, using both federal and state money, with the different states receiving ownership of segments of the highway.

Canals The completion of the Erie Canal in New York State in 1825 was a major event in linking the economies of western farms and eastern cities. The success of this canal in stimulating economic growth touched off a frenzy of canal-building in other states. In little more than a decade, canals joined together all of the major lakes and rivers east of the Mississippi. Improved transportation meant lower food prices in the East, more immigrants settling in the West, and stronger economic ties between the two sections.

Steamboats The age of mechanized, steam-powered travel began in 1807 with the successful voyage up the Hudson River of the *Clermont*, a steamboat developed by Robert Fulton. Commercially operated steamboat lines soon made round-trip shipping on the nation's great rivers both faster and cheaper.

Railroads Even more rapid and reliable links between cities became possible with the building of the first U.S. railroad lines in the late 1820s. The early railroads were hampered at first by safety problems, but by the 1830s they were competing directly with canals as an alternative method for carrying passengers and freight. The combination of railroads with the other major improvements in transportation rapidly changed small western towns such as Cleveland, Cincinnati, Detroit, and Chicago into booming commercial centers of the expanding national economy.

Growth of Industry

At the start of the 19th century, a manufacturing economy had barely begun in the United States. By midcentury, however, U.S. manufacturing surpassed agriculture in value, and by century's end, it was the world's leader. This rapid industrial growth was the result of a unique combination of factors.

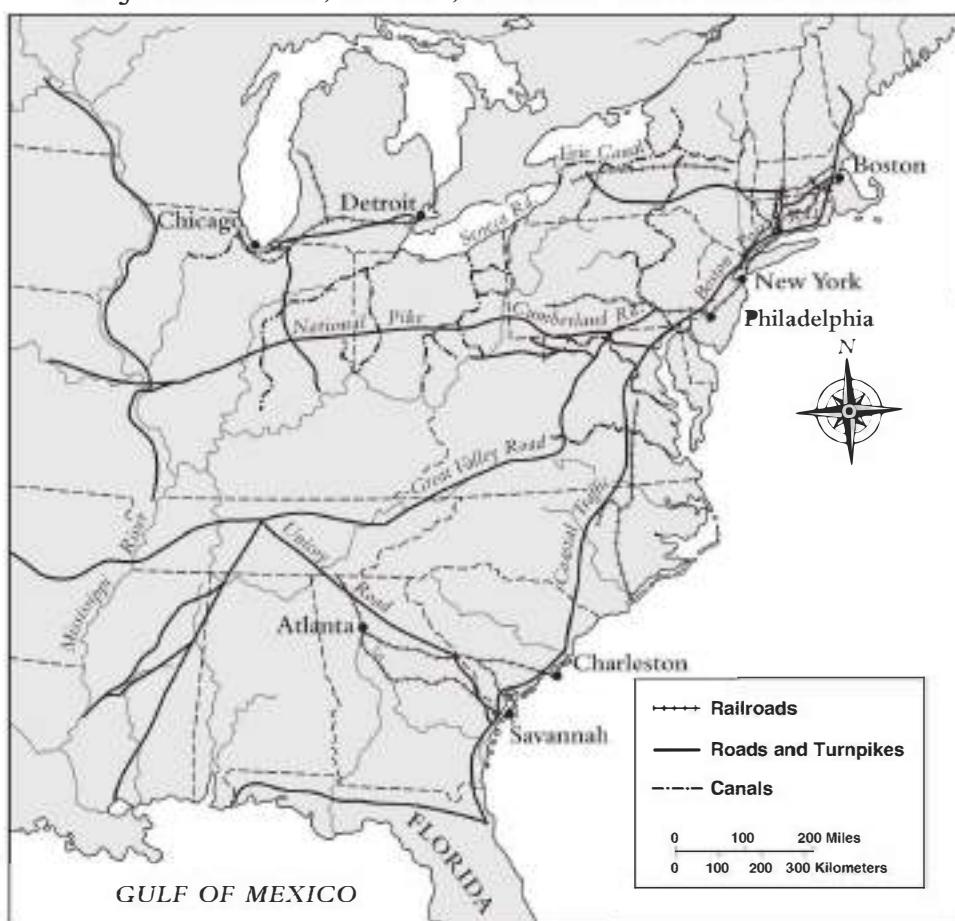
Mechanical Inventions Protected by patent laws, inventors looked forward to handsome rewards if their ideas for new tools or machines proved practical. Eli Whitney was only the most famous of hundreds of Americans whose long hours of tinkering in their workshops resulted in improved

technology. Besides inventing the cotton gin in 1793, Whitney devised a system for making rifles out of interchangeable parts during the War of 1812. Interchangeable parts then became the basis for mass production methods in the new northern factories.

Corporations for Raising Capital In 1811, New York passed a law that made it easier for a business to incorporate and raise capital (money) by selling shares of stock. Other states soon imitated New York's example. Owners of a corporation risked only the amount of money that they invested in a venture. Changes in state corporation laws facilitated the raising of the large sums of capital necessary for building factories, canals, and railroads.

Factory System When Samuel Slater emigrated from Britain, he took with him the British secrets for building cotton-spinning machines, and he put this knowledge to work by helping establish the first U.S. factory in 1791. Early in the next century, the embargo and the War of 1812 stimulated domestic manufacturing, and the protective tariffs enacted by Congress helped the new factories prosper.

MAJOR CANALS, ROADS, AND RAILROADS 1820–1850



In the 1820s, New England emerged as the country's leading manufacturing center as a result of the region's abundant waterpower for driving the new machinery and excellent seaports for shipping goods. Also, the decline of New England's maritime industry made capital available for manufacturing, while the decline of farming in the region yielded a ready labor supply. Other northern states with similar resources and problems—New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania—followed New England's lead. As the factory system expanded, it encouraged the growth of financial businesses such as banking and insurance.

Labor At first, factory owners had difficulty finding workers for their mills. Factory life could not compete with the lure of cheap land in the West. In response to this difficulty, textile mills in Lowell, Massachusetts, recruited young farm women and housed them in company dormitories. In the 1830s, other factories imitated the Lowell System. Many factories also made extensive use of child labor. (Children as young as seven left home to work in the new factories.) Toward the middle of the century northern manufacturers began to employ immigrants in large numbers.

Unions Trade (or craft) unions were organized in major cities as early as the 1790s and increased in number as the factory system took hold. Many skilled workers (shoemakers and weavers, for example) had to seek employment in factories because their earlier practice of working in their own shops (the crafts system) could no longer compete with lower-priced, mass-produced goods. Long hours, low pay, and poor working conditions led to widespread discontent among factory workers. A prime goal of the early unions was to reduce the workday to ten hours. The obstacles to union success, however, were many: (1) immigrant replacement workers, (2) state laws outlawing unions, and (3) frequent economic depressions with high unemployment.

Commercial Agriculture

In the early 1800s, farming became more of a commercial enterprise and less a means of providing subsistence for the family. This change to cash crops was brought about by a blend of factors.

Cheap Land and Easy Credit Large areas of western land were made available at low prices by the federal government. State banks also made it easy to acquire land by providing farmers with loans at low interest rates.

Markets Initially, western farmers were limited to sending their products down the Ohio and Mississippi rivers to southern markets. The advent of canals and railroads opened new markets in the growing factory cities in the East.

Cotton and the South

Throughout the 19th century, the principal cash crop in the South was cotton. Eli Whitney's invention of the cotton gin in 1793 transformed the agriculture of an entire region. Now that they could easily separate the cotton fiber from the seeds, southern planters found cotton more profitable than tobacco and indigo, the leading crops of the colonial period. They invested their capital in the purchase of slaves and new land in Alabama and Mississippi and shipped most of their cotton crop overseas for sale to British textile factories.

Effects of the Market Revolution

Specialization on the farm, the growth of cities, industrialization, and the development of modern capitalism meant the end of self-sufficient households and a growing interdependence among people. These changes combined to bring about a revolution in the marketplace. The farmers fed the workers in the cities, who in turn provided farm families with an array of mass-produced goods. For most Americans, the standard of living increased. At the same time, however, adapting to an impersonal, fast-changing economy presented challenges and problems.

Women As American society became more urban and industrialized, the nature of work and family life changed for women, many of whom no longer worked next to their husbands on family farms. Women seeking employment in a city were usually limited to two choices: domestic service or teaching. Factory jobs, as in the Lowell System, were not common. The overwhelming majority of working women were single. If they married, they left their jobs and took up duties in the home.

In both urban and rural settings, women were gaining relatively more control over their lives. Marriages arranged by one's parents were less common, and some women elected to have fewer children. Nevertheless, legal restrictions on women remained. For example, they could not vote.

Economic and Social Mobility Real wages improved for most urban workers in the early 1800s, but the gap between the very wealthy and the very poor increased. Social mobility (moving upward in income level and social status) did occur from one generation to the next, and economic opportunities in the United States were greater than in Europe. Extreme examples of poor, hard-working people becoming millionaires, however, were rare.

Slavery At the outset of the 19th century, many people throughout the nation believed and hoped that slavery would gradually disappear. They thought that the exhaustion of soil in the coastal lands of Virginia and the Carolinas and the constitutional ban on the importation of slaves after 1808 would make slavery economically unfeasible. However, the rapid growth of the cotton industry and the expansion of slavery into new states such as Alabama and Mississippi ended hopes for a quiet end to slavery. As the arguments over the Missouri Compromise suggested, the slavery issue defied easy answers.

Population of Enslaved African Americans			
	1800	1830	1860
New York	20,613	75	0
Maryland	106,635	102,994	87,189
Virginia	346,671	469,767	490,865
Georgia	59,699	217,531	462,198
Alabama	----	117,549	435,080
Mississippi	----	65,659	436,631
Arkansas	----	4,576	111,115
All States	893,605	2,009,043	3,953,760

Source: State-level data from Historical Census Browser from the University of Virginia, Geospatial and Statistical Data Center. Data drawn from the U.S. Census

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES: WHAT LED TO THE MONROE DOCTRINE?

The Monroe Doctrine is an example of where historians agree on the basic facts—the words of the document and the events that led up to it—but disagree on the interpretation of them. They disagree on (1) who was chiefly responsible for the Monroe Doctrine, (2) what its primary purpose was, and (3) the extent to which it was influenced by British diplomacy.

Some historians argue that the original inspiration for the doctrine came from Thomas Jefferson, while others attribute the astute thinking of Secretary of State John Quincy Adams. Those crediting Jefferson with the policy of nonintervention in the Western Hemisphere point to his idea of the political world falling into “two spheres,” one European and the other American. Those stressing the key role played by John Quincy Adams argue that Adams (1) had consistently opposed further colonization by a European power and (2) had written the original draft of Monroe’s message to Congress containing the doctrine. Other historians say that, regardless of the roots of the doctrine, Monroe himself deserves the real credit for having made the policy choice and issuing the doctrine.

A second area of contention concerns the real purpose behind the doctrine. Was it aimed primarily, as some historians argue, at stopping the territorial ambitions of Spain, France, and Russia? In the early 1820s, France was threatening to reconquer Spanish colonies in South America, and Russia was advancing southward from Alaska toward the California coast. A contrary view is that Monroe and Adams were chiefly concerned

continued ▶

about sending a message to Great Britain. Not only was Britain the dominant seapower in 1823, but it was also regarded with suspicion as a traditional foe of American liberty.

A third question revolves around the role of British Foreign Secretary George Canning, whose suggestion for a joint Anglo-U.S. communiqué against the restoration of the Spanish colonies precipitated President Monroe's declaration. Historians disagree about Canning's motivation for suggesting the communiqué. Was he more concerned with protecting British political interests by attempting to block a European alliance? Or was he chiefly concerned with cultivating U.S.-British economic cooperation so as to lower U.S. tariff barriers and promote British trading interests?

Historians also disagree on the impact of the Monroe Doctrine. They take conflicting positions on Latin Americans' perception of U.S. policy and on the influence of the doctrine on U.S. policy in the second half of the 20th century. Amassing facts is just the start of a historian's task. Equally important is applying critical thought and analysis.

KEY TERMS BY THEME

Public Confidence (NAT) Era of Good Feelings sectionalism James Monroe cultural nationalism economic nationalism	Erie Canal Robert Fulton; steamboats railroads Eli Whitney; inter- changeable parts corporations Samuel Slater factory system Lowell System; textile mills industrialization specialization unions cotton gin market revolution	Making the Law (POL) John Marshall <i>Fletcher v. Peck</i> <i>McCulloch v. Maryland</i> <i>Dartmouth College v. Woodward</i> <i>Gibbons v. Ogden</i> implied powers Tallmadge Amendment Missouri Compromise (1820)
Industry (WXT) Tariff of 1816 protective tariff Henry Clay; American System Second Bank of the United States Panic of 1819 Lancaster Turnpike National (Cumberland) Road		Foreign Affairs (WOR) Stephen Decatur Rush-Bagot Agree- ment (1817) Treaty of 1818 Andrew Jackson Florida Purchase Treaty (1819) Monroe Doctrine (1823)

MULTIPLE-CHOICE QUESTIONS

Questions 1–3 refer to the excerpt below.

“The only encouragements we hold out to strangers are a good climate, fertile soil, wholesome air and water, plenty of provisions, good pay for labor, kind neighbors, good laws, a free government, and a hearty welcome. The rest depends on a man’s own industry and virtue.”

“If a European has previously resolved to go to the western country near the Allegheny or Ohio rivers, . . . a few day journey will bring him to Cumberland . . . from whence the public road begun by the United States, crosses the mountains. . . .

“You will, however, observe that the privilege of citizenship is not granted without proper precautions; to secure that, while the worthy are admitted, the unworthy should, if practicable, be rejected. You will from hence deduce the importance of good moral habits, even to the acquisition of political rights.”

—Clements Burleigh, Shamrock Society of New York,
“Advice to Emigrants to America,” 1817

1. Which phrase by Burleigh best addresses the motives of the largest number of immigrants coming to the United States during the years from 1816 to 1848?
 - (A) “a good climate”
 - (B) “good pay for labor”
 - (C) “kind neighbors”
 - (D) “a hearty welcome”
2. In the two decades following Burleigh’s comments, the portions of the United States most affected by immigration were the
 - (A) rural areas in the Northeast
 - (B) states with large plantations
 - (C) lands west of the Appalachian Mountains
 - (D) cities in territories that were not yet states
3. Which of the following reinforced the message that Burleigh was sending to people who wanted to move to America?
 - (A) American System
 - (B) Industrialization
 - (C) Protective tariff
 - (D) Rush-Bagot Agreement

Questions 4–6 refer to the excerpt below.

“With the existing colonies or dependencies of any European power we have not interfered and shall not interfere. But with the governments who have declared their independence and maintained it, and whose independence we have acknowledged, we could not view any interposition for the purpose of oppressing them, or controlling . . . by any European power in any other light than as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition toward the United States. . . .

“Our policy in regard to Europe . . . which is not to interfere in the internal concerns of any of its powers . . . but in regard to those continents [the Americas], circumstances are eminently and conspicuously different. It is impossible that the allied powers should extend their political system to any portion of either continent without endangering our peace and happiness; nor can anyone believe that our southern brethren if left to themselves, would adopt it of their own accord.”

—James Monroe, The Monroe Doctrine, 1823

4. Who of the following provided the strongest influence on President Monroe in the writing of the Monroe Doctrine?
 - (A) George Washington
 - (B) John Adams
 - (C) Thomas Jefferson
 - (D) John Quincy Adams
5. Monroe counted on which of the following European nations to be an ally if any nation challenged the Monroe Doctrine?
 - (A) Britain, because it opposed the strengthening of its European rivals
 - (B) France, because it was frequently an ally of the United States
 - (C) Russia, because it feared the resurgence of a powerful France
 - (D) Spain, because it had long-standing claims in the Americas
6. Which best explains why the American people were so supportive of the Monroe Doctrine?
 - (A) Nationalism
 - (B) Sectionalism
 - (C) States’ rights
 - (D) Dislike of Britain

Questions 7–8 refer to the chart below.

Vote in the U.S. House of Representatives on a Bill to Fund Internal Improvements, 1824		
Region	For	Against
New England	12	26
Middle States	37	26
West	43	0
South	23	34
Total	115	86

Source: Jeffrey B. Morris and Richard B. Morris, editors.
Encyclopedia of American History

7. Based on the voting patterns shown in the chart, support for federal funding for internal improvements was strongest in
 - (A) agricultural regions
 - (B) undeveloped regions
 - (C) regions where slavery was strong
 - (D) regions where the Federalist party had been strong
8. Support for the bill would have been consistent with support for which of the following?
 - (A) American System
 - (B) Cultural nationalism
 - (C) Specialization
 - (D) Factory system

SHORT-ANSWER QUESTIONS

Use complete sentences; an outline or bulleted list alone is not acceptable.

Question 1. Answer a, b, and c.

- a) Choose ONE of the choices below, and explain how your choice had an impact on the industrial growth during this period from prior to the War of 1812 to the middle of the 19th century.”
 - factory system
 - inventions
 - labor unions
- b) Contrast your choice against one of the other options, demonstrating why that option is not as good as your choice.
- c) Briefly explain whether there were any variations in industrial growth in different sections of the country.

Question 2. Answer a, b, and c.

- a) Briefly explain ONE of the parts of Henry Clay’s proposed American System, a comprehensive plan to bring about economic improvement. Provide at least ONE piece of evidence to support your explanation.
 - protective tariffs
 - National Bank
 - internal improvements
- b) Briefly explain a criticism of ONE of the parts of Clay’s plan cited above.
- c) Identify and briefly explain the role played by ONE individual or group that was critical of one of the parts or the entire plan for an American System.

Question 3 is based on the following excerpts.

“Congress possesses the power of making the exclusion of slavery a part or condition of the act of admitting a new state into the Union. . . . The existence of slavery impairs the industry and the power of a nation; and it does so in proportion to the multiplication of its slaves. . . .

“If her laborers are slaves, Missouri may be able to pay money taxes, but will be unable to raise soldiers or to recruit seamen; and experience seems to have proved that manufacturers do not prosper where the artificers are slaves. . . .

“If Missouri, and the other states that may be formed west of the River Mississippi, are permitted to . . . establish slavery, the repose, if not security of the Union may be endangered . . . if slavery be excluded from Missouri . . . not only will the slave markets be broken up, and the principles of freedom be extended.”

—Senator Rufus King, Speech to the U.S. Senate on the Expansion of Slavery, 1819

“It were charity to hope that the motives which have dictated the late attempt to introduce restrictions into the constitution of Missouri were as praiseworthy as they affect to be. . . .

“Shall we adopt the barbarous principles of affected benevolence in imposing a check on the increase of black population by excluding them from an emigration to a country more salubrious and fertile than they now inhabit. . . .

“It behooves us to contest at the threshold a pretension which violates the compact of the states; which sets at nought the great principle of self-government; which will prove an apple of discord among the sisters of this confederacy, and threaten to subvert our free and happy Constitution by a deadly blow at the rights of a part of the nation, and a destruction of the harmony and tranquility of the whole.”

—Anonymous, *The Richmond Inquirer*, 1819

3. Using the excerpts, answer a, b, and c.

- a) Briefly explain the main point of Excerpt 1.
- b) Briefly explain the main point of Excerpt 2.
- c) Provide ONE piece of evidence from the early 19th century period that is not included in the excerpts and explain how it supports the interpretation in either excerpt.

Question 4 is based on the following excerpt.

“The Accounts . . . given . . . of the depredations committed by bankers will make you suppose that affairs are much deranged here. . . .

“The money in circulation is puzzling to traders, and more particularly to strangers; for besides the multiplicity of banks, and the diversity in supposed value, fluctuations are so frequent and so great that no man who holds it in his possession can be safe for a day. . . . “Trade is stagnated, produce cheap, and merchants find It difficult to lay in assortments of foreign manufactures. . . . Agriculture languishes—farmers cannot find profit in hiring laborers. . . . Laborers and mechanics are in want of employment. . . . The operations of bankers and the recent decline in trade have been effective causes of poverty.”

—James Flint, visitor from Scotland, *Flint’s Letters from America*,
May 4, 1820

4. Using the excerpt, answer a, b, and c.

- a) Briefly explain how ONE of the following was affected by the Panic described in the excerpt.
 - nationalism
 - Era of Good Feelings
 - the West
- b) Briefly explain how ONE of the following was popularly considered the primary cause of the Panic described in the excerpt.
 - Second Bank
 - land speculation
 - inflation
- c) Briefly explain ONE action recommended in response to the cause of the Panic you identified in response to Part B of the question.

THINK AS A HISTORIAN: QUESTIONS ABOUT INTERPRETATION

Which TWO of these questions asks for an essay that emphasizes the forces shaping how historians interpret the past?

1. Explain why two historians might disagree about the federal government’s role in economic changes between 1816 and 1824.
2. Describe two ways historians have viewed the Monroe Doctrine’s purpose.
3. Analyze why the Era of Good Feelings ended so quickly

SECTIONALISM, 1820–1860

The East, the West, the North, and the stormy South all combine to throw the whole ocean into commotion, to toss its billows to the skies, and to disclose its profoundest depths.

Daniel Webster, March 7, 1850

In 1826, Americans took great pride in celebrating 50 years of independence. A unique political system based on a written Constitution had proven practical and flexible enough to permit territorial growth and industrial change. The United States had both a central government and a collection of self-governing states. However, many citizens resisted giving up powers to a national government and the first two political parties, the Federalists and the Democratic-Republicans, had expressed strong regional differences. In short, although the United States was young and vibrant in the 1820s, it was still a fragile union.

The previous chapter treated the nation as a whole in the early 1800s; this chapter looks at the differences among the three sections—North, South, and West. Daniel Webster, in the opening quotation of this chapter, rhetorically refers to these three sections in terms of the four main points of the compass as he attempts to portray the dangers these divisions hold for the nation. By examining sectional differences, we can better understand the sectionalism (loyalty to a particular region) that ultimately led to the Union’s worst crisis: civil war between the North and the South in the early 1860s.

The North

The northern portion of the country in the early 19th century contained two parts: (1) the Northeast, which included New England and the Middle Atlantic states, and (2) the Old Northwest, which stretched from Ohio to Minnesota. The northern states were bound together by transportation routes and rapid economic growth based on commercial farming and industrial innovation. While manufacturing was expanding, the vast majority of northerners were still involved in agriculture. The North was the most populous section in the country as a result of both a high birthrate and increased immigration.

The Industrial Northeast

Originally, the Industrial Revolution centered in the textile industry, but by the 1830s, northern factories were producing a wide range of goods—everything from farm implements to clocks and shoes.

Organized Labor Industrial development meant that large numbers of people who had once earned their living as independent farmers and artisans became dependent on wages earned in a factory. With the common problems of low pay, long hours, and unsafe working conditions, urban workers in different cities organized both unions and local political parties to protect their interests. The first U.S. labor party, founded in Philadelphia in 1828, succeeded in electing a few members of the city council. For a brief period in the 1830s, an increasing number of urban workers joined unions and participated in strikes.

Organized labor achieved one notable victory in 1842 when the Massachusetts Supreme Court ruled in *Commonwealth v. Hunt* that “peaceful unions” had the right to negotiate labor contracts with employers. During the 1840s and 1850s, most state legislatures in the North passed laws establishing a ten-hour workday for industrial workers. Improvement for workers, however, continued to be limited by (1) periodic depressions, (2) employers and courts that were hostile to unions, and (3) an abundant supply of cheap immigrant labor.

Urban Life The North’s urban population grew from approximately 5 percent of the population in 1800 to 15 percent by 1850. As a result of such rapid growth in cities from Boston to Baltimore, slums also expanded. Crowded housing, poor sanitation, infectious diseases, and high rates of crime soon became characteristic of large working-class neighborhoods. Nevertheless, the new opportunities in cities offered by the Industrial Revolution continued to attract both native-born Americans from farms and immigrants from Europe.

U.S. Manufacturing by Region, 1860			
Region	Number of Establishments	Number of Employees	Value of Product
North Atlantic	69,831	900,107	\$1,213,897,518
Old Northwest	33,335	188,651	\$346,675,290
South	27,779	166,803	\$248,090,580
West	8,777	50,204	\$71,229,989

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census. *Manufactures of the United States in 1860*

African Americans The 250,000 African Americans who lived in the North in 1860 constituted only 1 percent of northerners. However, they represented 50 percent of all free African Americans. Freedom may have meant they could maintain a family and in some instances own land, but it did not mean economic or political equality, since strong racial prejudices kept them from voting and holding jobs in most skilled professions and crafts. In the mid-1800s, immigrants displaced them from occupations and jobs that they had held since the time of the Revolution. Denied membership in unions, African Americans were often hired as strikebreakers—and often dismissed after the strike ended.

The Agricultural Northwest

The Old Northwest consisted of six states west of the Alleghenies that were admitted to the Union before 1860: Ohio (1803), Indiana (1816), Illinois (1818), Michigan (1837), Wisconsin (1848), and Minnesota (1858). These states came from territories formed out of land ceded to the national government in the 1780s by one of the original 13 states. The procedure for turning these territories into states was part of the Northwest Ordinance, passed by Congress in 1787.

In the early years of the 19th century, much of the Old Northwest was unsettled frontier, and the part of it that was settled relied upon the Mississippi to transport grain to southern markets via New Orleans. By mid-century, however, this region became closely tied to the other northern states by two factors: (1) military campaigns by federal troops that drove American Indians from the land and (2) the building of canals and railroads that established common markets between the Great Lakes and the East Coast.

Agriculture In the states of the Old Northwest, crops of corn and wheat were very profitable. Using the newly invented steel plow (by John Deere) and mechanical reaper (by Cyrus McCormick), a farm family was more efficient and could plant more acres, needing to supplement its labor only with a few hired workers at harvest time. Part of the crop was used to feed cattle and hogs and also to supply distillers and brewers with grain for making whiskey and beer. Farmers shipped grain quickly to cities to avoid spoilage.

New Cities At key transportation points, small villages and towns grew into thriving cities after 1820: Buffalo, Cleveland, Detroit, and Chicago on the Great Lakes, Cincinnati on the Ohio River, and St. Louis on the Mississippi River. The cities served as transfer points, processing farm products for shipment to the East, and distributing manufactured goods from the East to their region.

Immigration

In 1820, about 8,000 immigrants arrived from Europe, but beginning in 1832, there was a sudden increase. After that year, the number of new arrivals never fell below 50,000 a year and in one year, 1854, climbed as high as 428,000. From the 1830s through the 1850s, nearly 4 million people from northern Europe crossed the Atlantic to seek a new life in the United States. Arriving by ship in the northern seacoast cities of Boston, New York, and Philadelphia, many immigrants remained where they landed, while others traveled to farms and cities of

the Old Northwest. Few journeyed to the South, where the plantation economy and slavery limited the opportunities for free labor.

The surge in immigration between 1830 and 1860 was chiefly the result of: (1) the development of inexpensive and relatively rapid ocean transportation, (2) famines and revolutions in Europe that drove people from their homelands, and (3) the growing reputation of the United States as a country offering economic opportunities and political freedom. The immigrants strengthened the U.S. economy by providing both a steady stream of inexpensive labor and an increased demand for mass-produced consumer goods.

Irish During this period, half of all the immigrants—almost 2 million—came from Ireland. These Irish immigrants were mostly tenant farmers driven from their homeland by potato crop failures and a devastating famine in the 1840s. They arrived with limited interest in farming, few special skills, and little money. They faced strong discrimination because of their Roman Catholic religion. The Irish worked hard at whatever employment they could find, usually competing with African Americans for domestic work and unskilled laborer jobs. Faced with limited opportunities, they congregated for mutual support in the northern cities (Boston, Philadelphia, and New York) where they had first landed. Many Irish entered local politics. They organized their fellow immigrants and joined the Democratic party, which had long traditions of anti-British feelings and support for workers. Their progress was difficult but steady. For example, the Irish were initially excluded from joining New York City's Democratic organization, Tammany Hall. But by the 1850s they had secured jobs and influence, and by the 1880s they controlled this party organization.

Germans Both economic hardships and the failure of democratic revolutions in 1848 caused more than 1 million Germans to seek refuge in the United States in the late 1840s and the 1850s. Most German immigrants had at least modest means as well as considerable skills as farmers and artisans. Moving westward in search of cheap, fertile farmland, they established homesteads throughout the Old Northwest and generally prospered. At first their political influence was limited. As they became more active in public life, many strongly supported public education and staunchly opposed slavery.

Nativists Many native-born Americans were alarmed by the influx of immigrants, fearing that the newcomers would take their jobs and also subvert (weaken) the culture of the Anglo majority. The nativists (those reacting most strongly against the foreigners) were Protestants who distrusted the Roman Catholicism practiced by the Irish and many of the Germans. In the 1840s, opposition to immigrants led to sporadic rioting in the big cities and the organization of a secret antiforeign society, the Supreme Order of the Star-Spangled Banner. This society turned to politics in the early 1850s, nominating candidates for office as the American party, or Know-Nothing party (see Chapter 13).

Antiforeign feeling faded in importance as North and South divided over slavery prior to the Civil War. However, nativism would periodically return when enough native-born citizens felt threatened by a sudden increase in immigration.

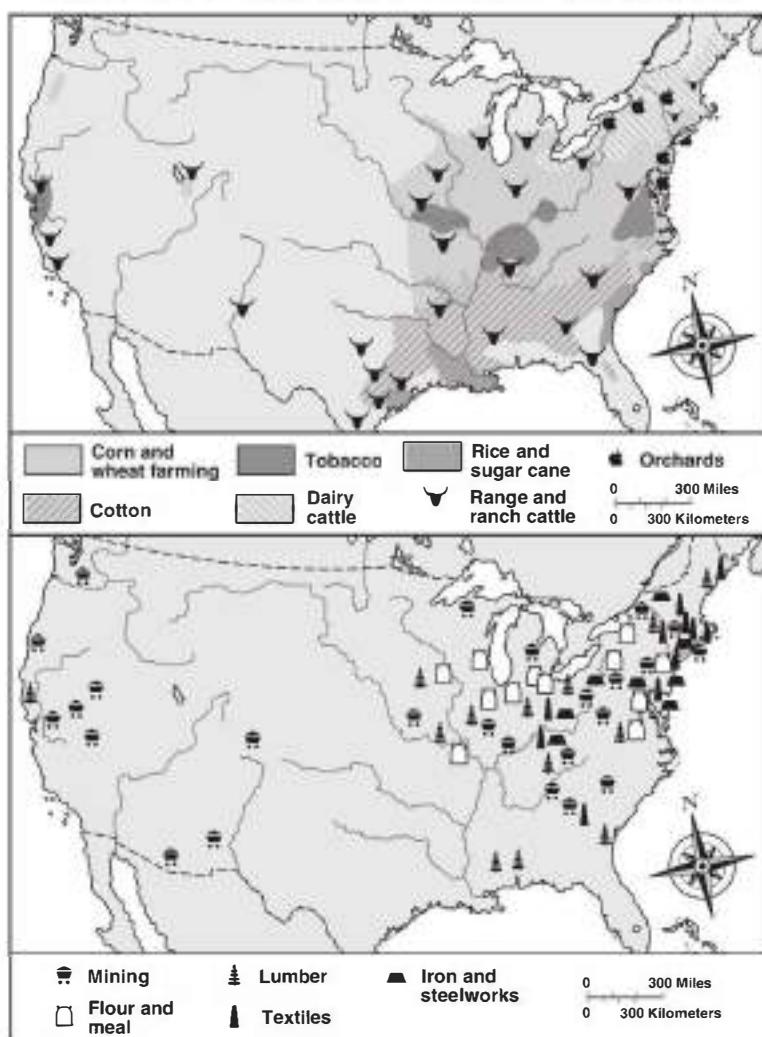
The South

The states that permitted slavery formed a distinctive region, the South. By 1861, the region included 15 states, all but four of which (Delaware, Maryland, Kentucky, and Missouri) seceded and joined the Confederacy.

Agriculture and King Cotton

Agriculture was the foundation of the South's economy, even though by the 1850s small factories in the region were producing approximately 15 percent of the nation's manufactured goods. Tobacco, rice, and sugarcane were important cash crops, but these were far exceeded by the South's chief economic activity: the production and sale of cotton.

AGRICULTURE, MINING, AND
MANUFACTURING BEFORE THE CIVIL WAR



The development of mechanized textile mills in England, coupled with Eli Whitney's cotton gin, made cotton cloth affordable, not just in Europe and the United States, but throughout the world. Before 1860, the world depended chiefly on Britain's mills for its supply of cloth, and Britain in turn depended chiefly on the American South for its supply of cotton fiber. Originally, the cotton was grown almost entirely in two states, South Carolina and Georgia, but as demand and profits increased, planters moved westward into Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Texas. New land was constantly needed, for the high cotton yields required for profits quickly depleted the soil. By the 1850s, cotton provided two-thirds of all U.S. exports and linked the South and Great Britain. "Cotton is king," said one southerner of his region's greatest asset.

Slavery, the "Peculiar Institution"

Wealth in the South was measured in terms of land and slaves. The latter were treated as a form of property, subject to being bought and sold. However, some whites were sensitive about how they treated the other humans that they referred to slavery as "that peculiar institution." In colonial times, people justified slavery as an economic necessity, but in the 19th century, apologists for slavery mustered historical and religious arguments to support their claim that it was good for both slave and master.

Population The cotton boom was largely responsible for a fourfold increase in the number of slaves, from 1 million in 1800 to nearly 4 million in 1860. Most of the increase came from natural growth, although thousands of Africans were also smuggled into the South in violation of the 1808 law against importing slaves. In parts of the Deep South, slaves made up as much as 75 percent of the total population. Fearing slave revolts, southern legislatures added increased restrictions on movement and education to their slave codes.

Economics Slaves were employed doing whatever their owners demanded of them. Most slaves labored in the fields, but many learned skilled crafts or worked as house servants, in factories, and on construction gangs. Because of the greater profits to be made on the new cotton plantations in the West, many slaves were sold from the Upper South to the cotton-rich Deep South of the lower Mississippi Valley. By 1860, the value of a field slave had risen to almost \$2,000. One result of the heavy capital investment in slaves was that the South had much less capital than the North to undertake industrialization.

Slave Life Conditions of slavery varied from one plantation to the next. Some slaves were humanely treated, while others were routinely beaten. All suffered from being deprived of their freedom. Families could be separated at any time by an owner's decision to sell a wife, a husband, or a child. Women were vulnerable to sexual exploitation. Despite the hard, nearly hopeless circumstances of their lives, enslaved African Americans maintained a strong sense of family and of religious faith.

United States Labor Force, 1800–1860 (in millions)			
Year	Free	Slave	Total
1800	1.4	0.5	1.9
1810	1.6	0.7	2.3
1820	2.1	1.0	3.1
1830	3.0	1.2	4.2
1840	4.2	1.5	5.7
1850	6.3	2.0	8.3
1860	8.8	2.3	11.1

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census. *Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1970*

Resistance Slaves contested their status through a range of actions, primarily work slowdowns, sabotage, and escape. In addition, there were a few major slave uprisings. One was led by Denmark Vesey in 1822 and another by Nat Turner in 1831. The revolts were quickly and violently suppressed, but even so, they had a lasting impact. They gave hope to enslaved African Americans, drove southern states to tighten already strict slave codes, and demonstrated to many the evils of slavery. Revolts polarized the country by making slaveholders more defensive about slavery and nonslaveholders more critical of the institution.

Free African Americans

By 1860, as many as 250,000 African Americans in the South were not slaves. They were free citizens (even though, as in the North, racial prejudice restricted their liberties). A number of slaves had been emancipated during the American Revolution. Some were mulatto children whose white fathers had decided to liberate them. Others achieved freedom on their own, when permitted, through self-purchase—if they were fortunate enough to have been paid wages for extra work, usually as skilled craftspeople.

Most of the free southern blacks lived in cities where they could own property. By state law, they were not equal with whites, were not permitted to vote, and were barred from entering certain occupations. Constantly in danger of being kidnapped by slave traders, they had to show legal papers proving their free status. They remained in the South for various reasons. Some wanted to be near family members who were still in bondage; others believed the South to be home and the North to offer no greater opportunities.

White Society

Southern whites observed a rigid hierarchy among themselves. Aristocratic planters lived comfortably at the top of society while poor farmers and mountain people struggled at the bottom.

Aristocracy Members of the South's small elite of wealthy planters owned at least 100 slaves and at least 1,000 acres. The planter aristocracy maintained its power by dominating the state legislatures of the South and enacting laws that favored the large landholders' economic interests.

Farmers The vast majority of slaveholders owned fewer than 20 slaves and worked only several hundred acres. Southern white farmers produced the bulk of the cotton crop, worked in the fields with their slaves, and lived as modestly as farmers of the North.

Poor Whites Three-fourths of the South's white population owned no slaves. They could not afford the rich river-bottom farmland controlled by the planters, and many lived in the hills as subsistence farmers. These "hillbillies" or "poor white trash," as they were derisively called by the planters, defended the slave system, thinking that some day they too could own slaves and that at least they were superior on the social scale to someone (slaves).

Mountain People A number of small farmers lived in frontier conditions in isolation from the rest of the South, along the slopes and valleys of the Appalachian and Ozark mountains. The mountain people disliked the planters and their slaves. During the Civil War, many (including a future president, Andrew Johnson of Tennessee) would remain loyal to the Union.

Cities Because the South was primarily an agricultural region, there was only a limited need for major cities. New Orleans was the only southern city among the nation's 15 largest in 1860 (it was fifth, after New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Boston). Cities such as Atlanta, Charleston, Chattanooga, and Richmond were important trading centers, but had relatively small populations in comparison to those of the North.

Southern Thought

The South developed a unique culture and outlook on life. As cotton became the basis of its economy, slavery became the focus of its political thought. White southerners felt increasingly isolated and defensive about slavery, as northerners grew hostile toward it, and as Great Britain, France, and other European nations outlawed it altogether.

Code of Chivalry Dominated by the aristocratic planter class, the agricultural South was largely a feudal society. Southern gentlemen ascribed to a code of chivalrous conduct, which included a strong sense of personal honor, the defense of womanhood, and paternalistic attitudes toward all who were deemed inferior, especially slaves.

Education The upper class valued a college education for their children. Acceptable professions for gentlemen were limited to farming, law, the ministry, and the military. For the lower classes, schooling beyond the early elementary grades was generally not available. To reduce the risk of slave revolts, slaves were strictly prohibited by law from receiving any instruction in reading and writing.

Religion The slavery question affected church membership. Partly because they preached biblical support for slavery, both Methodist and Baptist churches gained in membership in the South while splitting in the 1840s with their northern brethren. The Unitarians, who challenged slavery, faced declining membership and hostility. Catholics and Episcopalians took a neutral stand on slavery, and their numbers declined in the South.

The West

As the United States expanded westward, the definition of the “West” kept changing. In the 1600s, the West referred to all the lands not along the Atlantic Coast. In the 1700s, the West meant lands on the other side of the Appalachian Mountains. By the mid-1800s, the West lay beyond the Mississippi River and reached to California and the Oregon Territory on the Pacific Coast.

American Indians

The original settlers of the West—and the entire North American continent—were various groups of American Indians. However, from the time of Columbus, American Indians were cajoled, pushed, or driven westward as white settlers encroached on their original homelands.

Exodus By 1850, the vast majority of American Indians were living west of the Mississippi River. Those to the east had either been killed by disease, died in battles, emigrated reluctantly, or been forced to leave their land by treaty or military action. The Great Plains, however, would provide only a temporary respite from conflict with white settlers.

Life on the Plains Horses, brought to America by the Spanish in the 1500s, revolutionized life for American Indians on the Great Plains. Some tribes continued to live in villages and farm, but the horse allowed tribes such as the Cheyenne and the Sioux to become nomadic hunters following the buffalo. Those living a nomadic way of life could more easily move away from advancing settlers or oppose their encroachments by force.

The Frontier

Although the location of the western frontier constantly shifted, the *concept* of the frontier remained the same from generation to generation. The same forces that had brought the original colonists to the Americas motivated their descendants and new immigrants to move westward. In the public imagination, the West represented the possibility of a fresh start for those willing to venture there. If not in fact, at least in theory and myth, the West beckoned as a place promising greater freedom for all ethnic groups: American Indians, African Americans, European Americans, and eventually Asian Americans as well.

Mountain Men From the point of view of white Americans, the Rocky Mountains in the 1820s were a far-distant frontier—a total wilderness except for American Indian villages. The earliest whites in the area had followed Lewis and Clark and explored American Indian trails as they trapped for furs.

These mountain men, as they were called, served as the guides and pathfinders for settlers crossing the mountains into California and Oregon in the 1840s. (See Chapter 12.)

White Settlers on the Western Frontier

Whether the frontier lay in Minnesota or Oregon or California in the 1840s and 1850s, daily life for white settlers was similar to that of the early colonists. They worked hard from sunrise to sunset and lived in log cabins, sod huts, or other improvised shelters. Disease and malnutrition were far greater dangers than attacks by American Indians.

Women Often living many miles from the nearest neighbor, pioneer women performed myriad daily tasks, including those of doctor, teacher, seamstress, and cook—as well as chief assistant in the fields to their farmer-husbands. The isolation, endless work, and rigors of childbirth resulted in a short lifespan for frontier women.

Environmental Damage Settlers had little understanding of the fragile nature of land and wildlife. As settlers moved into an area, they would clear entire forests and after only two generations exhaust the soil with poor farming methods. At the same time, trappers and hunters brought the beaver and the buffalo to the brink of extinction.

Population by Region, 1820 to 1860			
Region	1820	1840	1860
Northeast: Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania	4,360,000	6,761,000	10,594,000
North Central: Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Iowa, Missouri, North Dakota, South Dakota, Nebraska, Kansas	859,000	3,352,000	9,097,000
South: Delaware, Maryland, Washington DC, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, Arkansas, Louisiana, Oklahoma, Texas	4,419,000	6,951,000	11,133,000
West: Colorado, New Mexico, Nevada, Utah, Washington, Oregon, California	-----	-----	619,000
All States	9,618,000	17,120,000	31,513,000

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census. *Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1970*. All figures rounded to the nearest thousand.

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES: WHAT WAS THE NATURE OF SLAVERY?

Slavery was of fundamental importance in defining both the character of the South and its differences with the North. Until about 1950, the prevailing scholarship on slavery followed Ulrich Phillips' *American Negro Slavery* (1918). Phillips portrayed slavery as an economically failing institution in which the paternalistic owners were civilizing the inferior but contented African Americans. Later historians challenged Phillips' thesis by showing slaves and owners to be in continual conflict. Today the older view of slavery as a paternalistic and even benign institution has been discredited.

The newer views were summarized by Kenneth Stampp in *The Peculiar Institution: Slavery in the Ante-Bellum South* (1956). Stampp acknowledged that the civil rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s stimulated many of the new interpretations: "There is a strange paradox in the historian's involvement with both present and past, for his knowledge of the present is clearly a key to his understanding of the past."

Historians continue to debate how destructive slavery was. Some have argued that the oppressive and racist nature of slavery destroyed the culture and self-respect of the slaves and their descendants. In contrast, others have concluded that slaves managed to adapt and to overcome their hardships by developing a unique African American culture focused around religion and extended families.

Economics has also provided a focus for viewing the nature of slavery. Historians have debated whether slave labor was profitable to southern planters, as compared to using free labor. Unlike Phillips, many historians have demonstrated that slavery was generally profitable. A more complex analysis of the economics, social, and cultural nature of slavery is found in Eugene Genovese's *Roll, Jordan, Roll: The World the Slaves Made*. In this work, southern society is shown centered on a paternalism that gave rise to a unique social system with a clear hierarchy, in which people were classified according to their ability or their economic and social standing. For whites this paternalism meant control, while for slaves it provided the opportunity to develop and maintain their own culture, including family life, tradition, and religion.

Recently, historians have focused more on regional variations in slavery. For example, compared to slaves on South Carolina rice plantations, slaves on Virginia tobacco plantations lived longer lives, worked in smaller groups, and had more contact with whites. In South Carolina, slaves kept stronger ties to their African heritage.

The changing interpretations of slavery since the early 1900s reflect changing attitudes toward race and culture. While all interpretations do not seem equally accurate today, each provides readers a perspective to consider as they develop their own views.

KEY TERMS BY THEME

Identities & Conflict (NAT)

Northeast
Old Northwest
sectionalism
Nativists
American party
Supreme Order of the Star-Spangled Banner
Know-Nothing Party
Free African Americans
planters
Codes of Chivalry
poor whites
hillbillies
mountain men
the West
the frontier

Migration (NAT, MIG)

Deep South
American Indian removal
Great Plains
white settlers

Urban Growth (MIG)

urbanization
urban life
new cities
Irish; potato famine
Roman Catholic
Tammany Hall
Germans
Old Northwest
immigration

The Slave Industry (MIG/WXT)

King Cotton
Eli Whitney
“peculiar institution”
Denmark Vesey
Nat Turner
slave codes
Code of Chivalry

Industry & Problems (WXT)

Industrial Revolution
unions
Commonwealth v. Hunt
ten-hour workday
Cyrus McCormick
John Deere

Changing Politics (POL)

Daniel Webster
Tammany Hall

Ignorance (GEO)

environmental damage
extinction

MULTIPLE-CHOICE QUESTIONS

Questions 1–3 refer to the excerpt below.

“We, the journeyman mechanics of the city and county of Philadelphia . . . are serious of forming an association which shall avert as much as possible those evils which poverty and incessant toil have already inflicted. . . .

“If the masses of the people were enabled by their labor to procure for themselves and families a full and abundant supply of the comforts and conveniences of life, the consumption . . . would amount to at least twice the quantity it does at present, and of course the demand, by which alone employers are enabled either to subsist or accumulate, would likewise be increased in an equal proportion.

“The real object, therefore, of this association is to avert, if possible, the desolating evils which must inevitably arise from a depreciation of the intrinsic value of human labor; to raise the mechanical and productive classes to that condition of true independence and equality.”

—Philadelphia Mechanics’ Union of Trade Associations, 1828

1. One of the primary reasons to form a union during this period was to
 - (A) improve working conditions
 - (B) win a shorter work week
 - (C) prevent immigration
 - (D) show racial solidarity
2. Workers in the 1820s faced difficulty because of problems with
 - (A) transportation
 - (B) ethnic rivalries
 - (C) federal laws
 - (D) inventions
3. Urban workers such as the Philadelphia Mechanics’ Union of Trade Associations believed they could improve their conditions through labor unions and
 - (A) churches
 - (B) political parties
 - (C) ethnic societies
 - (D) courts

Questions 4–6 refer to the excerpt below.

“The gentleman . . . has been anxious to proclaim the death of native Americanism. Sir, it is a principle that can never die . . . Native Americanism seeks to defend every institution that exists under that glorious Constitution. . . .

“But we have been told that we belong to a party of “one idea.” . . . Our great object is to attain to unity of national character; and as necessary to that end, we embrace every measure and policy decidedly American . . . we go for everything American in contradistinction to everything foreign. That . . . may be called “one idea”; but it is a glorious idea. . . .

“No alien has a right to naturalization . . . To prevent this universal admission to citizenship, we frame naturalization laws, and prescribe forms that operate as a check upon the interference of foreigners in our institutions . . .

“We are now struggling for national character and national identity . . . We stand now on the very verge of overthrow by the impetuous force of invading foreigners.”

—Rep. Lewis C. Levin, Speech in Congress, December 18, 1845

4. Which of the following caused the movement described in the excerpt?
 - (A) War of 1812
 - (B) Immigration
 - (C) Importation of slaves
 - (D) Naturalization laws
5. The opposition to foreigners is most similar to the view that many had toward which of the following in America at this time?
 - (A) Free African Americans
 - (B) Southerners
 - (C) Unions
 - (D) Women
6. The development of which of the following best demonstrates the growing power of the nativist movement in the mid-19th century?
 - (A) A belief in nationalism
 - (B) A series of restrictive laws
 - (C) A secret society
 - (D) A political party

Questions 7–8 refer to the excerpt below.

“At home the people are the sovereign power . . . the industrial classes are the true sovereigns. Idleness is a condition so unrecognized and unrespected with us that the few professing it find themselves immediately thrown out of the great machine of active life which constitutes American society.

“The CULTIVATORS OF THE SOIL constitute the great industrial class in this country . . . for, at this moment, they do not only feed all other classes but also no insignificant portion of needy Europe, furnish the raw material for manufactures, and raise the great staples which figure so largely in the accounts of the merchants, the shipowner and manufacturer, in every village, town, and seaport in the Union . . .

“The system of railroads and cheap transportation already begins to supply the seaboard cities with some fair and beautiful fruits of the fertile West.”

—A. J. Downing, landscape architect, “In Praise of Farming,” 1848

7. The crop that best fits Downing’s description as one of “the great staples” in mid-19th century America was
 - (A) corn
 - (B) tobacco
 - (C) sugar
 - (D) cotton
8. The development of commercial farming in the Old Northwest by the time this excerpt was written gave support to
 - (A) higher crop prices
 - (B) population growth in Eastern cities
 - (C) expansion of slavery
 - (D) Western settlements

SHORT-ANSWER QUESTIONS

Use complete sentences; an outline or bulleted list alone is not acceptable.

Question 1. Answer a, b, and c.

- a) Choose ONE of the groups listed below, and explain how the treatment of that group best demonstrates the validity of this statement : “Discrimination was common against people unlike the white Protestant majority in the United States during the early 19th century.”
 - American Indians
 - free African Americans
 - Irish immigrants
- b) Contrast your choice against ONE of the other options, demonstrating why that option is not as good as your choice.
- c) Briefly explain whether there were any variations in discrimination in different sections of the country.

Question 2. Answer a, b, and c.

- a) Briefly explain why ONE of the following periods best marks the beginning of the Western Frontier.
 - 1600s—lands not along the Atlantic coast
 - 1700s—lands west of the Appalachian Mountains
 - mid-1800s—lands west of the Mississippi River
- b) Provide ONE example of an event or development that supports your explanation in (a).
- c) Briefly explain why ONE of the other options is less convincing as the possible beginning of the Western Frontier in the United States.

Question 3 is based on the following excerpts.

The blast from Freedom's northern hills, upon its Southern way,
Bears greeting to Virginia from Massachusetts Bay:
No word of haughty challenging, nor battle bugle's peal,
Nor steady tread of marching files, nor clang of horseman's steel.
What asks the Old Dominion? If now her sons have proved
False to their fathers' memory, false to the faith they love;
If she can scoff at Freedom, and its great charter spurn,
Must we of Massachusetts from truth and duty turn?

All that a sister State should do, all that a free State may,
Heart, hand, and purse we proffer, as in our day;
But that one dark loathsome burden ye must stagger alone,
And reap the bitter harvest which ye yourselves have sown!

But for us and for our children, the vow which we have given
For freedom and humanity, is registered in heaven;
No slave-hunt in our borders—no prate on our strand!
No fetters in the Bay State—no slave upon our land!

—John Greenleaf Whittier, poet, “Massachusetts to Virginia,” 1843

“It is said slavery is wrong. . . . With regard to the assertion that slavery is against the spirit of Christianity, we are ready to admit the general assertion, but deny most positively, that there is anything in the Old or New Testament [of the Bible], which would go to show that slavery, when once introduced, ought at all events to be abrogated, or that the master commits any offense in holding slaves. The children of Israel themselves were slaveholders, and were not condemned for it. . . When we turn to the New Testament, we find not one single passage at all calculated to disturb the conscience of an honest slaveholder. No one can read it without seeing and admiring that the meek and humble Saviour of the world in no instance meddled with the established institutions of mankind.”

—Thomas R. Dew, professor, College of William and Mary, “Review of the Debate in the Virginia Legislature of 1831 and 1832,” 1832

3. Using the excerpt, answer a, b, and c.

- a) Briefly explain the main point of Excerpt 1.
- b) Briefly explain the main point of Excerpt 2.
- c) Provide ONE piece of evidence from the mid-19th century that is not included in the excerpts and explain how it supports the interpretation in either excerpt.

Question 4 is based on the following excerpt.

“That a country should become eminently prosperous in agriculture, without a high state of perfection in the mechanic arts, is a thing next to impossible . . . that we should follow the footsteps of our forefathers and still further exhaust our soil by the exclusive cultivation of cotton?

“Unless we betake ourselves to some more profitable employment than the planting of cotton, what is to prevent our most enterprising planters from moving with their Negro capital, to the Southwest?

“Cotton . . . has produced us such an abundant supply of all the luxuries and elegancies of life, with so little exertion on our part, that we have become . . . unfitted for other more laborious pursuits, and unprepared to meet the state of things which sooner or later must come about.”

—William Gregg, Southern manufacturer,
“Essays on Domestic Industry,” 1845

4. Using the excerpt, answer a, b, and c.
 - a) Briefly explain ONE factor that contributed to the lack of manufacturing in the South during the first half of the 19th century.
 - b) Briefly explain ONE advantage, if any, the North had over the South in developing manufacturing during the first half of the 19th century.
 - c) Briefly explain ONE implication for the Southern economy based on Gregg’s view presented in the excerpt.

THINK AS A HISTORIAN: QUESTIONS ABOUT SYNTHESIS

Synthesis requires combining information from multiple sources to answer a question or draw a conclusion. Which TWO of the following questions most clearly asks for an answer that uses synthesis?

1. Use information from two different types of sources (print, statistical, visual, etc.) to explain why the West was more closely tied to the North than to the South by the 1850s.
2. Who, if anyone, are the modern equivalents of mountain men?
3. In the mid-1800s, Great Britain had several large cities and no slavery. Explain why the South was the U.S. region least like Britain but most closely tied to it.
4. Why did Southerners refer to slavery as “that peculiar institution”?

THE AGE OF JACKSON, 1824–1844

The political activity that pervades the United States must be seen in order to be understood. No sooner do you set foot upon American ground than you are stunned by a kind of tumult.

Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, 1835

The era marked by the emergence of popular politics in the 1820s and the presidency of Andrew Jackson (1829–1837) is often called the Age of the Common Man, or the Era of Jacksonian Democracy. Historians debate whether Jackson was a major molder of events, a political opportunist exploiting the democratic ferment of the times, or merely a symbol of the era. Nevertheless, the era and Jackson's name seem permanently linked.

Jacksonian Democracy

The changing politics of the Jacksonian years paralleled complex social and economic changes.

The Rise of a Democratic Society

Visitors to the United States in the 1830s, such as Alexis de Tocqueville, a young French aristocrat, were amazed by the informal manners and democratic attitudes of Americans. In hotels, under the American Plan, men and women from all classes ate together at common tables. On stagecoaches, steamboats, and later in railroad cars, there was also only one class for passengers, so that the rich and poor alike sat together in the same compartments. European visitors could not distinguish between classes in the United States. Men of all backgrounds wore simple dark trousers and jackets, while less well-to-do women emulated the fanciful and confining styles illustrated in wide-circulation women's magazines like *Godey's Lady's Book*. Equality was becoming the governing principle of American society.

Among the white majority in American society, people shared a belief in the principle of equality—more precisely, equality of opportunity for white males. These beliefs ignored the oppression of enslaved African Americans

and discrimination against free blacks. Equality of opportunity would, at least in theory, allow a young man of humble origins to rise as far as his natural talent and industry would take him. The hero of the age was the “self-made man.”

There was no equivalent belief in the “self-made woman,” but by the end of the 1840s, feminists would take up the theme of equal rights and insist that it should be applied to both women and men (see Chapter 11).

Politics of the Common Man

Between 1824 and 1840, politics moved out of the fine homes of rich southern planters and northern merchants who had dominated government in past eras and into middle- and lower-class homes. Several factors contributed to the spread of democracy, including new suffrage laws, changes in political parties and campaigns, improved education, and increases in newspaper circulation.

Universal Male Suffrage Western states newly admitted to the Union—Indiana (1816), Illinois (1818), and Missouri (1821)—adopted state constitutions that allowed all white males to vote and hold office. These newer constitutions omitted any religious or property qualifications for voting. Most eastern states soon followed suit, eliminating such restrictions. As a result, throughout the country, all white males could vote regardless of their social class or religion. Voting for president rose from about 350,000 in 1824 to more than 2.4 million in 1840, a nearly sevenfold increase in just 16 years, mostly as a result of changes in voting laws. In addition, political offices could be held by people in the lower and middle ranks of society.

Party Nominating Conventions In the past, candidates for office had commonly been nominated either by state legislatures or by “King Caucus”—a closed-door meeting of a political party’s leaders in Congress. Common citizens had no opportunity to participate. In the 1830s, however, caucuses were replaced by nominating conventions. Party politicians and voters would gather in a large meeting hall to nominate the party’s candidates. The Anti-Masonic party was the first to hold such a nominating convention. This method was more open to popular participation, hence more democratic.

Popular Election of the President In the presidential election of 1832, only South Carolina used the old system in which the state legislature chose the electors for president. All other states had adopted the more democratic method of allowing the voters to choose a state’s slate of presidential electors.

Two-party System The popular election of presidential electors—and, in effect, the president—had important consequences for the two-party system. Campaigns for president now had to be conducted on a national scale. To organize these campaigns, candidates needed large political parties.

Rise of Third Parties While only the large national parties (the Democrats and the Whigs in Jackson’s day) could hope to win the presidency, other political parties also emerged. The Anti-Masonic party and the Workingmen’s party, for example, reached out to groups of people who previously had shown little interest in politics. The Anti-Masons attacked the secret societies of Masons and accused them of belonging to a privileged, antidemocratic elite.

More Elected Offices During the Jacksonian era, a much larger number of state and local officials were elected to office, instead of being appointed, as in the past. This change gave the voters more voice in their government and also tended to increase their interest in participating in elections.

Popular Campaigning Candidates for office directed their campaigns to the interests and prejudices of the common people. Politics also became a form of local entertainment. Campaigns of the 1830s and 1840s featured parades of floats and marching bands and large rallies in which voters were treated to free food and drink. The negative side to the new campaign techniques was that in appealing to the masses, candidates would often resort to personal attacks and ignore the issues. A politician, for example, might attack an opponent's "aristocratic airs" and make him seem unfriendly to "the common man."

Spoils System and Rotation of Officeholders Winning government jobs became the lifeblood of party organizations. At the national level, President Jackson believed in appointing people to federal jobs (as postmasters, for example) strictly according to whether they had actively campaigned for the Democratic party. Any previous holder of the office who was not a Democrat was fired and replaced with a loyal Democrat. This practice of dispensing government jobs in return for party loyalty was called the *spoils system* because of a comment that, in a war, victors seize the spoils, or wealth, of the defeated.

In addition, Jackson believed in a system of rotation in office. By limiting a person to one term in office he could then appoint some other deserving Democrat in his place. Jackson defended the replacement and rotation of officeholders as a democratic reform. "No man," he said, "has any more intrinsic claim to office than another." Both the spoils system and the rotation of officeholders affirmed the democratic ideal that one man was as good as another and that ordinary Americans were capable of holding any government office. These beliefs also helped build a strong two-party system.

Jackson Versus Adams

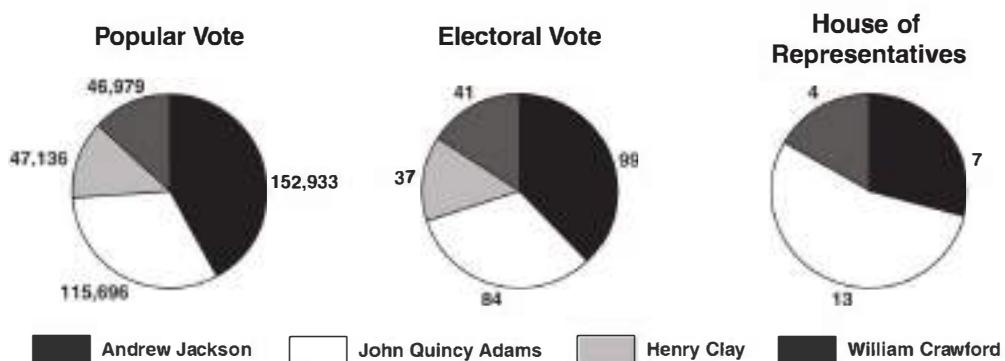
Political change in the Jacksonian era began several years before Jackson moved into the White House as president. In the controversial election in 1824, Jackson won more popular and electoral votes than any other candidate, but he ended up losing the election.

The Election of 1824

Recall the brief Era of Good Feelings that characterized U.S. politics during the two-term presidency of James Monroe. The era ended in political bad feelings in 1824, the year of a bitterly contested and divisive presidential election. By then, the old congressional caucus system for choosing presidential candidates had broken down. As a result, four candidates of the Democratic-Republican party of Jefferson campaigned for the presidency: John Quincy Adams, Henry Clay, William Crawford, and Andrew Jackson.

Among voters in states that counted popular votes (six did not) Jackson won. But because the vote was split four ways, he lacked a majority in the electoral college as required by the Constitution. Therefore, the House of Representatives had to choose a president from among the top three candidates. Henry Clay used his influence in the House to provide John Quincy Adams of Massachusetts with enough votes to win the election. When President Adams appointed Clay his secretary of state, Jackson and his followers charged that the decision of the voters had been foiled by secret political maneuvers. Angry Jackson supporters accused Adams and Clay of making a “corrupt bargain.”

THE ELECTION OF 1824



Source: Jeffrey B. Morris and Richard B. Morris, editors. *Encyclopedia of American History*

President John Quincy Adams

Adams further alienated the followers of Jackson when he asked Congress for money for internal improvements, aid to manufacturing, and even a national university and an astronomical observatory. Jacksonians viewed all these measures as a waste of money and a violation of the Constitution. Most significantly, in 1828, Congress patched together a new tariff law, which generally satisfied northern manufacturers but alienated southern planters. Southerners denounced it as a “tariff of abominations.”

The Revolution of 1828

Adams sought reelection in 1828. But the Jacksonians were now ready to use the discontent of southerners and westerners and the new campaign tactics of party organization to sweep “Old Hickory” (Jackson) into office. Going beyond parades and barbecues, Jackson’s party resorted to smearing the president and accusing Adams’ wife of being born out of wedlock. Supporters of Adams retaliated in kind, accusing Jackson’s wife of adultery. The mudslinging campaign attracted a lot of interest and voter turnout soared.

Jackson won handily, carrying every state west of the Appalachians. His reputation as a war hero and man of the western frontier accounted for his victory more than the positions he took on issues of the day.

The Presidency of Andrew Jackson

Jackson was a different kind of president from any of his predecessors. A strong leader, he not only dominated politics for eight years but also became a symbol of the emerging working class and middle class (the so-called common man). Born in a frontier cabin, Jackson gained fame as an Indian fighter and as hero of the Battle of New Orleans, and came to live in a fine mansion in Tennessee as a wealthy planter and slaveowner. But he never lost the rough manners of the frontier. He chewed tobacco, fought several duels, and displayed a violent temper. Jackson was the first president since Washington to be without a college education. In a phrase, he could be described as an extraordinary ordinary man. This self-made man and living legend drew support from every social group and every section of the country.

Presidential Power Jackson presented himself as the representative of all the people and the protector of the common man against abuses of power by the rich and the privileged. He was a frugal Jeffersonian, who opposed increasing federal spending and the national debt. Jackson interpreted the powers of Congress narrowly and therefore vetoed more bills—12—than all six preceding presidents combined. For example, he vetoed the use of federal money to construct the Maysville Road, because it was wholly within one state, Kentucky, the home state of Jackson's rival, Henry Clay.

Jackson's closest advisers were a group known as his “kitchen cabinet,” who did not belong to his official cabinet. Because of them, the appointed cabinet had less influence on policy than under earlier presidents.

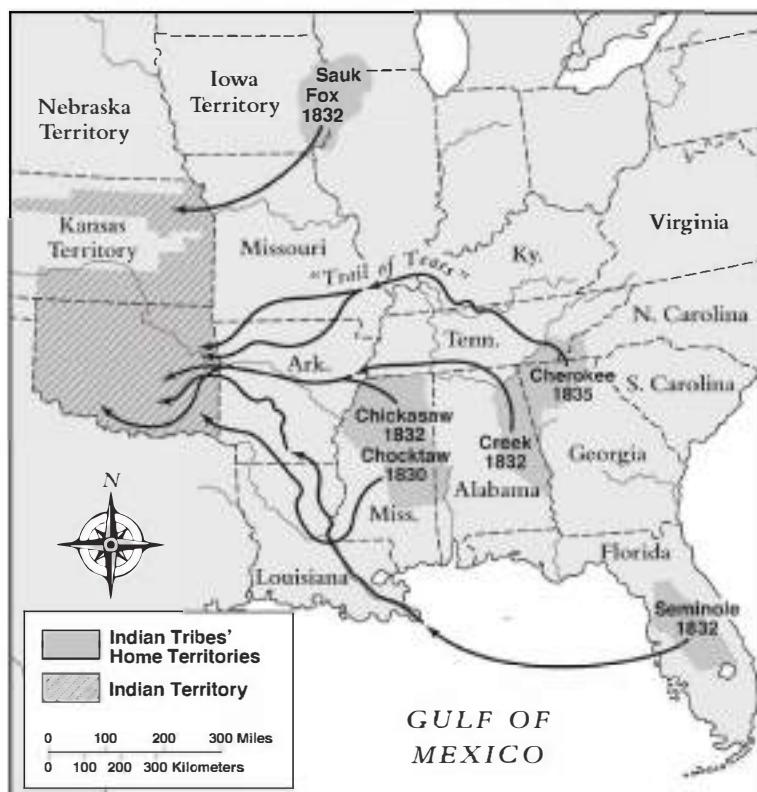
Peggy Eaton Affair The champion of the common man also went to the aid of the common woman, at least in the case of Peggy O'Neale Eaton. The wife of Jackson's secretary of war, she was the target of malicious gossip by other cabinet wives, much as Jackson's recently deceased wife had been in the 1828 campaign. When Jackson tried to force the cabinet wives to accept Peggy Eaton socially, most of the cabinet resigned. This controversy contributed to the resignation of Jackson's vice president, John C. Calhoun, a year later. For remaining loyal during this crisis, Martin Van Buren of New York was chosen as vice president for Jackson's second term.

Indian Removal Act (1830) Jackson's concept of democracy did not extend to American Indians. Jackson sympathized with land-hungry citizens who were impatient to take over lands held by American Indians. Jackson thought the most humane solution was to compel the American Indians to leave their traditional homelands and resettle west of the Mississippi. In 1830, he signed into law the Indian Removal Act, which forced the resettlement of many thousands of American Indians. By 1835 most eastern tribes had reluctantly complied and moved west. The Bureau of Indian Affairs was created in 1836 to assist the resettled tribes.

Most politicians supported a policy of Indian removal. Georgia and other states passed laws requiring the Cherokees to migrate to the West. When the Cherokees challenged Georgia in the courts, the Supreme Court ruled in *Cherokee Nation v. Georgia* (1831) that Cherokees were not a foreign nation with

the right to sue in a federal court. But in a second case, *Worcester v. Georgia* (1832), the high court ruled that the laws of Georgia had no force within Cherokee territory. In this clash between a state's laws and the federal courts, Jackson sided with the states. The Court was powerless to enforce its decision without the President's support.

INDIAN REMOVAL IN THE 1830s



Trail of Tears Most Cherokees repudiated the settlement of 1835, which provided land in the Indian territory. In 1838, after Jackson had left office, the U.S. Army forced 15,000 Cherokees to leave Georgia. The hardships on the "trail of tears" westward caused the deaths of 4,000 Cherokees.

Nullification Crisis Jackson favored states' rights—but not disunion. In 1828, the South Carolina legislature declared the increased tariff of 1828, the so-called Tariff of Abominations, to be unconstitutional. In doing so, it affirmed a theory advanced by Jackson's first vice president, John C. Calhoun. According to this *nullification theory*, each state had the right to decide whether to obey a federal law or to declare it null and void (of no effect).

In 1830, Daniel Webster of Massachusetts debated Robert Hayne of South Carolina on the nature of the federal Union under the Constitution. Webster attacked the idea that any state could defy or leave the Union. Following this famous Webster-Hayne debate, President Jackson declared his own position in a toast he presented at a political dinner. "Our federal Union," he declared, "it must be preserved." Calhoun responded immediately with another toast: "The Union, next to our liberties, most dear!"

In 1832, Calhoun's South Carolina increased tension by holding a special convention to nullify both the hated 1828 tariff and a new tariff of 1832. The convention passed a resolution forbidding the collection of tariffs within the state. Jackson reacted decisively. He told the secretary of war to prepare for military action. He persuaded Congress to pass a Force bill giving him authority to act against South Carolina. Jackson also issued a Proclamation to the People of South Carolina, stating that nullification and disunion were treason.

But federal troops did not march in this crisis. Jackson opened the door for compromise by suggesting that Congress lower the tariff. South Carolina postponed nullification and later formally rescinded it after Congress enacted a new tariff along the lines suggested by the president.

Jackson's strong defense of federal authority forced the militant advocates of states' rights to retreat. On another issue, however, militant southerners had Jackson's support. The president shared southerners' alarm about the growing antislavery movement in the North. He used his executive power to stop anti-slavery literature from being sent through the U.S. mail. Southern Jacksonians trusted that Jackson would not extend democracy to African Americans.

Bank Veto Another major issue of Jackson's presidency concerned the rechartering of the Bank of the United States. This bank and its branches, although privately owned, received federal deposits and attempted to serve a public purpose by cushioning the ups and downs of the national economy. The bank's president, Nicholas Biddle, managed it effectively. Biddle's arrogance, however, contributed to the suspicion that the bank abused its powers and served the interests of only the wealthy. Jackson shared this suspicion. He believed that the Bank of the United States was unconstitutional.

Henry Clay, Jackson's chief political opponent, favored the bank. In 1832, an election year, Clay decided to challenge Jackson on the bank issue by persuading a majority in Congress to pass a bank-recharter bill. Jackson promptly vetoed this bill, denouncing it as a private monopoly that enriched the wealthy and foreigners at the expense of the common people and the "hydra of corruption." The voters agreed with Jackson. Jackson won reelection with more than three-fourths of the electoral vote.

The Two-Party System

The one-party system that had characterized Monroe's presidency (the Era of Good Feelings) had given way to a two-party system under Jackson. Supporters of Jackson were now known as Democrats, while supporters of his leading rival, Henry Clay, were called Whigs. The Democratic party harked back to the old Republican party of Jefferson, and the Whig party resembled the defunct Federalist party of Hamilton. At the same time, the new parties reflected the changed conditions of the Jacksonian era. Democrats and Whigs alike were challenged to respond to the relentless westward expansion of the nation and the emergence of an industrial economy.

Democrats and Whigs in the Age of Jackson

	Democrats	Whigs
Issues Supported	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Local rule • Limited government • Free trade • Opportunity for white males 	American System: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A national bank • Federal funds for internal improvements • A protective tariff
Major Concerns	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Monopolies • National bank • High tariffs • High land prices 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Crime associated with immigrants
Base of Voter Support	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The South and West • Urban workers 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • New England and the Mid-Atlantic states • Protestants of English heritage • Urban professionals

Jackson's Second Term

After winning reelection in 1832, Jackson moved to destroy the Bank of the United States.

Pet Banks Jackson attacked the bank by withdrawing all federal funds. Aided by Secretary of the Treasury Roger Taney, he transferred the funds to various state banks, which Jackson's critics called "pet banks."

Species Circular As a result of both Jackson's financial policies and feverish speculation in western lands, prices for land and various goods became badly inflated. Jackson hoped to check the inflationary trend by issuing a presidential order known as the Specie Circular. It required that all future purchases of federal lands be made in specie (gold and silver) rather than in paper banknotes. Soon afterward, banknotes lost their value and land sales plummeted. Right after Jackson left office, a financial crisis—the Panic of 1837—plunged the nation's economy into a depression.

The Election of 1836

Following the two-term tradition set by his predecessors, Jackson did not seek a third term. To make sure his policies were carried out even in his retirement, Jackson persuaded the Democratic party to nominate his loyal vice president, Martin Van Buren, who was a master of practical politics.

Fearing defeat, the Whig party adopted the unusual strategy of nominating three candidates from three different regions. In doing so, the Whigs hoped to throw the election into the House of Representatives, where each state had one vote in the selection of the president. The Whig strategy failed, however, as Van Buren took 58 percent of the electoral vote.

President Van Buren and the Panic of 1837

Just as Van Buren took office, the country suffered a financial panic as one bank after another closed its doors. Jackson's opposition to the rechartering of the Bank of the United States was only one of many causes of the panic and resulting economic depression. But the Whigs were quick to blame the Democrats for their laissez-faire economics, which advocated for little federal involvement in the economy.

The "Log Cabin and Hard Cider" Campaign of 1840

In the election of 1840, the Whigs were in a strong position to defeat Van Buren and the Jacksonian Democrats. Voters were unhappy with the bad state of the economy. In addition, the Whigs were better organized than the Democrats, and had a popular war hero, William Henry "Tippecanoe" Harrison, as their presidential candidate. The Whigs took campaign hoopla to new heights. To symbolize Harrison's humble origins, they put log cabins on wheels and paraded them down the streets of cities and towns. They also passed out hard cider for voters to drink and buttons and hats to wear. Name-calling as a propaganda device also marked the 1840 campaign. The Whigs attacked "Martin Van Ruin" as an aristocrat with a taste for foreign wines.

A remarkable 78 percent of eligible voters (white males) cast their ballots. Old "Tippecanoe" and John Tyler of Virginia, a former states' rights Democrat who joined the Whigs, took 53 percent of the popular vote and most of the electoral votes in all three sections: North, South, and West. This election established the Whigs as a national party.

However, Harrison died of pneumonia less than a month after taking office, and "His Accidency," John Tyler, became the first vice-president to succeed to the presidency. President Tyler was not much of a Whig. He vetoed the Whigs' national bank bills and other legislation, and favored southern and expansionist Democrats during the balance of his term (1841–1845). The Jacksonian era was in its last stage, and came to an end with the Mexican War and the increased focus on the issue of slavery. (See Chapter 12.)

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES: WERE THE JACKSONIANS DEMOCRATIC?

Historians debate whether the election of Jackson in 1828 marked a revolutionary and democratic turn in American politics. The traditional view is that Jackson's election began the era of the common man, when the masses of newly enfranchised voters drove out the entrenched ruling class and elected one of their own. The Revolution of 1828 was a victory of the democratic West against the aristocratic East. On the other hand, 19th-century Whig historians viewed Jackson as a despot whose appeal to the uneducated masses and "corrupt" spoils system threatened the republic.

continued

In the 1940s, the historian Arthur M. Schlesinger Jr. argued that Jacksonian democracy relied as much on the support of eastern urban workers as on western farmers. Jackson's coalition of farmers and workers foreshadowed a similar coalition that elected another Democratic president, Franklin D. Roosevelt, in the 1930s.

Contemporary historians have used quantitative analysis of voting returns to show that increased voter participation was evident in local elections years before 1828 and did not reach a peak until the election of 1840, an election that the Whig party won. Some historians argue that religion and ethnicity were more important than economic class in shaping votes. For example, Catholic immigrants objected to the imposition of the Puritan moral code (e.g., temperance) by the native Protestants.

Recent historians see Jackson's popularity in the 1830s as a reaction of subsistence farmers and urban workers against threatening forces of economic change. A capitalist, or market, economy was taking shape in the early years of the 19th century. This market revolution divided the electorate. Some, including many Whigs, supported the changes giving a greater role for enterprising businessmen. Jackson's veto of the bank captured popular fears about the rise of capitalism.

KEY TERMS BY THEME

Migration (NAT, MIG)

Indian Removal Act
(1830)
Cherokee Nation v. Georgia
Worcester v. Georgia
Cherokee trail of tears

Economics (WXT)

Bank of the United States
Nicholas Biddle
Roger Taney
"pet banks"
Specie Circular
Panic of 1837
Martin Van Buren

Common Man (NAT, POL)

common man
universal white male suffrage
party nominating convention
"King Caucus"
popular election of president

Jacksonian Politics (POL)

Anti-Masonic party
Workingmen's party
popular campaigning
spoils system
rotation in office
John Quincy Adams
Henry Clay
"corrupt bargain"

Tariff of 1828; "tariff of abominations"
Revolution of 1828

Andrew Jackson
role of the president
Peggy Eaton affair
states' rights
nullification crisis
Webster-Hayne debate
John C. Calhoun
Proclamation to the People of South Carolina
two-party system
Democrats
Whigs
"log cabin and hard cider" campaign

MULTIPLE-CHOICE QUESTIONS

Questions 1–3 refer to the excerpt below.

“We hold . . . that on their separation from the Crown of Great Britain, the several colonies became free and independent States, each enjoying the separate and independent right of self-government; and that no authority can be exercised over them . . . but by their consent . . . It is equally true, that the Constitution of the United States is a compact formed between the several States . . . that the government created by it is a joint agency of the States, appointed to execute the powers enumerated and granted by that instrument; that all its acts not intentionally authorized are of themselves essentially null and void, and that the States have the right . . . to pronounce, in the last resort, authoritative judgment on the usurpations of the Federal Government . . . Such we deem to be inherent rights of the States.”

—John C. Calhoun, statement adopted by a convention
in South Carolina, 1832

1. Which of the following was the immediate cause of the publication of the statement in this excerpt?
 - (A) The election of Andrew Jackson
 - (B) The decision to halt to slave importation
 - (C) A Supreme Court decision on states' rights
 - (D) An increase in the tariff passed by Congress
2. While Calhoun and many other Southerners disagreed with President Jackson's opposition to nullification, they agreed with him on
 - (A) his support for higher federal spending
 - (B) his support for a national bank
 - (C) his opposition to the anti-slavery movement
 - (D) his opposition to states' rights
3. Which of the following is or are most similar to the statement in the excerpt?
 - (A) Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions
 - (B) Monroe Doctrine
 - (C) Specie Circular
 - (D) Tallmadge Amendment

Questions 4–6 refer to the excerpt below.

“It is to be regretted that the rich and powerful too often bend the acts of government to their selfish purposes. Distinctions in society will always exist under every just government . . . In the full enjoyment of the gifts of heaven and the fruits of superior industry, economy, and virtue, every man is equally entitled to protection by law.

“But when the laws undertake to add to these natural and just advantages artificial distinctions . . . to make the rich richer . . . the humble members of society—the farmers, mechanics, and laborers— . . . have a right to complain of the injustices of their government.

“There are no necessary evils in government . . . If it would confine itself to equal protection . . . the rich and the poor, it would be an unqualified blessing. In the act before me there seems to be a wide and unnecessary departure from these just principles.”

—President Andrew Jackson, Message vetoing the Bank, July 10, 1832

4. President Jackson’s guiding principle to check “the injustices of government” was
 - (A) limited government
 - (B) the two-party system
 - (C) universal suffrage
 - (D) civil service system
5. Which of the following groups provided the greatest support for the Jackson’s veto of the Bank?
 - (A) Manufacturers
 - (B) Nativists
 - (C) Southerners
 - (D) Westerners
6. President Jackson’s veto of the Bank bill would contribute most significantly to
 - (A) lower interest rates
 - (B) a financial panic
 - (C) increased land sales
 - (D) Clay’s political support

Questions 7–8 refer to the excerpt below.

“The framers of our excellent Constitution . . . wisely judged that the less government interferes with private pursuits the better for the general prosperity . . .

“I cannot doubt that on this as on all similar occasions the federal government will find its agency most conducive to the security and happiness of the people when limited to the exercise of its conceded powers . . .

“The difficulties and distresses of the times, though unquestionably great, are limited in their extent, and cannot be regarded as affecting the permanent prosperity of the nation. Arising in a great degree from the transactions of foreign and domestic commerce . . . The great agricultural interest has in many parts of the country suffered comparatively little . . .

“The proceeds of our great staples will soon furnish the means of liquidating debts at home and abroad, and contribute equally to the revival of commercial activity and the restoration of commercial credit.”

—Martin Van Buren, “Against Government Aid for Business Losses,” 1837

7. Van Buren believed that the strength of the American economy was based on
 - (A) the banking system
 - (B) the manufacturing sector
 - (C) farmers and planters
 - (D) the Specie Circular
8. Which of the following individuals would be most critical of Van Buren’s economic policy as presented in this excerpt?
 - (A) Andrew Jackson
 - (B) Roger Taney
 - (C) Robert Hayne
 - (D) Henry Clay

SHORT-ANSWER QUESTIONS

Use complete sentences; an outline or bulleted list alone is not acceptable.

Question 1 is based on the following excerpts.

“He [Jackson] believed that removal was the Indian’s only salvation against certain extinction . . .

“Not that the President was motivated by concerns for the Indians . . . Andrew Jackson was motivated principally by two considerations: first . . . military safety . . . that Indians must not occupy areas that might jeopardize the defense of this nation; and second . . . the principal that all persons residing within states are subject to the jurisdiction and laws of those states.

“Would it have been worse had the Indians remained in the East? Jackson thought so. He said that they would ‘disappear and be forgotten.’ One thing does seem certain: the Indians would have been forced to yield to state laws and white society. Indian Nations per se would have been obliterated and possibly Indian civilization with them.”

—Robert V. Remini, historian, *Andrew Jackson and the Course of American Freedom*, 1998

“The Georgia legislature passed a law extending the state’s jurisdiction . . . over the Cherokees living within the state . . . Georgia’s action forced the President’s hand. He must see to it that a removal policy long covertly pursued by the White House would now be enacted into law by Congress . . .

“Jackson as usual spoke publicly in a tone of friendship and concern for Indian welfare. . . . He, as President, could be their friend only if they removed beyond the Mississippi, where they should have a “land of their own, which they shall possess as long as Grass grows or water runs. . . .

“A harsh policy was nevertheless quickly put in place . . .

“It is abundantly clear that Jackson and his administration were determined to permit the extension of state sovereignty because it would result in the harassment of Indians, powerless to resist, by speculators and intruders hungry for Indian Land.”

—Anthony F. C. Wallace, historian, *The Long, Bitter Trail: Andrew Jackson and the Indians*, 1993

1. Using the excerpt, answer a, b, and c.
 - a) Briefly explain the main point of Excerpt 1.
 - b) Briefly explain the main point of Excerpt 2.
 - c) Provide ONE piece of evidence from the mid-19th century that is not included in the excerpts and explain how it supports the interpretation in either excerpt.

Question 2 is based on the following cartoon.



Source: "King Andrew the First," 1833.
Library of Congress

2. Using the cartoon, answer a, b, and c.
 - a) Explain the point of view reflected in the cartoon above regarding ONE of the following.
 - presidential powers
 - American Indians
 - economic policy
 - states' rights
 - b) Explain how ONE element of the cartoon expresses the point of view you identified in Part A.
 - c) Explain how the point of view you identified in Part A helped to shape ONE specific United States government action between 1824 and 1844.

Question 3. Answer a, b, and c.

- a) Briefly explain which ONE of the following best supports this statement: “The duties of all public officers are . . . so plain and simple that more is lost by the long continuance of men in office than is generally to be gained by their experience.”
 - political party conventions
 - rotation in office
 - spoils system
- b) Contrast your choice against ONE of the other options demonstrating why that option is not as good as your choice.
- c) Briefly explain how ONE of the following people would either support or question this statement.
 - John Quincy Adams
 - John C. Calhoun
 - Martin van Buren

Question 4. Answer a, b, and c.

- a) Choose ONE of the actions listed below, and explain how this best demonstrates the argument that the Age of Jackson saw a shift of political power from the ruling elite to the common man.
 - popular election of the President
 - rotation in office
 - universal male suffrage
- b) Contrast your choice against ONE of the other options, demonstrating why that option is not as good as your choice.
- c) Briefly explain ONE critical response to the political changes during this period.

THINK AS A HISTORIAN: STATEMENTS ABOUT CAUSATION

Statements that express causation often use words such as *cause*, *effect*, *because*, *hence*, and *result*. Which TWO of these statements best express causation?

1. Because of Jackson’s Specie Circular, banknotes lost their value.
2. Jackson’s threat to use force and his willingness to compromise on the tariff persuaded the states’ rights advocates to back down.
3. Jackson charged that Adams and Clay made a “corrupt bargain.”
4. The Anti-Masonic party viewed the Masons as a secret elite.

SOCIETY, CULTURE, AND REFORM, 1820–1860

We would have every path laid open to Woman as freely as to Man . . . As the friend of the Negro assumes that one man cannot by right hold another in bondage, so should the friend of Woman assume that Man cannot by right lay even well-meant restrictions on Woman.

Margaret Fuller, 1845

Several historic reform movements began during the Jacksonian era and in the following decades. This period before the Civil War started in 1861 is known as the *antebellum period*. During this time, a diverse mix of reformers dedicated themselves to such causes as establishing free (tax-supported) public schools, improving the treatment of the mentally ill, controlling or abolishing the sale of alcohol, winning equal rights for women, and abolishing slavery. The enthusiasm for reform had many historic sources: the Puritan sense of mission, the Enlightenment belief in human goodness, the politics of Jacksonian democracy, and changing relationships among men and women, among social classes, and among ethnic groups. The most important source may have been religious beliefs.

Religion: The Second Great Awakening

Religious revivals swept through the United States during the early decades of the 19th century. They were partly a reaction against the rationalism (belief in human reason) that had been the fashion during the Enlightenment and the American Revolution. Calvinist (Puritan) teachings of original sin and predestination had been rejected by believers in more liberal and forgiving doctrines, such as those of the Unitarian Church.

Calvinism began a counterattack against these liberal views in the 1790s. The Second Great Awakening began among educated people such as Reverend Timothy Dwight, president of Yale College in Connecticut. Dwight's campus revivals motivated a generation of young men to become evangelical preachers. In the revivals of the early 1800s, successful preachers were audience-centered and easily understood by the uneducated; they spoke about the opportunity for salvation to all. These populist movements seemed attuned to the democratization of American society.

Revivalism in New York In 1823, Presbyterian minister Charles G. Finney started a series of revivals in upstate New York, where many New Englanders had settled. Instead of delivering sermons based on rational argument, Finney appealed to people's emotions and fear of damnation. He prompted thousands to publicly declare their revived faith. He preached that every individual could be saved through faith and hard work—ideas that strongly appealed to the rising middle class. Because of Finney's influence, western New York became known as the “burned-over district” for its frequent “hell-and-brimstone” revivals.

Baptists and Methodists In the South and on the advancing western frontier, Baptist and Methodist circuit preachers, such as Peter Cartwright, would travel from one location to another and attract thousands to hear their dramatic preaching at outdoor revivals, or camp meetings. These preachers activated the faith of many people who had never belonged to a church. By 1850, the Baptists and the Methodists were the largest Protestant denominations in the country.

Millennialism Much of the religious enthusiasm of the time was based on the widespread belief that the world was about to end with the second coming of Jesus. One preacher, William Miller, gained tens of thousands of followers by predicting a specific date (October 21, 1844) for the second coming. Nothing happened on the appointed day, but the Millerites continued as a new Christian denomination, the Seventh-Day Adventists.

Mormons Another religious group, the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, or Mormons, was founded by Joseph Smith in 1830. Smith based his religious thinking on a book of Scripture—the Book of Mormon—which traced a connection between the American Indians and the lost tribes of Israel. Smith gathered a following in New York and moved to Ohio, then Missouri, and finally, Illinois. There, the Mormon founder was murdered by a local mob. To escape persecution, the Mormons under the leadership of Brigham Young migrated to the far western frontier, where they established the New Zion (as they called their religious community) on the banks of the Great Salt Lake in Utah. Their cooperative social organization helped the Mormons to prosper in the wilderness. Their practice of polygamy (allowing a man to have more than one wife), however, aroused the hostility of the U.S. government.

The Second Great Awakening, like the first, caused new divisions in society between the newer, evangelical sects and the older Protestant churches. It affected all sections of the country. But in the northern states from Massachusetts to Ohio the Great Awakening also touched off social reform. Activist religious groups provided both the leadership and the well-organized voluntary societies that drove the reform movements of the antebellum era.

Culture: Ideas, the Arts, and Literature

In Europe, during the early years of the 19th century, artists and writers shifted away from the Enlightenment emphasis on balance, order, and reason and

toward intuition, feelings, individual acts of heroism, and the study of nature. This new movement, known as romanticism, was expressed in the United States by the transcendentalists, a small group of New England thinkers.

The Transcendentalists

Writers such as Ralph Waldo Emerson and Henry David Thoreau questioned the doctrines of established churches and the business practices of the merchant class. They argued for a mystical and intuitive way of thinking as a means for discovering one's inner self and looking for the essence of God in nature. Their views challenged the materialism of American society by suggesting that artistic expression was more important than the pursuit of wealth. Although the transcendentalists valued individualism highly and viewed organized institutions as unimportant, they supported a variety of reforms, especially the antislavery movement.

Ralph Waldo Emerson (1803–1882) The best-known transcendentalist, Ralph Waldo Emerson, was a very popular American speaker. His essays and lectures expressed the individualistic and nationalistic spirit of Americans by urging them not to imitate European culture but to create a distinctive *American* culture. He argued for self-reliance, independent thinking, and the primacy of spiritual matters over material ones. A northerner who lived in Concord, Massachusetts, Emerson became a leading critic of slavery in the 1850s and then an ardent supporter of the Union during the Civil War.

Henry David Thoreau (1817–1862) Also living in Concord and a close friend of Emerson was Henry David Thoreau. To test his transcendentalist philosophy, Thoreau conducted a two-year experiment of living simply in a cabin in the woods outside town. He used observations of nature to discover essential truths about life and the universe. Thoreau's writings from these years were published in the book for which he is best known, *Walden* (1854). Because of this book, Thoreau is remembered today as a pioneer ecologist and conservationist.

Through his essay "On Civil Disobedience," Thoreau established himself as an early advocate of nonviolent protest. The essay presented Thoreau's argument for disobeying unjust laws and accepting the penalty. The philosopher's own act of civil disobedience was to refuse to pay a tax that would support an action he considered immoral—the U.S. war with Mexico (1846–1848). For breaking the tax law, Thoreau spent one night in the Concord jail. In the next century, Thoreau's essay and actions would inspire the nonviolent movements of both Mohandas Gandhi in India and Martin Luther King Jr. in the United States.

Brook Farm Could a community of people live out the transcendentalist ideal? In 1841, George Ripley, a Protestant minister, launched a communal experiment at Brook Farm in Massachusetts. His goal was to achieve "a more natural union between intellectual and manual labor." Living at Brook Farm at times were some of the leading intellectuals of the period. Emerson went, as

did Margaret Fuller, a feminist (advocate of women's rights) writer and editor; Theodore Parker, a theologian and radical reformer; and Nathaniel Hawthorne, a novelist. A bad fire and heavy debts forced the end of the experiment in 1849. But Brook Farm was remembered for its atmosphere of artistic creativity, its innovative school, and its appeal to New England's intellectual elite and their children.

Communal Experiments

The idea of withdrawing from conventional society to create an ideal community, or utopia, in a fresh setting was not a new idea. But never before were social experiments so numerous as during the antebellum years. The open lands of the United States proved fertile ground for more than a hundred experimental communities. The early Mormons were an example of a religious communal effort and Brook Farm was an example of a humanistic or secular experiment. Although many of the communities were short-lived, these "backwoods utopias" reflect the diversity of the reform ideas of the time.

Shakers One of the earliest religious communal movements, the Shakers had about 6,000 members in various communities by the 1840s. Shakers held property in common and kept women and men strictly separate (forbidding marriage and sexual relations). For lack of new recruits, the Shaker communities virtually died out by the mid-1900s.

The Amana Colonies The settlers of the Amana colonies in Iowa were Germans who belonged to the religious reform movement known as Pietism. Like the Shakers, they emphasized simple, communal living. However, they allowed for marriage, and their communities continue to prosper, although they no longer practice their communal ways of living.

New Harmony The secular (nonreligious) experiment in New Harmony, Indiana, was the work of the Welsh industrialist and reformer Robert Owen. Owen hoped his utopian socialist community would provide an answer to the problems of inequity and alienation caused by the Industrial Revolution. The experiment failed, however, as a result of both financial problems and disagreements among members of the community.

Oneida Community After undergoing a religious conversion, John Humphrey Noyes in 1848 started a cooperative community in Oneida, New York. Dedicated to an ideal of perfect social and economic equality, community members shared property and, later, marriage partners. Critics attacked the Oneida system of planned reproduction and communal child-rearing as a sinful experiment in "free love." Despite the controversy, the community managed to prosper economically by producing and selling silverware of excellent quality.

Fourier Phalanxes In the 1840s, the theories of the French socialist Charles Fourier attracted the interest of many Americans. In response to the problems of a fiercely competitive society, Fourier advocated that people share work and housing in communities known as Fourier Phalanxes. This movement died out quickly as Americans proved too individualistic to live communally.

Arts and Literature

The democratic and reforming impulses of the Age of Jackson expressed themselves in painting, architecture, and literature.

Painting Genre painting—portraying the everyday life of ordinary people such as riding riverboats and voting on election day—became the vogue of artists in the 1830s. For example, George Caleb Bingham depicted common people in various settings and carrying out domestic chores. William S. Mount won popularity for his lively rural compositions. Thomas Cole and Frederick Church emphasized the heroic beauty of American landscapes, especially in dramatic scenes along the Hudson River in New York State and the western frontier wilderness. The Hudson River school, as it was called, expressed the romantic age’s fascination with the natural world.

Architecture Inspired by the democracy of classical Athens, American architects adapted Greek styles to glorify the democratic spirit of the republic. Columned facades like those of ancient Greek temples graced the entryways to public buildings, banks, hotels, and even some private homes.

Literature In addition to the transcendentalist authors (notably Emerson and Thoreau), other writers helped to create a literature that was distinctively American. Partly as a result of the War of 1812, the American people became more nationalistic and eager to read the works of American writers about American themes. Washington Irving and James Fenimore Cooper, for example, wrote fiction using American settings. Cooper’s *Leatherstocking Tales* were a series of novels written from 1824 to 1841 that glorified the frontiersman as nature’s nobleman. *The Scarlet Letter* (1850) and other novels by Nathaniel Hawthorne questioned the intolerance and conformity in American life. Herman Melville’s innovative novel *Moby-Dick* (1855) reflected the theological and cultural conflicts of the era as it told the story of Captain Ahab’s pursuit of a white whale.



Source: *Fur Traders Descending the Missouri*, by George Caleb Bingham, 1845. Wikimedia Commons/The Yorek Project/Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York City

Reforming Society

Reform movements evolved during the antebellum era. At first, the leaders of reform hoped to improve people's behavior through moral persuasion. However, after they tried sermons and pamphlets, reformers often moved on to political action and to ideas for creating new institutions to replace the old.

Temperance

The high rate of alcohol consumption (five gallons of hard liquor per person in 1820) prompted reformers to target alcohol as the cause of social ills, and explains why temperance became the most popular of the reform movements.

The temperance movement began by using moral exhortation. In 1826, Protestant ministers and others concerned with drinking and its effects founded the American Temperance Society. The society tried to persuade drinkers to take a pledge of total abstinence. In 1840, a group of recovering alcoholics formed the Washingtonians and argued that alcoholism was a disease that needed practical, helpful treatment. By the 1840s, various temperance societies together had more than a million members.

German and Irish immigrants were largely opposed to the temperance campaign. But they lacked the political power to prevent state and city governments from passing reforms. Factory owners and politicians joined with the reformers when it became clear that temperance measures could reduce crime and poverty and increase workers' output on the job. In 1851, the state of Maine went beyond simply placing taxes on the sale of liquor and became the first state to prohibit the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors. Twelve states followed before the Civil War. In the 1850s, the issue of slavery came to overshadow the temperance movement. However, the movement would gain strength again in the late 1870s (with strong support from the Women's Christian Temperance Union) and achieve national success with the passage of the 18th Amendment in 1919.

Movement for Public Asylums

Humanitarian reformers of the 1820s and 1830s called attention to the increasing numbers of criminals, emotionally disturbed persons, and paupers. Often these people were forced to live in wretched conditions and were regularly either abused or neglected by their caretakers. To alleviate the suffering of these individuals, reformers proposed setting up new public institutions—state-supported prisons, mental hospitals, and poorhouses. Reformers hoped that inmates would be cured as a result of being withdrawn from squalid surroundings and treated to a disciplined pattern of life in some rural setting.

Mental Hospitals Dorothea Dix, a former schoolteacher from Massachusetts, was horrified to find mentally ill persons locked up with convicted criminals in unsanitary cells. She launched a cross-country crusade, publicizing the awful treatment she had witnessed. In the 1840s one state legislature after another built new mental hospitals or improved existing institutions and mental patients began receiving professional treatment.

Schools for Blind and Deaf Persons Two other reformers founded special institutions to help people with physical disabilities. Thomas Gallaudet opened a school for the deaf, and Dr. Samuel Gridley Howe started a school for the blind. By the 1850s, special schools modeled after the work of these reformers had been established in many states of the Union.

Prisons Pennsylvania took the lead in prison reform, building new prisons called penitentiaries to take the place of crude jails. Reformers placed prisoners in solitary confinement to force them to reflect on their sins and repent. The experiment was dropped because of the high rate of prisoner suicides. These prison reforms reflected a major doctrine of the asylum movement: structure and discipline would bring about moral reform. A similar penal experiment, the Auburn system in New York, enforced rigid rules of discipline while also providing moral instruction and work programs.

Public Education

Another reform movement started in the Jacksonian era focused on the need for establishing free public schools for children of all classes. Middle-class reformers were motivated in part by their fears for the future of the republic posed by growing numbers of the uneducated poor—both immigrant and native-born. Workers' groups in the cities generally supported the reformers' campaign for free (tax-supported) schools.

Free Common Schools Horace Mann was the leading advocate of the common (public) school movement. As secretary of the newly founded Massachusetts Board of Education, Mann worked for compulsory attendance for all children, a longer school year, and increased teacher preparation. In the 1840s, the movement for public schools spread rapidly to other states.

Moral Education Mann and other educational reformers wanted children to learn not only basic literacy, but also moral principles. Toward this end, William Holmes McGuffey, a Pennsylvania teacher, created a series of elementary textbooks that became widely used to teach reading and morality. The McGuffey readers extolled the virtues of hard work, punctuality, and sobriety—the kind of behaviors needed in an emerging industrial society.

Objecting to the Protestant tone of the public schools, Roman Catholics founded private schools for the instruction of Catholic children.

Higher Education The religious enthusiasm of the Second Great Awakening helped fuel the growth of private colleges. Beginning in the 1830s, various Protestant denominations founded small denominational colleges, especially in the newer western states (Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and Iowa). At the same time, several new colleges, including Mount Holyoke College in Massachusetts (founded by Mary Lyon in 1837) and Oberlin College in Ohio, began to admit women. Adult education was furthered by lyceum lecture societies, which brought speakers such as Ralph Waldo Emerson to small-town audiences.

Changes in Families and Roles for Women

American society was still overwhelmingly rural in the mid-19th century. But in the growing cities, the impact of the Industrial Revolution was redefining the family. Industrialization reduced the economic value of children. In middle-class families, birth control was used to reduce average family size, which declined from 7.04 family members in 1800 to 5.42 in 1830. More affluent women now had the leisure time to devote to religious and moral uplift organizations. The New York Female Moral Reform Society, for example, worked to prevent impoverished young women from being forced into lives of prostitution.

Cult of Domesticity Industrialization also changed roles within families. In traditional farm families, men were the moral leaders. However, when men took jobs outside the home to work for salaries or wages in an office or a factory, they were absent most of the time. As a result, the women in these households who remained at home took charge of the household and children. The idealized view of women as moral leaders in the home is called the cult of domesticity.

Women's Rights Women reformers, especially those involved in the anti-slavery movement, resented the way men relegated them to secondary roles in the movement and prevented them from taking part fully in policy discussions. Two sisters, Sarah and Angelina Grimké, objected to male opposition to their antislavery activities. In protest, Sarah Grimké wrote her *Letter on the Condition of Women and the Equality of the Sexes* (1837). Another pair of reformers, Lucretia Mott and Elizabeth Cady Stanton, began campaigning for women's rights after they had been barred from speaking at an antislavery convention.

Seneca Falls Convention (1848) The leading feminists met at Seneca Falls, New York, in 1848. At the conclusion of their convention—the first women's rights convention in American history—they issued a document closely modeled after the Declaration of Independence. Their “Declaration of Sentiments” declared that “all men and women are created equal” and listed women's grievances against laws and customs that discriminated against them.

Following the Seneca Falls Convention, Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony led the campaign for equal voting, legal, and property rights for women. In the 1850s, however, the issue of women's rights was overshadowed by the crisis over slavery.

Antislavery Movement

Opponents of slavery ranged from moderates who proposed gradual abolition to radicals who demanded immediate abolition without compensating their owners. The Second Great Awakening led many Christians to view slavery as a sin. This moral view made compromise with defenders of slavery difficult.

American Colonization Society The idea of transporting freed slaves to an African colony was first tried in 1817 with the founding of the American Colonization Society. This appealed to moderate antislavery reformers and politicians, in part because whites with racist attitudes hoped to remove free blacks from U.S. society. In 1822, the American Colonization Society established an African-American settlement in Monrovia, Liberia. Colonization never proved a practical course. Between 1820 and 1860, only about 12,000 African Americans were settled in Africa, while the slave population grew by 2.5 million.

American Antislavery Society In 1831, William Lloyd Garrison began publication of an abolitionist newspaper, *The Liberator*, an event that marks the beginning of the radical abolitionist movement. The uncompromising Garrison advocated immediate abolition of slavery in every state and territory without compensating the slaveowners. In 1833, Garrison and other abolitionists founded the American Antislavery Society. Garrison stepped up his attacks by condemning and burning the Constitution as a proslavery document. He argued for “no Union with slaveholders” until they repented for their sins by freeing their slaves.

Liberty Party Garrison’s radicalism soon led to a split in the abolitionist movement. Believing that political action was a more practical route to reform than Garrison’s moral crusade, a group of northerners formed the Liberty party in 1840. They ran James Birney as their candidate for president in 1840 and 1844. The party’s one campaign pledge was to bring about the end of slavery by political and legal means.

Black Abolitionists Escaped slaves and free African Americans were among the most outspoken and convincing critics of slavery. A former slave such as Frederick Douglass could speak about the brutality and degradation of slavery from firsthand experience. An early follower of Garrison, Douglass later advocated both political and direct action to end slavery and racial prejudice. In 1847, he started the antislavery journal *The North Star*. Other African American leaders, such as Harriet Tubman, David Ruggles, Sojourner Truth, and William Still, helped organize the effort to assist fugitive slaves escape to free territory in the North or to Canada, where slavery was prohibited.

Violent Abolitionism David Walker and Henry Highland Garnet were two northern African Americans who advocated the most radical solution to the slavery question. They argued that slaves should take action themselves by rising up in revolt against their owners. In 1831, a Virginia slave named Nat Turner led a revolt in which 55 whites were killed. In retaliation, whites killed hundreds of African Americans in brutal fashion and put down the revolt. Before this event, there had been some antislavery sentiment and discussion in the South. After the revolt, fear of future uprisings as well as Garrison’s inflamed rhetoric put an end to antislavery talk in the South.

Other Reforms

Efforts to reform individuals and society during the antebellum era also included smaller movements such as:

- the American Peace Society, founded in 1828 with the objective of abolishing war, which actively protested the war with Mexico in 1846
- laws to protect sailors from being flogged
- dietary reforms, such as eating whole wheat bread or Sylvester Graham's crackers, to promote good digestion
- dress reform for women, particularly Amelia Bloomer's efforts to get women to wear pantalettes instead of long skirts
- phrenology, a pseudoscience that studied the bumps on an individual's skull to assess the person's character and ability

Southern Reaction to Reform

The antebellum reform movement was largely found in the northern and western states, with little impact in the South. While "modernizers" worked to perfect society in the North, southerners were more committed to tradition and slow to support public education and humanitarian reforms. They were alarmed to see northern reformers join forces to support the antislavery movement. Increasingly, they viewed social reform as a northern threat against the southern way of life.

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES: WHAT MOTIVATED REFORMERS?

In her history of antebellum reform, *Freedom's Ferment* (1944), Alice Tyler portrayed the reformers as idealistic humanitarians whose chief goal was to create a just and equitable society for all. Other historians generally accepted Tyler's interpretation.

However, in recent years, historians have questioned whether reformers were motivated by humanitarian concerns or by a desire of upper- and middle-class citizens to control the masses. According to their argument, the temperance movement was designed to control the drinking of the poor and recent immigrants. The chief purpose of penitentiaries was to control crime, of poorhouses to motivate the lower classes to pursue work, and of public schools to "Americanize" the immigrant population. Schools were supported by the wealthy, because they would teach the working class hard work, punctuality, and obedience. Revisionist historians also have noted that most of the reformers were Whigs, not Jacksonian Democrats.

Some historians have argued that the reformers had multiple motivations for their work. They point out that, although some reasons for reform may have been self-serving and bigoted, most reformers sincerely

thought that their ideas for improving society would truly help people. For example, Dorothea Dix won support for increased spending for treatment of the mentally ill by appealing to both self-interest and morality. She argued that reforms would save the public money in the long run and were humane. Historians point out further that the most successful reforms were ones that had broad support across society—often for a mix of reasons.

KEY TERMS BY THEME

Alternative Groups (NAT) utopian communities Shakers Amana Colonies Robert Owen New Harmony Joseph Henry Noyes Oneida community Charles Fourier phalanxes Horace Mann	American Antislavery Society abolitionism William Lloyd Garrison; <i>The Liberator</i> Liberty party Frederick Douglass; <i>The North Star</i> Harriet Tubman David Ruggles Sojourner Truth William Still David Walker Henry Highland Garnet Nat Turner	Washington Irving James Fenimore Cooper Nathaniel Hawthorne Sylvester Graham Amelia Bloomer
Reforming Society (POL) temperance American Temperance Society Washingtonians Women's Christian Temperance Union asylum movement Dorothea Dix Thomas Gallaudet Samuel Gridley Howe penitentiaries Auburn system Horace Mann public school movement McGuffey readers American Peace Society	New Ideas (CUL) antebellum period romantic movement transcendentalists Ralph Waldo Emerson, "The American Scholar" Henry David Thoreau, <i>Walden</i> , "On Civil Disobedience" Brook Farm George Ripley feminists Margaret Fuller Theodore Parker George Caleb Bingham William S. Mount Thomas Cole Frederick Church Hudson River school	Thoughts on Religion (CUL) Second Great Awakening Timothy Dwight revivalism; revival (camp) meetings millennialism Church of Latter-Day Saints; Mormons Joseph Smith Brigham Young New Zion
Abolition Efforts (POL) American Colonization Society	women's rights movement cult of domesticity Sarah Grimké Angelina Grimké <i>Letter on the Condition of Women and the Equality of the Sexes</i> Lucretia Mott Elizabeth Cady Stanton Seneca Falls Convention (1848) Susan B. Anthony	Women's Rights (CUL) women's rights movement cult of domesticity Sarah Grimké Angelina Grimké <i>Letter on the Condition of Women and the Equality of the Sexes</i> Lucretia Mott Elizabeth Cady Stanton Seneca Falls Convention (1848) Susan B. Anthony

MULTIPLE-CHOICE QUESTIONS

Questions 1–3 refer to the excerpt below.

“If, then education be of admitted importance to the people, under all forms of government, and of unquestioned necessity when they govern themselves, it follows, of course, that its cultivation and diffusion is a matter of public concern and a duty which every government owes to its people. . . .

“Many complain of this tax, not so much on account of its amount as because it is for the benefit of others and not themselves. This is a mistake; it is for their own benefit, inasmuch as it perpetuates the government. . . .

“He who would oppose it, either through inability to comprehend the advantages of general education, or from unwillingness to bestow them on all his fellow citizens, even to the lowest and the poorest, or from dread of popular vengeance, seems to me to want either the head of the philosopher, the heart of the philanthropist, or the nerve of the hero.”

—Representative Thaddeus Stevens, Speech to the Pennsylvania
Legislature, 1835

1. The first free public education system in the United States began in which of the following colonies?
 - (A) Massachusetts
 - (B) New York
 - (C) Pennsylvania
 - (D) Virginia
2. Which of these groups would most strongly agree with Stevens on his view of education?
 - (A) Transcendentalists
 - (B) Business leaders
 - (C) Jacksonian Democrats
 - (D) Protestant churches
3. Stevens disagrees with those who oppose free public education because
 - (A) it is an example of government control
 - (B) it will result in increased taxes
 - (C) schools lack qualified teachers
 - (D) schools are under Protestant influences

Questions 4–6 refer to the excerpt below.

“Unlike those who call themselves no-government men, I ask for, not . . . no-government, but . . . a better government. . . .

“It is not desirable to cultivate a respect for the law so much as for the right. The only obligation which I have a right to assume is to do at any time what I think right. . . .

“There are thousands who are in opinion opposed to slavery and to the war [with Mexico] who yet in effect do nothing to put an end to them. . . .

“Under a government which imprisons any unjustly, the true place for a just man is also a prison . . . If the alternative is to keep all just men in prison or give up war and slavery, the state will not hesitate which to choose. If a thousand men were not to pay their tax bills this year, that would not be a violent and bloody measure . . . This is . . . the definition of a peaceable revolution.”

—Henry David Thoreau, lecturer and author, “Resistance to Civil Government,” (*Civil Disobedience*), 1849

4. Thoreau challenged the government because
 - (A) he rejected all forms of government
 - (B) he opposed war in all cases
 - (C) it engaged in a war to take land from Mexico
 - (D) it taxed people without representation
5. Thoreau believed that a just man should be prepared to do which of the following?
 - (A) Organize opposition
 - (B) Run for elected office
 - (C) Overthrow the government
 - (D) Go to jail for his beliefs
6. Which of the following groups held views most similar to the ideas expressed in this excerpt?
 - (A) Revivalists
 - (B) Transcendentalists
 - (C) Phalanxes
 - (D) Millennialists

Questions 7–8 refer to the excerpt below.

“I think that ’twixt the negroes of the South and the women at the North, all talking about rights, the white men will be in a fix pretty soon. But what’s all this here talk about?

“That man over there says that women need to be helped . . . Nobody ever helps me. . . . And ain’t I a woman?

“Then they talk about this thing in the head . . . intellect . . . What’s that got to do with women’s rights or negro’s rights? If my cup won’t hold but a pint, and yours holds a quart, wouldn’t you be mean not to let me have my little half-measure full?

“Then that little man in black there, he says women can’t have as much rights as men, ’cause Christ wasn’t a woman! Where did Christ come from? . . . From God and a woman! Man had nothing to do with Him.”

—Sojourner Truth, abolitionist and former slave, speech to a Women’s Convention in Ohio, 1851

7. Sojourner Truth strongly rejects criticisms of women that are based on which of the following?
 - (A) The ideas of transcendentalism
 - (B) The cult of domesticity
 - (C) The teachings of religion
 - (D) The working status of women
8. Sojourner Truth saw connection between the women’s rights movement and
 - (A) the Second Great Awakening
 - (B) the antislavery movement
 - (C) the cult of domesticity
 - (D) the Constitution

SHORT-ANSWER QUESTIONS

Use complete sentences; an outline or bulleted list alone is not acceptable.

Question 1. Answer a, b, and c.

- a) Choose ONE of the reforms listed below, and explain how it best demonstrates the influence of economic changes during the first half of the 19th century.
 - public education
 - temperance
 - women's rights
- b) Contrast your choice against ONE of the other options, demonstrating why that option is not as good as your choice.
- c) Briefly explain ONE government response to the reform movements of this period.

Question 2 is based on the following excerpt.

“America is beginning to assert herself to the senses and to the imagination of her children, and Europe is receding in the same degree. . . .

“Prudent men have begun to see that every American should be educated with a view to the values of land . . . The land is the appointed remedy for whatever is false . . . in our culture. The continent we inhabit is to be physic and food for our mind, as well as our body. . . .

“Gentlemen, the development of our American internal resources, the extension to the utmost of the commercial system, and the appearance of new moral causes which are to modify the state are giving an aspect of greatness to the future which the imagination fears to open.”

—Ralph Waldo Emerson, lecturer and author, “The Young American,” 1844

2. Using the excerpt, answer a, b, and c.

- a) Briefly explain the point of view by the writer about ONE of the following.
 - nature
 - railroads
 - reform movements
- b) Briefly explain ONE way in which developments during this period of the mid-19th century led to the point of view expressed by the writer.
- c) Briefly explain ONE way in which developments in this period of the mid-19th century challenged or supported Emerson’s point of view.

Question 3 is based on the following cartoon.



Source: *Woman's Holy War*. Library of Congress.

3. Using the cartoon, answer a, b, and c.
 - a) Explain the point of view reflected in the cartoon above regarding ONE of the following.
 - religious revivals
 - temperance
 - women's rights
 - b) Explain how ONE element of the cartoon expresses the point of view you identified in Part A.
 - c) Explain how the point of view you identified in Part A helped to shape ONE specific United States government action between 1820 and 1860.

Question 4. Answer a, b, and c.

- a) Briefly explain why ONE of the following best supports the view that by the mid-19th century, the antislavery movement had gradually become more radical.
 - American Colonization Society
 - *The Liberator*
 - Nat Turner
- b) Contrast your choice against ONE of the other options demonstrating why that option is not as good as your choice.
- c) Briefly explain ONE critical response to the changes during this period.

THINK AS A HISTORIAN: STATEMENTS ABOUT CONTINUITY AND CHANGE OVER TIME

Statements about continuity often include phrases such as “similar to” or “following in the path.” Statements about change often include phrases such as “unlike” and “unprecedented.” Which THREE of the following statements best express either continuity or change?

1. The Second Great Awakening was one of many reform movements that swept the country in the 1800s.
2. Some historians believe that the strong sense of taking care of one another that existed in frontier settlements in the 1800s can be traced directly to the values of the Puritans of the 1600s.
3. African American leaders in the first half of the 1800s responded to slavery in various ways.
4. Henry David Thoreau’s legacy was revived by reformers in both the United States and India in the 20th century.
5. Listing the subjects portrayed in American painting in the 1780s and in the 1850s demonstrates how significantly the United States evolved in just seven decades.

PERIOD 4 Review: 1800–1860

LONG-ESSAY QUESTIONS

Directions: Respond to one of each pair of questions. The suggested writing time is 35 minutes. In your response you should do the following.

- State a relevant thesis that directly addresses all parts of the question.
- Support your argument with evidence, using specific examples.
- Apply historical thinking skills as directed by the question.
- Synthesize the elements above into a persuasive essay that extends your argument, connects it to a different historical context, or connects it to a different category of analysis.

Choose EITHER Question 1 or Question 2.

1. For some the American Revolution was primarily an effort to maintain basic British rights as opposed to establishing a new form of government. Support, modify, or refute this contention using specific evidence.
2. For some the election of Andrew Jackson brought a revolutionary change in politics for the common man as opposed to it being a continuation of the trend toward greater voter participation. Support, modify, or refute this contention using specific evidence.

Choose EITHER Question 3 or Question 4.

3. Analyze and evaluate the impact of Alexander Hamilton’s economic policies, including his views on banking during the early years of the republic.
4. Analyze and evaluate the impact of Andrew Jackson’s economic policies, including his views on banking during the mid-19th century.

Choose EITHER Question 5 or Question 6.

5. Compare and contrast the characteristics and influences of the three major groups of the British Atlantic colonies by the mid-18th century.
6. Compare and contrast the characteristics and influences of the three major sections of the United States by the mid-19th century.

Choose EITHER Question 7 or Question 8.

7. Analyze and evaluate the ways in which ONE of the following areas influenced United States foreign policy in the late 18th century.
 - French Revolution
 - Washington's Farewell Address
 - XYZ Affair

8. Analyze and evaluate the ways in which ONE of the following areas influenced United States foreign policy in the early part of the 19th century.
 - Florida Purchase
 - Monroe Doctrine
 - War Hawks

Choose EITHER Question 9 or Question 10.

9. Explain and analyze the impact of ONE of the following on the social and political life during much of the 18th century.
 - education
 - immigration
 - religion

10. Explain and analyze the impact of ONE of the following on the social and political life during much of the first half of the 19th century.
 - education
 - immigration
 - religion

DOCUMENT-BASED QUESTION

Directions: Question 1 is based on the accompanying documents. The documents have been edited for the purpose of this exercise. You are advised to spend 15 minutes planning and 40 minutes writing your answer.

In your response you should do the following.

- State a relevant thesis that directly addresses all parts of the question.
 - Support the thesis or a relevant argument with evidence from all, or all but one, of the documents.
 - Incorporate analysis of all, or all but one, of the documents into your argument.
 - Focus your analysis of each document on at least one of the following: intended audience, purpose, historical context, and/or point of view.
 - Support your argument with analysis of historical examples outside the documents.
 - Connect historical phenomena relevant to your argument to broader events or processes.
 - Synthesize the elements above into a persuasive essay.
1. Both nationalism and sectionalism increased during the Era of Good Feelings. How did both of these beliefs develop concurrently, and did one become of greater importance in the economics and politics of the period?

Document 1

Source: Stephen Decatur, naval officer, toast given at Norfolk, Virginia, 1816

Our Country! In her intercourse with foreign nations may she always be in the right; but our country, right or wrong!

Document 2

Source: Joseph Rodman Drake, poet, “The American Flag,” 1819

Flag of the free heart’s hope and home,
By angel hands to valor given;
Thy stars have lit the welkin dome
And all the hues were born in heaven!
Forever float that standard sheet!
Where breathes the foe but falls before us?
With freedom’s soil beneath our feet,
And freedom’s banner streaming o’er us?

Document 3

Source: Emma Hart Willard, educator and feminist, address to the New York Legislature, 1819

But where is that wise and heroic country which has considered that our rights [as women] are sacred . . . ? History shows not that country. Yet though history lifts not her finger to such a one, anticipation does. She points to a nation which, having thrown off the shackles of authority and precedent, shrinks not from schemes of improvement because other nations have never attempted them; but which, in its pride of independence, would rather lead than follow in the march of human improvement: a nation, wise and magnanimous to plan, enterprising to undertake, and rich in resources to execute. Does not every American exult that this country is his own?

Document 4

Source: Henry Clay, Speech in Congress, March 31, 1824

Are we doomed to behold our industry languish and decay yet more and more? But there is a remedy, and that remedy consists in modifying our foreign policy, and in adopting a genuine American system. We must naturalize the arts in our country; and we must naturalize them by the only means which the wisdom of nations has yet discovered to be effectual—by adequate protection against the otherwise overwhelming influence of foreigners. This is only to be accomplished by the establishment of a tariff, to the consideration of which I am now brought. . . . The sole object of the tariff is to tax the produce of foreign industry with the view of promoting American industry. The tax is exclusively leveled at foreign industry.

Document 5

Source: John Quincy Adams, *Diary*, March 3, 1820

I have favored this Missouri Compromise, believing it to be all that could be effected under the present Constitution, and from extreme unwillingness to put the Union at hazard. But perhaps it would have been wiser as well as a bolder course to have persisted in the restriction upon Missouri, till it should have terminated in a convention of states to revise and amend the Constitution. This would have produced a new Union of thirteen or fourteen States, unpoluted with slavery, with a great and glorious object to effect; namely that of rallying to their standard the other states by the universal emancipation of their slaves. If the Union must be dissolved, slavery is precisely the question upon which it ought to break. For the present, however, this contest is laid asleep.

Document 6

Source: Thomas Jefferson, Letter to Congressman John Holmes of Massachusetts, April 22, 1820

I thank you, dear sir, for the copy you have been so kind to send me of the letter to your constituents on the Missouri question. It is perfect justification to them. I had for a long time ceased to read newspapers, or pay any attention to public affairs, confident they were in good hands. . . . But this momentous question, like a firebell in the night, awakened and filled me with terror. I considered it at once as the knell of the union. It is hushed, indeed, for the moment. But this is a reprieve only, not a final sentence. A geographical line, coinciding with a marked principle, moral and political, once conceived and held up to the angry passions of men, will never be obliterated; and every new irritation will mark it deeper and deeper.

Document 7

Source: *Congressional Record*, 1816

Vote on the Tariff of 1816 in the U.S. House of Representatives

Region	For	Against
New England	17	10
Middle States	44	10
South	23	34
Total	88	54

PERIOD 5: 1848–1877

Chapter 12 *Territorial and Economic Expansion, 1830–1860*

Chapter 13 *The Union in Peril, 1848–1861*

Chapter 14 *The Civil War, 1861–1865*

Chapter 15 *Reconstruction, 1863–1877*

As the young nation grew in population and land, it struggled to resolve problems that ultimately lead to a bloody clash that brought “a new birth of freedom” and permanently changed the nature of the government.

Overview Following a philosophy of manifest destiny, land was added through negotiations, purchase, and war. With victory in the Mexican War, the United States secured its southern border and ports on the Pacific Ocean.

Expansion and sectionalism intensified the differences over politics, economics, and slavery. Opposition to slavery ranging from free soilers to abolitionists and an underground railroad grew in spite of fugitive slave laws and the Dred Scott decision. A series of compromises failed and, following the election of Abraham Lincoln in 1860, a civil war ravaged the country.

The Union victory ended the questions of slavery and states’ rights. Reconstruction brought confrontations between the executive and legislative branches, and between the federal government and state governments. As the freed African Americans established new lives, Black Codes and sharecropping were established to maintain their subservience.

Alternate View Views of the Civil War have covered a spectrum from an unavoidable conflict over slavery to a failure of leadership and a needless bloodletting. Alternate views of Reconstruction considered it a half-done effort that required another 100 years to realize equality for most Americans.

Key Concepts

5.1: The United States became more connected with the world, pursued an expansionist foreign policy in the Western Hemisphere, and emerged as the destination for many migrants from other countries.

5.2: Intensified by expansion and deepening regional divisions, debates over slavery and other economic, cultural, and political issues led the nation into civil war.

5.3: The Union victory in the Civil War and the contested Reconstruction of the South settled the issues of slavery and secession but left unresolved many questions about the power of the federal government and citizenship rights.

Source: AP® United States History Course and Exam Description, Updated Fall 2015

TERRITORIAL AND ECONOMIC EXPANSION, 1830–1860

Away, away with all these cobweb issues of the rights of discovery, exploration, settlement, . . . [The American claim] is by the right of our manifest destiny to overspread and to possess the whole of the continent which Providence has given us for the development of the great experiment of liberty.

John L. O'Sullivan, *Democratic Review*, 1845

After John O'Sullivan wrote about manifest destiny, supporters of territorial expansion spread the term across the land. In the 1840s and 1850s, expansionists wanted to see the United States extend westward to the Pacific and southward into Mexico, Cuba, and Central America. By the 1890s, expansionists fixed their sights on acquiring islands in the Pacific and the Caribbean.

The phrase *manifest destiny* expressed the popular belief that the United States had a divine mission to extend its power and civilization across the breadth of North America. Enthusiasm for expansion reached a fever pitch in the 1840s. It was driven by a number of forces: nationalism, population increase, rapid economic development, technological advances, and reform ideals. But not all Americans united behind the idea of manifest destiny and expansionism. Northern critics argued vehemently that at the root of the expansionist drive was the Southern ambition to spread slavery into western lands.

Conflicts Over Texas, Maine, and Oregon

U.S. interest in pushing its borders south into Texas (a Mexican province) and west into the Oregon Territory (claimed by Britain) largely resulted from American pioneers migrating into these lands during the 1820s and 1830s.

Texas

In 1823, after having won its national independence from Spain, Mexico hoped to attract settlers—including Anglo settlers—to farm its sparsely populated northern frontier province of Texas. Moses Austin, a Missouri banker, had obtained a large land grant in Texas but died before he could recruit American

settlers for the land. His son, Stephen Austin, succeeded in bringing 300 families into Texas and thereby beginning a steady migration of American settlers into the vast frontier territory. By 1830, Americans (both white farmers and enslaved blacks) outnumbered Mexicans in Texas by three to one.

Friction developed between the Americans and the Mexicans when, in 1829, Mexico outlawed slavery and required all immigrants to convert to Roman Catholicism. When many settlers refused to obey these laws, Mexico closed Texas to additional American immigrants. Land-hungry Americans from the Southern states ignored the Mexican prohibition and streamed into Texas by the thousands.

Revolt and Independence A change in Mexico's government intensified the conflict. In 1834, General Antonio López de Santa Anna made himself dictator of Mexico and abolished that nation's federal system of government. When Santa Anna attempted to enforce Mexico's laws in Texas, a group of American settlers led by Sam Houston revolted and declared Texas to be an independent republic (March 1836).

A Mexican army led by Santa Anna captured the town of Goliad and attacked the Alamo in San Antonio, killing every one of its American defenders. Shortly afterward, however, at the Battle of the San Jacinto River, an army under Sam Houston caught the Mexicans by surprise and captured their general, Santa Anna. Under the threat of death, the Mexican leader was forced to sign a treaty that recognized independence for Texas and granted the new republic all territory north of the Rio Grande. However, when the news of San Jacinto reached Mexico City, the Mexican legislature rejected the treaty and insisted that Texas was still part of Mexico.

Annexation Denied As the first president of the Republic of Texas (or Lone Star Republic), Houston applied to the U.S. government for his country to be annexed, or added to, the United States as a new state. However, presidents Jackson and Van Buren both put off the request for annexation primarily because of political opposition among Northerners to the expansion of slavery and the potential addition of up to five new slave states created out of the Texas territories. The threat of a costly war with Mexico also dampened expansionist zeal. The next president, John Tyler (1841–1845), was a Southern Whig who was worried about the growing influence of the British in Texas. He worked to annex Texas, but the U.S. Senate rejected his treaty of annexation in 1844.

Boundary Dispute in Maine

Another diplomatic issue arose in the 1840s over the ill-defined boundary between Maine and the Canadian province of New Brunswick. At this time, Canada was still under British rule, and many Americans regarded Britain as their country's worst enemy—an attitude carried over from two previous wars (the Revolution and the War of 1812). A conflict between rival groups of lumbermen on the Maine-Canadian border erupted into open fighting. Known as the Aroostook War, or “battle of the maps,” the conflict was soon resolved in a treaty negotiated by U.S. Secretary of State Daniel Webster and the British

ambassador, Lord Alexander Ashburton. In the Webster-Ashburton Treaty of 1842, the disputed territory was split between Maine and British Canada. The treaty also settled the boundary of the Minnesota territory, leaving what proved to be the iron-rich Mesabi range on the U.S. side of the border.

Boundary Dispute in Oregon

A far more serious British-American dispute involved Oregon, a vast territory on the Pacific Coast that originally stretched as far north as the Alaskan border. At one time, this territory was claimed by four different nations: Spain, Russia, Great Britain, and the United States. Spain gave up its claim to Oregon in a treaty with the United States (the Adams-Onís Treaty of 1819).

Britain based its claim to Oregon on the Hudson Fur Company's profitable fur trade with the American Indians of the Pacific Northwest. However, by 1846, fewer than a thousand British settlers lived north of the Columbia River.

The United States based its claim on (1) the discovery of the Columbia River by Captain Robert Gray in 1792, (2) the overland expedition to the Pacific Coast by Meriwether Lewis and William Clark in 1805, and (3) the fur trading post and fort in Astoria, Oregon, established by John Jacob Astor in 1811. Protestant missionaries and farmers from the United States settled in the Willamette Valley in the 1840s. Their success in farming this fertile valley caused 5,000 Americans to catch "Oregon fever" and travel 2,000 miles over the Oregon Trail to settle in the area south of the Columbia River.

By the 1844 election, many Americans believed it to be their country's manifest destiny to take undisputed possession of all of Oregon and to annex the Republic of Texas as well. In addition, expansionists hoped to persuade Mexico to give up its province on the West Coast—the huge land of California. By 1845, Mexican California had a small Spanish-Mexican population of some 7,000 along with a much larger number of American Indians, but American emigrants were arriving in sufficient numbers "to play the Texas game."

The Election of 1844

Because slavery was allowed in Texas, many Northerners were opposed to its annexation. Leading the Northern wing of the Democratic party, former president Martin Van Buren opposed immediate annexation. Challenging him for the Democratic nomination in 1844 was the proslavery, proannexation Southerner, John C. Calhoun. The dispute between these candidates caused the Democratic convention to deadlock. After hours of wrangling, the Democrats finally nominated a *dark horse* (lesser known candidate). The man they chose, James K. Polk of Tennessee, had been a protégé of Andrew Jackson. Firmly committed to expansion and manifest destiny, Polk favored the annexation of Texas, the "reoccupation" of all of Oregon, and the acquisition of California. The Democratic slogan "Fifty-four Forty or Fight!" appealed strongly to American westerners and Southerners who in 1844 were in an expansionist mood. ("Fifty-four forty" referred to the line of latitude, 54° 40', that marked the northern border between the Oregon Territory and Russian Alaska.)

Henry Clay of Kentucky, the Whig nominee, attempted to straddle the controversial issue of Texas annexation, saying at first that he was against it and later that he was for it. This strategy alienated a group of voters in New York State, who abandoned the Whig party to support the antislavery Liberty party (see Chapter 11). In a close election, the Whigs' loss of New York's electoral votes proved decisive, and Polk, the Democratic dark horse, was the victor. The Democrats interpreted the election as a mandate to add Texas to the Union.

Annexing Texas and Dividing Oregon

Outgoing president John Tyler took the election of Polk as a signal to push the annexation of Texas through Congress. Instead of seeking Senate approval of a treaty that would have required a two-thirds vote, Tyler persuaded both houses of Congress to pass a joint resolution for annexation. This procedure required only a simple majority of each house. Tyler left Polk with the problem of dealing with Mexico's reaction to annexation.

On the Oregon question, Polk decided to compromise with Britain and back down from his party's bellicose campaign slogan, "Fifty-four Forty or Fight!" Rather than fighting for all of Oregon, the president was willing to settle for just the southern half of it. British and American negotiators agreed to divide the Oregon territory at the 49th parallel (the parallel that had been established in 1818 for the Louisiana territory). Final settlement of the issue was delayed until the United States agreed to grant Vancouver Island to Britain and guarantee its right to navigate the Columbia River. In June 1846, the treaty was submitted to the Senate for ratification. Some Northerners viewed the treaty as a sellout to Southern interests because it removed British Columbia as a source of potential free states. Nevertheless, by this time war had broken out between the United States and Mexico. Not wanting to fight both Britain and Mexico, Senate opponents of the treaty reluctantly voted for the compromise settlement.

War with Mexico

The U.S. annexation of Texas quickly led to diplomatic trouble with Mexico. Upon taking office in 1845, President Polk dispatched John Slidell as his special envoy to the government in Mexico City. Polk wanted Slidell to (1) persuade Mexico to sell the California and New Mexico territories to the United States and (2) settle the disputed Mexico-Texas border. Slidell's mission failed on both counts. The Mexican government refused to sell California and insisted that Texas's southern border was on the Nueces River. Polk and Slidell asserted that the border lay farther to the south, along the Rio Grande.

Immediate Causes of the War

While Slidell waited for Mexico City's response to the U.S. offer, Polk ordered General Zachary Taylor to move his army toward the Rio Grande across territory claimed by Mexico. On April 24, 1846, a Mexican army crossed the Rio Grande and captured an American army patrol, killing 11. Polk used the

incident to justify sending his already prepared war message to Congress. Northern Whigs (among them a first-term Illinois representative named Abraham Lincoln) opposed going to war over the incident and doubted Polk's claim that American blood had been shed on American soil. Nevertheless, Whig protests were in vain; a large majority in both houses approved the war resolution.

Military Campaigns

Most of the war was fought in Mexican territory by relatively small armies of Americans. Leading a force that never exceeded 1,500, General Stephen Kearney succeeded in taking Santa Fe, the New Mexico territory, and southern California. Backed by only several dozen soldiers, a few navy officers, and American civilians who had recently settled in California, John C. Frémont quickly overthrew Mexican rule in northern California (June 1846) and proclaimed California to be an independent republic with a bear on its flag—the so-called Bear Flag Republic.

Meanwhile, Zachary Taylor's force of 6,000 men drove the Mexican army from Texas, crossed the Rio Grande into northern Mexico, and won a major victory at Buena Vista (February 1847). President Polk then selected General Winfield Scott to invade central Mexico. The army of 14,000 under Scott's command succeeded in taking the coastal city of Vera Cruz and then captured Mexico City in September 1847.

Consequences of the War

For Mexico, the war was a military disaster from the start, but the Mexican government was unwilling to sue for peace and concede the loss of its northern lands. Finally, after the fall of Mexico City, the government had little choice but to agree to U.S. terms.

Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo (1848) The treaty negotiated in Mexico by American diplomat Nicholas Trist provided for the following:

1. Mexico recognized the Rio Grande as the southern border of Texas.
2. The United States took possession of the former Mexican provinces of California and New Mexico—the Mexican Cession. For these territories, the United States paid \$15 million and assumed responsibility for any claims of American citizens against Mexico.

In the Senate, some Whigs opposed the treaty because they saw the war as an immoral effort to expand slavery. A few Southern Democrats disliked the treaty for opposite reasons; as expansionists, they wanted the United States to take all of Mexico. Nevertheless, the treaty was finally ratified in the Senate by the required two-thirds vote.

Wilmot Proviso U.S. entry into a war with Mexico provoked controversy from start to finish. In 1846, the first year of war, Pennsylvania Congressman David Wilmot proposed that an appropriations bill be amended to forbid

slavery in any of the new territories acquired from Mexico. The Wilmot Proviso, as it was called, passed the House twice but was defeated in the Senate.

Prelude to Civil War? By increasing tensions between the North and the South, did the war to acquire territories from Mexico lead inevitably to the American Civil War? Without question, the acquisition of vast western lands did renew the sectional debate over the extension of slavery. Many Northerners viewed the war with Mexico as part of a Southern plot to extend the “slave power.” Some historians see the Wilmot Proviso as the first round in an escalating political conflict that led ultimately to civil war.

WESTWARD EXPANSION AND PIONEER TRAILS, 1840s



Manifest Destiny to the South

Many Southerners were dissatisfied with the territorial gains from the Mexican War. In the early 1850s, they hoped to acquire new territories, especially in areas of Latin America where they thought plantations worked by slaves were economically feasible. The most tempting, eagerly sought possibility in the eyes of Southern expansionists was the acquisition of Cuba.

Ostend Manifesto President Polk offered to purchase Cuba from Spain for \$100 million, but Spain refused to sell the last major remnant of its once glorious empire. Several Southern adventurers led small expeditions to Cuba in

an effort to take the island by force of arms. These forays, however, were easily defeated, and those who participated were executed by Spanish firing squads.

Elected to the presidency in 1852, Franklin Pierce adopted pro-Southern policies and dispatched three American diplomats to Ostend, Belgium, where they secretly negotiated to buy Cuba from Spain. The Ostend Manifesto that the diplomats drew up was leaked to the press in the United States and provoked an angry reaction from antislavery members of Congress. President Pierce was forced to drop the scheme.

Walker Expedition Expansionists continued to seek new empires with or without the federal government's support. Southern adventurer William Walker had tried unsuccessfully to take Baja California from Mexico in 1853. Then, leading a force mostly of Southerners, he took over Nicaragua in 1855. Walker's regime even gained temporary recognition from the United States in 1856. However, his grandiose scheme to develop a proslavery Central American empire collapsed, when a coalition of Central American countries invaded and defeated him. Walker was executed by Honduran authorities in 1860.

Clayton-Bulwer Treaty (1850) Another American ambition was to build a canal through Central America. Great Britain had the same ambition. To prevent each other from seizing this opportunity on its own, Great Britain and the United States agreed to the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty of 1850. It provided that neither nation would attempt to take exclusive control of any future canal route in Central America. This treaty continued in force until the end of the century. A new treaty signed in 1901 (the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty) gave the United States a free hand to build a canal without British participation.

Gadsden Purchase Although he failed to acquire Cuba, President Pierce succeeded in adding a strip of land to the American Southwest for a railroad. In 1853, Mexico agreed to sell thousands of acres of semidesert land to the United States for \$10 million. Known as the Gadsden Purchase, the land forms the southern sections of present-day New Mexico and Arizona.

Expansion After the Civil War

From 1855 until 1870, the issues of union, slavery, civil war, and postwar reconstruction would overshadow the drive to acquire new territory. Even so, manifest destiny continued to be an important force for shaping U.S. policy. In 1867, for example, Secretary of State William Seward succeeded in purchasing Alaska at a time when the nation was just recovering from the Civil War.

Settlement of the Western Territories

Following the peaceful acquisition of Oregon and the more violent acquisition of California, the migration of Americans into these lands began in earnest. The arid area between the Mississippi Valley and the Pacific Coast was popularly known in the 1850s and 1860s as the Great American Desert. Emigrants passed quickly over this vast, dry region to reach the more inviting lands on the West Coast. Therefore, California and Oregon were settled several decades before people attempted to farm the Great Plains.

Fur Traders' Frontier

Fur traders known as mountain men were the earliest nonnative individuals to open the Far West. In the 1820s, they held yearly rendezvous in the Rockies with American Indians to trade for animal skins. James Beckwourth, Jim Bridger, Kit Carson, and Jedediah Smith were among the hardy band of explorers and trappers who provided much of the early information about trails and frontier conditions to later settlers.

Overland Trails

After the mountain men, a much larger group of pioneers made the hazardous journey west in hopes of clearing the forests and farming the fertile valleys of California and Oregon. By 1860, hundreds of thousands had reached their westward goal by following the Oregon, California, Santa Fe, and Mormon trails. The long and arduous trek usually began in St. Joseph or Independence, Missouri, or in Council Bluffs, Iowa, and followed the river valleys through the Great Plains. Inchng along at only 15 miles a day, a wagon train needed months to finally reach the foothills of the Rockies or face the hardships of the southwestern deserts. The final life-or-death challenge was to get through the mountain passes of the Sierras and Cascades before the first heavy snow. While pioneers feared attacks by American Indians, the most common and serious dangers were disease and depression from the harsh everyday conditions on the trail.

Mining Frontier

The discovery of gold in California in 1848 set off the first of many migrations to mineral-rich mountains of the West. Gold or silver rushes occurred in Colorado, Nevada, the Black Hills of the Dakotas, and other western territories. The mining boom brought tens of thousands of men (and afterward women as well) into the western mountains. Mining camps and towns—many of them short-lived—sprang up wherever a strike (discovery) was reported. Largely as a result of the gold rush, California's population soared from a mere 14,000 in 1848 to 380,000 by 1860. Booms attracted miners from around the world. By the 1860s, almost one-third of the miners in the West were Chinese.

Farming Frontier

Most pioneer families moved west to start homesteads and begin farming. Congress' Preemption Acts of the 1830s and 1840s gave squatters the right to settle public lands and purchase them for low prices once the government put them up for sale. In addition, the government made it easier for settlers by offering parcels of land as small as 40 acres for sale.

However, moving west was not for the penniless. A family needed at least \$200 to \$300 to make the overland trip, which eliminated many of the poor. The trek to California and Oregon was largely a middle-class movement.

The isolation of the frontier made life for pioneers especially difficult during the first years, but rural communities soon developed. The institutions that the people established (schools, churches, clubs, and political parties) were

modeled after those that they had known in the East or, for immigrants from abroad, in their native lands.

Urban Frontier

Western cities that arose as a result of railroads, mineral wealth, and farming attracted a number of professionals and business owners. For example, San Francisco and Denver became instant cities created by the gold and silver rushes. Salt Lake City grew because it offered fresh supplies to travelers on overland trails for the balance of their westward journey.

The Expanding Economy

The era of territorial expansion coincided with a period of remarkable economic growth from the 1840s to 1857.

Industrial Technology

Before 1840, factory production had been concentrated mainly in the textile mills of New England. After 1840, industrialization spread rapidly to the other states of the Northeast. The new factories produced shoes, sewing machines, ready-to-wear clothing, firearms, precision tools, and iron products for railroads and other new technologies. The invention of the sewing machine by Elias Howe took much of the production of clothing out of homes into factories. An electric telegraph successfully demonstrated in 1844 by its inventor, Samuel F. B. Morse, went hand in hand with the growth of railroads in enormously speeding up communication and transportation across the country.

Railroads

The canal-building era of the 1820s and 1830s was replaced in the next two decades with the rapid expansion of rail lines, especially across the Northeast and Midwest. The railroads soon emerged as America's largest industry. As such, they required immense amounts of capital and labor and gave rise to complex business organizations. Local merchants and farmers would often buy stocks in the new railroad companies in order to connect their area to the outside world. Local and state governments also helped the railroads grow by granting special loans and tax breaks. In 1850, the U.S. government granted 2.6 million acres of federal land to build the Illinois Central Railroad from Lake Michigan to the Gulf of Mexico, the first such federal land grant.

Cheap and rapid transportation particularly promoted western agriculture. Farmers in Illinois and Iowa were now more closely linked to the Northeast by rail than by the river routes to the South. The railroads not only united the common commercial interests of the Northeast and Midwest, but would also give the North strategic advantages in the Civil War.

Foreign Commerce

The growth in manufactured goods as well as in agricultural products (both Western grains and Southern cotton) caused a large growth of exports and imports. Other factors also played a role in the expansion of U.S. trade in the mid-1800s:

1. Shipping firms encouraged trade and travel across the Atlantic by having their sailing packets depart on a regular schedule (instead of the unscheduled departures that had been customary in the 18th century).
2. The demand for whale oil to light the homes of middle-class Americans caused a whaling boom between 1830 and 1860, in which New England merchants took the lead.
3. Improvements in ship design came just in time to speed goldseekers on their journey to the California gold fields. The development of the American clipper ship cut the six-month trip from New York around the Horn of South America to San Francisco to as little as 89 days.
4. Steamships took the place of clipper ships in the mid-1850s because they had greater storage capacity, could be maintained at lower cost, and could more easily follow a regular schedule.
5. The federal government expanded U.S. trade by sending Commodore Matthew C. Perry and a small fleet of naval ships to Japan, which had been closed to most foreigners for over two centuries. In 1854, Perry pressured Japan's government to sign the Kanagawa Treaty, which allowed U.S. vessels to enter two Japanese ports to take on coal. This treaty soon led to a commercial agreement on trade.

Panic of 1857 The midcentury economic boom ended in 1857 with a financial panic. Prices, especially for Midwestern farmers, dropped sharply, and unemployment in Northern cities increased. Since cotton prices remained high, the South was less affected. As a result, some Southerners believed that their plantation economy was superior and that continued union with the Northern economy was not needed.

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES: WHAT CAUSED MANIFEST DESTINY?

Traditional historians stressed the accomplishments of westward expansion in bringing civilization and democratic institutions to a wilderness area. The heroic efforts of mountain men and pioneering families to overcome a hostile environment have long been celebrated by both historians and the popular media.

As a result of the civil rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s, historians today are more sensitive than earlier historians to racist language and beliefs. They recognized the racial undercurrents in the political speeches of the 1840s that argued for expansion into American Indian, Mexican, and Central American territories. Some historians argue that racist motives might even have prompted the decision to withdraw U.S. troops from Mexico instead of occupying it. They point out that Americans who opposed the idea of keeping Mexico had resorted to racist arguments, asserting that it would be undesirable to incorporate large non-Anglo populations into the republic.

continued

Recent historians have also broadened their research into westward movement. Rather than concentrating on the achievements of Anglo pioneers, they have focused more on these topics: (a) the impact on American Indians whose lands were taken, (b) the influence of Mexican culture on U.S. culture, (c) the contributions of African American and Asian American pioneers, and (d) the role of women in the development of western family and community life.

Mexican historians take a different point of view on the events of the 1840s. As they point out, the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo took half of Mexico's territory. They argue that the war of 1846 gave rise to a number of long-standing economic and political problems that have impeded Mexico's development as a modern nation.

From another perspective, the war with Mexico and especially the taking of California were motivated by imperialism rather than by racism. Historians taking this position argue that the United States was chiefly interested in trade with China and Japan and needed California as a base for U.S. commercial ambitions in the Pacific. U.S. policy makers were afraid that California would fall into the hands of Great Britain or some other European power if the United States did not move in first.

KEY TERMS BY THEME

Belief (NAT) manifest destiny	Expansion Politics (POL) John Tyler Oregon territory "Fifty-four Forty or Fight!" James K. Polk Wilmot Proviso Franklin Pierce Ostend Manifesto (1852)	Rio Grande; Nueces River Mexican War (1846–1847) Zachary Taylor Stephen Kearney Winfield Scott John C. Frémont California; Bear Flag Republic Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo (1848) Mexican Cession Walker Expedition Clayton-Bulwer Treaty (1850) Gadsden Purchase (1853) foreign commerce exports and imports Matthew C. Perry Kanagawa Treaty
Expanding Economy (WXT) industrial technology Elias Howe Samuel F. B. Morse railroads Panic of 1857		
Westward (MIG/GEO) Great American Desert mountain men Far West overland trails mining frontier gold rush silver rush farming frontier urban frontier federal land grants	Military & Diplomatic Expansion (WOR) Texas Stephen Austin Antonio López de Santa Anna Sam Houston Alamo Aroostook War Webster-Ashburton Treaty (1842)	

MULTIPLE-CHOICE QUESTIONS

Questions 1–3 refer to the excerpt below.

“Where, where was the heroic determination of the executive to vindicate our title to the whole of Oregon—yes sir, ‘THE WHOLE OR NONE’[?] . . . It has been openly avowed . . . that Oregon and Texas were born and cradled together in the Baltimore Convention; that they were the twin offspring of that political conclave; and in that avowal may be found the whole explanation of the difficulties and dangers with which the question is now attended. . . . I maintain

- “1. That this question . . . is . . . one for negotiations, compromise, and amicable adjustment.
- “2. That satisfactory evidence has not yet been afforded that no compromise which the United States ought to accept can be effected.
- “3. That, if no other mode of amicable settlement remains, arbitration ought to be resorted to. . . .”

—Robert C. Winthrop, speech to the House of Representatives,
“Arbitration of the Oregon Question,” January 3, 1846

1. Winthrop suggests that Polk’s slogan of “Fifty-four Forty or Fight!” was based mainly on which of the following attitudes?
 - (A) Polk held strong anti-British sentiments
 - (B) Polk believed the country needed more free land
 - (C) Polk hoped to get political benefit
 - (D) Polk felt pressure from Southerners
2. Which of the following served as a major cause of the war with Mexico?
 - (A) The annexation of Texas
 - (B) The Monroe Doctrine
 - (C) The Louisiana Purchase
 - (D) The election of 1844
3. President Polk accepted a compromise with Britain on the Oregon dispute because
 - (A) the United States was facing problems with Mexico
 - (B) the British offered a large payment
 - (C) the Russians were becoming involved
 - (D) the people who settled in California were successful

Questions 4–6 refer to the map below.



4. Which period was the peak of manifest destiny?
 - (A) 1776 to 1783
 - (B) 1803 to 1810
 - (C) 1819 to 1841
 - (D) 1842 to 1853
5. One attempt to prevent slavery in the territories was the
 - (A) Webster-Ashburton Agreement
 - (B) Clayton-Bulwer Treaty
 - (C) Ostend Manifesto
 - (D) Wilmot Proviso
6. By going to war, the United States gained the territory labeled as the
 - (A) Louisiana Purchase
 - (B) Oregon Country
 - (C) Annexation of Texas
 - (D) Mexican Cession

Questions 7–8 refer to the excerpt below.

“I have made known my decision upon the Mexican Treaty. . . . I would submit it [to] the Senate for ratification . . .

“The treaty conformed on the main questions of limits and boundary to the instructions given . . . though, if the treaty was now to be made, I should demand more territory. . . .

“I look, too, to the consequences of its rejection. A [Whig] majority of one branch of Congress [the House] is opposed to my administration. . . . And if I were now to reject a treaty made upon my own terms . . . the probability is that Congress would not grant either men or money to prosecute the war. . . . I might at last be compelled to withdraw them [the army], and thus lose the two provinces of New Mexico and Upper California, which were ceded to the United States by this treaty.”

—President James K. Polk, *Diary*, 21st February, 1848

7. The major opposition to the Mexican War was based on the belief that
 - (A) Thoreau’s ideas about non-violence were correct
 - (B) it would expand slavery
 - (C) the nation could not pay for a war
 - (D) the British would intervene
8. President Polk was motivated to reject the treaty with Mexico because of which of the following?
 - (A) Many Southerners wanted the United States to get larger gains in territory
 - (B) Many Whigs opposed the treaty and were willing to continue the war
 - (C) The United States was in a dispute with Great Britain over the Canadian border
 - (D) The treaty called for the United States to give up the territories known as Upper California and New Mexico

SHORT-ANSWER QUESTIONS

Use complete sentences; an outline or bulleted list alone is not acceptable.

Question 1. Answer a, b, and c.

- a) Briefly explain why ONE of the following best supports the view that a belief in a manifest destiny played a decisive role in U.S. politics and policies during the 1840s.
 - annexation of Texas
 - “Fifty-four Forty or Fight!”
 - Mexican Cession
- b) Contrast your choice against ONE of the other options, demonstrating why that option is not as good as your choice.
- c) Briefly explain ONE criticism of this belief in manifest destiny during the 1840s.

Question 2 is based on the following excerpts.

“That Texas is to be, sooner or later, included in the Union, we have long . . . regarded as an event already indelibly inscribed in the book of future fate and necessity. And as for what may be termed the antislavery objection, this has no greater force than the other. The question of slavery is not a federal or national but a local question. . . . It would not, in all probability, be difficult to obtain the consent of Mexico, or such recognition by her of the independence of Texas.”

—Senator Robert J. Walker, “The Texas Question,” *United States Magazine and Democratic Review*, 1844

“There has long been a supposed conflict between the interests of free labor and of slave labor. . . . But let us admit Texas, and we shall place the balance of power in the hands of the Texans themselves. . . . Are our friends of the North prepared to deliver over this great national policy to the people of Texas . . . in order to purchase a slave market for their neighbors, who, in the words of Thomas Jefferson Randolph, ‘breed men for the market like oxen for the shambles’?”

—Representative Joshua Giddings, “Upon the Annexation of Texas,” 1844

2. Using the excerpts, answer a, b, and c.
 - a) Briefly explain the main point of Excerpt 1.
 - b) Briefly explain the main point of Excerpt 2.
 - c) Provide ONE piece of evidence from the period of 1830 to 1860 that is not included in the excerpts and explain how it supports the interpretation in either excerpt.

Question 3 is based on the following poem.

Come my tan-faced children
Follow well in order, get your weapons ready,
Have you your pistols? Have you your sharp-edged axes?
Pioneers! O pioneers!

For we cannot tarry here,
We must march my darlings, we must bear the brunt of danger,
We the youthful sinewy races, all the rest on us depend,
Pioneers! O pioneers!

Have the elder races halted?
Do they droop and end their lesson, wearied over there beyond the seas,
We take up the task eternal, and the burden and the lesson.
Pioneers! O pioneers!

We detachments steady throwing,
Down the edges, through the passes, up mountains steep,
Conquering, holding, daring, venturing as we go the unknown ways,
Pioneers! O pioneers!

From Nebraska, from Arkansas,
Central inland race are we, from Missouri, with the continental blood intervein'd,
All the hands of comrades clasping, all the Southern, all the Northern,
Pioneers! O pioneers!

—Walt Whitman, poet, “Pioneers! O Pioneers!” 1865

3. Using the poem, answer a, b, and c.

- a) Briefly explain the point of view reflected in the poem above regarding ONE of the following.
 - frontier
 - Manifest Destiny
 - overland trails
- b) Briefly explain ONE development from the period 1830–1860 that led to the point of view expressed by the writer.
- c) Briefly explain ONE way in which developments in the period following 1860 challenged or supported the point of view expressed by the writer.

Question 4. Answer a, b, and c.

- a) Choose ONE of the forces listed below, and explain how this best demonstrates this statement: “The development of the territory west of the Mississippi River during the period between 1820 and 1860 was driven by a number of forces.”
 - nationalism
 - new technology
 - population growth
- b) Contrast your choice against ONE of the other options, demonstrating why that option is not as good as your choice.
- c) Briefly explain the role ONE of the following men played in this westward development.

Sam Houston

Samuel F. B. Morse

James Polk

THINK AS A HISTORIAN: STATEMENTS ABOUT PERIODIZATION

Which TWO of the following statements best demonstrate the significance of periodization?

1. The Clayton-Bulwer Treaty of 1850 was a defensive measure against the expansion of British influence in Central America.
2. The great era of American expansion began not in 1830, but in 1803 with Jefferson’s decision to purchase the Louisiana Territory.
3. In the history of American expansion, 1860 is a meaningless date: the national attitude toward expansion was the same before and after that year.
4. The vote on the Wilmot Proviso demonstrated how members of Congress felt about the expansion of slavery.
5. The Ostend Manifesto was just a footnote in the long story of efforts by the United States to obtain Cuba.

THE UNION IN PERIL, 1848–1861

The real issue in this controversy—the one pressing upon every mind—is the sentiment on the part of one class that looks upon the institution of slavery as a wrong, and of another class that does not look upon it as a wrong.

Abraham Lincoln, 1858

Nobody disagrees about the sequence of major events from 1848 to 1861 that led ultimately to the outbreak of the Civil War between the Union and the Confederacy. Facts in themselves, however, do not automatically assemble themselves into a convincing interpretation of *why* war occurred when it did. Historians have identified at least four main causes of the conflict between the North and the South: (1) *slavery*, as a growing moral issue in the North, versus its defense and expansion in the South; (2) *constitutional disputes* over the nature of the federal Union and states' rights; (3) *economic differences* between the industrializing North and the agricultural South over such issues as tariffs, banking, and internal improvements; (4) *political blunders and extremism* on both sides, which some historians conclude resulted in an unnecessary war. This chapter summarizes the events leading up to Lincoln's election and the secession of eleven Southern states from the Union.

Conflict Over Status of Territories

The issue of slavery in the territories gained in the Mexican War became the focus of sectional differences in the late 1840s. The Wilmot Proviso, which excluded slavery from the new territories, would have upset the Compromise of 1820 and the delicate balance of 15 free and 15 slave states. The proviso's defeat only intensified sectional feelings. On the issue of how to deal with these new western territories, there were essentially three conflicting positions.

Free-Soil Movement

Northern Democrats and Whigs supported the Wilmot Proviso and the position that all African Americans—slave and free—should be excluded from the Mexican Cession (territory ceded to the U.S. by Mexico in 1848). While abolitionists advocated eliminating slavery everywhere, many Northerners who opposed the westward expansion of slavery did not oppose slavery in the

South. They sought to keep the West a land of opportunity for whites only so that the white majority would not have to compete with the labor of slaves or free blacks. In 1848, Northerners who opposed allowing slavery in the territories organized the Free-Soil party, which adopted the slogan “free soil, free labor, and free men.” In addition to its chief objective—preventing the extension of slavery—the new party also advocated free homesteads (public land grants to small farmers) and internal improvements.

Southern Position

Most whites viewed any attempts to restrict the expansion of slavery as a violation of their constitutional right to take and use their property as they wished. They saw the Free-Soilers—and especially the abolitionists—as intent on the ultimate destruction of slavery. More moderate Southerners favored extending the Missouri Compromise line of 36°30' westward to the Pacific Ocean and permitting territories north of that line to be nonslave.

Popular Sovereignty

Lewis Cass, a Democratic senator from Michigan, proposed a compromise solution that soon won considerable support from both moderate Northerners and moderate Southerners. Instead of Congress determining whether to allow slavery in a new western territory or state, Cass suggested that the matter be determined by a vote of the people who settled the territory. Cass’s approach to the problem was known as squatter sovereignty, or popular sovereignty.

The Election of 1848

In 1848, the Democrats nominated Senator Cass and adopted a platform pledged to popular sovereignty. The Whigs nominated Mexican War hero General Zachary Taylor, who had never been involved in politics and took no position on slavery in the territories. A third party, the Free-Soil party, nominated former president Martin Van Buren. It consisted of “conscience” Whigs (who opposed slavery) and antislavery Democrats; the latter group were ridiculed as “barnburners” because their defection threatened to destroy the Democratic party. Taylor narrowly defeated Cass, in part because of the vote given the Free-Soil party in such key Northern states as New York and Pennsylvania.

The Compromise of 1850

The gold rush of 1849 and the influx of about 100,000 settlers into California created the need for law and order in the West. In 1849, Californians drafted a constitution for their new state—a constitution that banned slavery. Even though President Taylor was a Southern slaveholder himself, he supported the immediate admission of both California and New Mexico as free states. (At this time, however, the Mexican population of the New Mexico territory had little interest in applying for statehood.)

Taylor’s plan sparked talk of secession among the “fire-eaters” (radicals) in the South. Some Southern extremists even met in Nashville in 1850 to discuss

secession. By this time, however, the astute Henry Clay had proposed yet another compromise for solving the political crisis:

- Admit California to the Union as a free state
- Divide the remainder of the Mexican Cession into two territories—Utah and New Mexico—and allow the settlers in these territories to decide the slavery issue by majority vote, or popular sovereignty
- Give the land in dispute between Texas and the New Mexico territory to the new territories in return for the federal government assuming Texas's public debt of \$10 million
- Ban the slave trade in the District of Columbia but permit whites to hold slaves as before
- Adopt a new Fugitive Slave Law and enforce it rigorously

In the ensuing Senate debate over the compromise proposal, the three congressional giants of the age—Henry Clay of Kentucky, Daniel Webster of Massachusetts, and John C. Calhoun of South Carolina—delivered the last great speeches of their lives. (Webster and Calhoun, who were both born in 1782, died in 1850; Clay died two years later.) Webster argued for compromise in order to save the Union, and in so doing alienated the Massachusetts abolitionists who formed the base of his support. Calhoun argued against compromise and insisted that the South be given equal rights in the acquired territory.

Northern opposition to compromise came from younger antislavery lawmakers, such as Senator William H. Seward of New York, who argued that a higher law than the Constitution existed. Opponents managed to prevail until the sudden death in 1850 of President Taylor, who had also opposed Clay's plan. Succeeding him was a strong supporter of compromise, Vice President Millard Fillmore. Stephen A. Douglas, a politically astute young senator from Illinois, engineered different coalitions to pass each part of the compromise separately. President Fillmore readily signed the bills into law.

Passage The passage of the Compromise of 1850 bought time for the Union. Because California was admitted as a free state, the compromise added to the North's political power, and the political debate deepened the commitment of many Northerners to saving the Union from secession. On the other hand, parts of the compromise became sources of controversy, especially the new Fugitive Slave Law and the provision for popular sovereignty.

Agitation Over Slavery

For a brief period—the four years between the Compromise of 1850 and the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act in 1854—political tensions abated slightly. However, the enforcement of the Fugitive Slave Act and the

publication of a best-selling antislavery novel kept the slavery question in the forefront of public attention in both the North and South.

Fugitive Slave Law

The passage of a strict Fugitive Slave Law persuaded many Southerners to accept the loss of California to the abolitionists and Free-Soilers. Yet the enforcement of the new law in the North was bitterly and sometimes forcibly resisted by antislavery Northerners. In effect, therefore, enforcement of the new law drove a wedge between the North and the South.

Enforcement and Opposition The law's chief purpose was to track down runaway (fugitive) slaves who had escaped to a Northern state, capture them, and return them to their Southern owners. The law placed fugitive slave cases under the exclusive jurisdiction of the federal government and authorized special U.S. commissioners to issue warrants to arrest fugitives. Captured persons who claimed to be a free African American and not a runaway slave were denied the right of trial by jury. Citizens who attempted to hide a runaway or obstruct enforcement of the law were subject to heavy penalties.

Underground Railroad

The Underground Railroad, the fabled network of "conductors" and "stations," was a loose network of Northern free blacks and courageous ex-slaves, with the help of some white abolitionists, who helped escaped slaves reach freedom in the North or in Canada. The most famous conductor was an escaped slave woman, Harriet Tubman, who made at least 19 trips into the South to help some 300 slaves escape. Free blacks in the North and abolitionists also organized vigilance committees to protect fugitive slaves from the slave catchers. Once the Civil War broke out, African American leaders such as Frederick Douglass, Harriet Tubman, and Sojourner Truth continued to work for the emancipation of slaves and to support black soldiers in the Union cause.

Books on Slavery—Pro and Con

Popular books as well as unpopular laws stirred the emotions of the people of all regions.

Uncle Tom's Cabin The most influential book of its day was a novel about the conflict between an enslaved man named Tom and the brutal white slave owner Simon Legree. The publication of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* in 1852 by the Northern writer Harriet Beecher Stowe moved a generation of Northerners as well as many Europeans to regard all slave owners as monstrously cruel and inhuman. Southerners condemned the "untruths" in the novel and looked upon it as one more proof of the North's incurable prejudice against the Southern way of life. Later, when President Lincoln met Stowe, he is reported to have said, "So you're the little woman who wrote the book that made this great war."

Impending Crisis of the South. Although it did not appear until 1857, Hinton R. Helper's book of nonfiction, *Impending Crisis of the South*, attacked slavery from another angle. The author, a native of North Carolina, used

statistics to demonstrate to fellow Southerners that slavery weakened the South's economy. Southern states acted quickly to ban the book, but it was widely distributed in the North by antislavery and Free-Soil leaders.

Comparing the Free and Slave States in the 1850s			
Category	Free States	Slave States	Slave States as Percentage of Free States
Population	18,484,922	9,612,979	52 percent
Patents for New Inventions	1,929	268	14 percent
Value of Church Buildings	\$67,778,477	\$21,674,581	32 percent
Newspapers and Periodicals	1,790	740	41 percent
Bank Capital	\$230,100,840	\$109,078,940	47 percent
Value of Exports	\$167,520,098	\$107,480,688	64 percent

Source: Hinton R. Helper, *Impending Crisis of the South*, 1857. Data from various years between 1850 and 1856.

Southern Reaction Responding to the Northern literature that condemned slavery as evil, proslavery Southern whites counterattacked by arguing that slavery was just the opposite—a positive good for slave and master alike. They argued that slavery was sanctioned by the Bible and was firmly grounded in philosophy and history. Southern authors contrasted the conditions of Northern wage workers—“wage slaves” forced to work long hours in factories and mines—with the familial bonds that could develop on plantations between slaves and master. George Fitzhugh, the boldest and best known of the proslavery authors, questioned the principle of equal rights for “unequal men” and attacked the capitalist wage system as worse than slavery. Among his works were *Sociology for the South* (1854) and *Cannibals All!* (1857).

Effect of Law and Literature

The Fugitive Slave Law, combined with the antislavery and proslavery literature, polarized the nation even more. Northerners who had earlier scorned abolition became more concerned about slavery as a moral issue. At the same time, a growing number of Southerners became convinced that the North’s goal was to destroy the institution of slavery and the way of life based upon it.

National Parties in Crisis

The potency of the slavery controversy increased political instability, as shown in the weakening of the two major parties—the Democrats and the Whigs—and in a disastrous application of popular sovereignty in the territory of Kansas.

The Election of 1852

Signs of trouble for the Whig party were apparent in the 1852 election for president. The Whigs nominated another military hero of the Mexican War, General Winfield Scott. Attempting to ignore the slavery issue, the Whig campaign concentrated on the party's innocuous plans for improving roads and harbors. But Scott quickly discovered that sectional issues could not be held in check. The antislavery and Southern factions of the party fell to quarreling, and the party was on the verge of splitting apart.

The Democrats nominated a safe compromise candidate, Franklin Pierce of New Hampshire. Though a Northerner, Pierce was acceptable to Southern Democrats because he supported the Fugitive Slave Law. In the electoral college vote, Pierce and the Democrats won all but four states in a sweep that suggested the days of the Whig party were numbered.

The Kansas-Nebraska Act (1854)

With the Democrats firmly in control of national policy both in the White House and in Congress, a new law was passed that was to have disastrous consequences. Senator Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois devised a plan for building a railroad and promoting western settlement (while at the same time increasing the value of his own real estate holdings in Chicago). Douglas needed to win Southern approval for his plan to build a transcontinental railroad through the central United States, with a major terminus in Chicago. (Southern Democrats preferred a more southerly route for the railroad.) To obtain Southern approval for his railroad route, Douglas introduced a bill to divide the Nebraska Territory into two parts, the Kansas Territory and Nebraska Territory, and allow settlers in each territory to decide whether to allow slavery or not. Since these territories were located *north* of the 36°30' line, Douglas's bill gave Southern slave owners an opportunity to expand slavery that previously had been closed to them by the Missouri Compromise of 1820. Northern Democrats condemned the bill as a surrender to the "slave power."

After three months of bitter debate, both houses of Congress passed Douglas's bill as the Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854, and President Pierce signed it into law.

Extremists and Violence

The Kansas-Nebraska Act, in effect, repealed the Missouri Compromise that had kept a lid on regional tensions for more than three decades. After 1854, the conflicts between antislavery and proslavery forces exploded, both in Kansas and on the floor of the United States Senate.

THE UNITED STATES AFTER THE KANSAS-NEBRASKA ACT OF 1854



"Bleeding Kansas"

Stephen Douglas, the sponsor of the Kansas-Nebraska Act, expected the slavery issue in the territory to be settled peacefully by the antislavery farmers from the Midwest who migrated to Kansas. These settlers did in fact constitute a majority of the population. But slaveholders from the neighboring state of Missouri also set up homesteads in Kansas chiefly as a means of winning control of the territory for the South. Northern abolitionists and Free-Soilers responded by organizing the New England Emigrant Aid Company (1855), which paid for the transportation of antislavery settlers to Kansas. Fighting soon broke out between the proslavery and the antislavery groups, and the territory became known as "bleeding Kansas."

Proslavery Missourians, mockingly called "border ruffians" by their enemies, crossed the border to create a proslavery legislature in Lecompton, Kansas. Antislavery settlers refused to recognize this government and created their own legislature in Topeka. In 1856, proslavery forces attacked the free-soil town of Lawrence, killing two and destroying homes and businesses. Two days later, John Brown, a stern abolitionist who was born in Connecticut and living in New York, retaliated. He and his sons attacked a proslavery farm settlement at Pottawatomie Creek, killing five settlers.

In Washington, the Pierce administration kept aloof from the turmoil in Kansas. It did nothing to keep order in the territory and failed to support honest elections there. As “bleeding Kansas” became bloodier, the Democratic party became ever more divided between its Northern and Southern factions.

Caning of Senator Sumner The violence in Kansas spilled over into the halls of the U.S. Congress. In 1856, Massachusetts Senator Charles Sumner verbally attacked the Democratic administration in a vitriolic speech, “The Crime Against Kansas.” His intemperate remarks included personal charges against South Carolina Senator Andrew Butler. Butler’s nephew, Congressman Preston Brooks, defended his absent uncle’s honor by walking into the Senate chamber and beating Sumner over the head with a cane. (Brooks explained that dueling was too good for Sumner, but a cane was fit for a dog.) Sumner never fully recovered from the attack.

Brooks’ action outraged the North, and the House voted to censure him. Southerners, however, applauded Brooks’ deed and sent him numerous canes to replace the one he broke beating Sumner. The Sumner-Brooks incident was another sign of growing passions on both sides.

New Parties

The increasing tensions over slavery divided Northern and Southern Democrats, and it completely broke apart the Whig party. In hindsight, it is clear that the breakup of truly national political parties in the mid-1850s paralleled the breakup of the Union. The new parties came into being at this time—one temporary, the other permanent. Both played a role in bringing about the demise of a major national party, the Whigs.

Know-Nothing Party In addition to sectional divisions between North and South, there was also in the mid-1850s growing ethnic tension in the North between native-born Protestant Americans and immigrant Germans and Irish Catholics. Nativist hostility to these newcomers led to the formation of the American party—or the Know-Nothing party, as it was more commonly known (because party members commonly responded “I know nothing” to political questions). The Know-Nothings drew support away from the Whigs at a time when that party was reeling from its defeat in the 1852 election. Their one core issue was opposition to Catholics and immigrants who, in the 1840s and 1850s, were entering Northern cities in large numbers.

Although the Know-Nothings won a few local and state elections in the mid-1850s and helped to weaken the Whigs, they quickly lost influence, as sectional issues again became paramount.

Birth of the Republican Party The Republican party was founded in Wisconsin in 1854 as a direct reaction to the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act. Composed of a coalition of Free-Soilers and antislavery Whigs and Democrats, its overriding purpose was to oppose the spread of slavery in the territories—not to end slavery itself. Its first platform of 1854 called for the repeal of both the Kansas-Nebraska Act and the Fugitive Slave Law. As violence increased in Kansas, more and more people, including some abolitionists, joined the

Republican party, and it was soon the second largest party in the country. But because it remained in these years strictly a Northern or sectional party, its success alienated and threatened the South.

The Election of 1856

The Republicans' first test of strength came in the presidential election of 1856. Their nominee for president was a senator from California, the young explorer and "Pathfinder," John C. Frémont. The Republican platform called for no expansion of slavery, free homesteads, and a probusiness protective tariff. The Know-Nothings also competed strongly in this election, with their candidate, former President Millard Fillmore, winning 20 percent of the popular vote.

As the one major national party, the Democrats expected to win. They nominated James Buchanan of Pennsylvania, rejecting both President Pierce and Stephen Douglas because they were too closely identified with the controversial Kansas-Nebraska Act. As expected, the Democratic ticket won a majority of both the popular and electoral vote. But the Republicans made a remarkably strong showing for a sectional party. In the electoral college, Frémont carried 11 of the 16 free states. People could predict that the antislavery Republicans might soon win the White House without a single vote from the South.

The election of 1856 foreshadowed the emergence of a powerful political party that would win all but four presidential elections between 1860 and 1932.

Constitutional Issues

Both the Democrats' position of popular sovereignty and the Republicans' stand against the expansion of slavery received serious blows during the Buchanan administration (1857–1861). Republicans attacked Buchanan as a weak president.

Lecompton Constitution

One of Buchanan's first challenges as president in 1857 was to decide whether to accept or reject a proslavery state constitution for Kansas submitted by the Southern legislature at Lecompton. Buchanan knew that the Lecompton constitution, as it was called, did not have the support of the majority of settlers. Even so, he asked Congress to accept the document and admit Kansas as a slave state. Congress did not do so, because many Democrats, including Stephen Douglas, joined with the Republicans in rejecting the Lecompton constitution. The next year, 1858, the proslavery document was overwhelmingly rejected by Kansas settlers, most of whom were antislavery Republicans.

Dred Scott v. Sandford (1857)

Congressional folly and presidential ineptitude contributed to the sectional crisis of the 1850s. Then the Supreme Court worsened the crisis when it infuriated many Northerners with a controversial proslavery decision in the case of a slave named Dred Scott. Scott had been held in slavery in Missouri and then taken to the free territory of Wisconsin where he lived for two years before

returning to Missouri. Arguing that his residence on free soil made him a free citizen, Scott sued for his freedom in Missouri in 1846. The case worked its way through the court system. It finally reached the Supreme Court, which rendered its decision in March 1857, only two days after Buchanan was sworn in as president.

Presiding over the Court was Chief Justice Roger Taney, a Southern Democrat. A majority of the Court decided against Scott and gave these reasons:

- Dred Scott had no right to sue in a federal court because the Framers of the Constitution did not intend African Americans to be U.S. citizens.
- Congress did not have the power to deprive any person of property without due process of law; if slaves were a form of property, then Congress could not exclude slavery from any federal territory.
- The Missouri Compromise was unconstitutional because it excluded slavery from Wisconsin and other Northern territories.

The Court's ruling delighted Southern Democrats and infuriated Northern Republicans. In effect, the Supreme Court declared that all parts of the western territories were open to slavery. Republicans denounced the Dred Scott decision as "the greatest crime in the annals of the republic." Because of the timing of the decision, right after Buchanan's inauguration, many Northerners suspected that the Democratic president and the Democratic majority on the Supreme Court, including Taney, had secretly planned the Dred Scott decision, hoping that it would settle the slavery question once and for all. The decision increased Northerners' suspicions of a slave power conspiracy and induced thousands of former Democrats to vote Republican.

Northern Democrats such as Senator Douglas were left with the almost impossible task of supporting popular sovereignty without repudiating the Dred Scott decision. Douglas's hopes for a sectional compromise and his ambitions for the presidency were both in jeopardy.

Lincoln-Douglas Debates

In 1858, the focus of the nation was on Stephen Douglas's campaign for reelection as senator from Illinois. Challenging him for the Senate seat was a successful trial lawyer and former member of the Illinois legislature, Abraham Lincoln. The Republican candidate had served only one two-year term in Congress in the 1840s as a Whig. Nationally, he was an unknown compared to Douglas (the Little Giant), the champion of popular sovereignty and possibly the best hope for holding the nation together if elected president in 1860.

Lincoln was not an abolitionist. Even so, as a moderate who was against the expansion of slavery, he spoke effectively of slavery as a moral issue. ("If slavery is not wrong, nothing is wrong.") Accepting the Illinois Republicans' nomination, the candidate delivered his celebrated "house-divided" speech that won him fame. "This government," said Lincoln, "cannot endure permanently

half slave and half free,” a statement that made Southerners view Lincoln as a radical. In seven campaign debates held in different Illinois towns, Lincoln shared the platform with his famous opponent, Douglas. The Republican challenger attacked Douglas’s seeming indifference to slavery as a moral issue.

In a debate in Freeport, Illinois, Lincoln challenged Douglas to reconcile popular sovereignty with the Dred Scott decision. In what became known as the Freeport Doctrine, Douglas responded that slavery could not exist in a community if the local citizens did not pass laws (slave codes) maintaining it. His views angered Southern Democrats because, from their point of view, Douglas did not go far enough in supporting the implications of the Dred Scott decision.

Douglas won his campaign for reelection to the U.S. Senate. In the long run, however, he lost ground in his own party by alienating Southern Democrats. Lincoln, on the other hand, emerged from the debates as a national figure and a leading contender for the Republican nomination for president in 1860.

The Road to Secession

Outside Illinois, the Republicans did well in the congressional elections of 1858, which alarmed many Southerners. They worried not only about the anti-slavery plank in the Republicans’ program but also about that party’s economic program, which favored the interests of Northern industrialists at the expense of the South. The higher tariffs pledged in the Republican platform could only help Northern business and hurt the South’s dependence on the export of cotton. Therefore, Southerners feared that a Republican victory in 1860 would spell disaster for their economic interests and also threaten their “constitutional right,” as affirmed by the Supreme Court, to hold slaves as property. If this were not enough cause for alarm, Northern radicals provided money to John Brown, the man who had massacred five farmers in Kansas in 1856.

John Brown’s Raid at Harpers Ferry

John Brown confirmed the South’s worst fears of radical abolitionism when he tried to start a slave uprising in Virginia. In October 1859, he led a small band of followers, including his four sons and some former slaves, in an attack on the federal arsenal at Harpers Ferry. His impractical plan was to use guns from the arsenal to arm Virginia’s slaves, whom he expected to rise up in general revolt. Federal troops under the command of Robert E. Lee captured Brown and his band after a two-day siege. Brown and six of his followers were tried for treason, convicted, and hanged by the state of Virginia.

Moderates in the North, including Republican leaders, condemned Brown’s use of violence, but Southerners were not convinced by their words. Southern whites saw the raid as final proof of the North’s true intentions—to use slave revolts to destroy the South. Because John Brown spoke with simple eloquence at his trial of his humanitarian motives in wanting to free the slaves, he was hailed as a martyr by many antislavery Northerners. (A few years later, when civil war broke out, John Brown was celebrated by advancing Northern armies singing: “Glory, glory, hallelujah! His soul is marching on.”)

The Election of 1860

After John Brown's raid, more and more Americans understood that their country was moving to the brink of disintegration. The presidential election of 1860 would be a test if the union could survive.

Breakup of the Democratic Party As 1860 began, the Democratic party represented the last practical hope for coalition and compromise. The Democrats held their national nominating convention in Charleston, South Carolina. Stephen Douglas was the party's leading candidate and the person most capable of winning the presidency. However, his nomination was blocked by a combination of angry Southerners and supporters of President Buchanan.

After deadlocking at Charleston, the Democrats held a second convention in Baltimore. Many delegates from the slave states walked out, enabling the remaining delegates to nominate Douglas on a platform of popular sovereignty and enforcement of the Fugitive Slave Law. Southern Democrats then held their own convention in Baltimore and nominated Vice President John C. Breckinridge of Kentucky as their candidate. The Southern Democratic platform called for the unrestricted extension of slavery in the territories and the annexation of Cuba, a land where slavery was already flourishing.

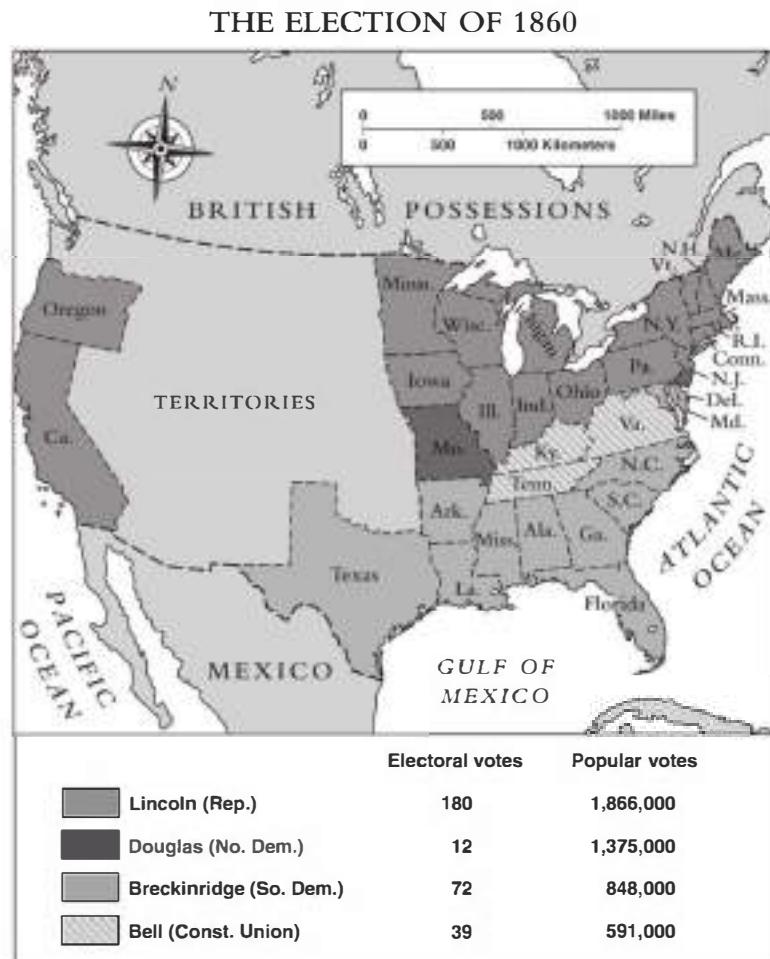
Republican Nomination of Lincoln When the Republicans met in Chicago, they enjoyed the prospect of an easy win over the divided Democrats. They made the most of their advantage by drafting a platform that appealed strongly to the economic self-interest of Northerners and Westerners. In addition to calling for the exclusion of slavery from the territories, the Republican platform promised a protective tariff for industry, free land for homesteaders, and internal improvements to encourage western settlement, including a railroad to the Pacific. To ensure victory, the Republicans turned away from Senator William H. Seward, a well-known leader but more radical on slavery, to the strong debater from Illinois, Abraham Lincoln—a candidate who could carry the key Midwestern states of Illinois, Indiana, and Ohio.

One cloud on the horizon darkened the Republicans' otherwise bright future. In the South, secessionists warned that if Lincoln was elected president, their states would leave the Union.

A Fourth Political Party Fearing the consequences of a Republican victory, a group of former Whigs, Know-Nothings, and moderate Democrats formed a new party: the Constitutional Union party. For president, they nominated John Bell of Tennessee. The party's platform pledged enforcement of the laws and the Constitution and, above all, preserving the Union.

Election Results While Douglas campaigned across the country, Lincoln confidently remained at home in Springfield, Illinois, meeting with Republican leaders and giving statements to the press. The election results were predictable. Lincoln carried every one of the free states of the North, which represented a solid majority of 59 percent of the electoral votes. He won only 39.8 percent of the popular vote, however, and would therefore be a minority president. Breckinridge, the Southern Democrat, carried the Deep South, leaving Douglas and Bell with just a few electoral votes in the border states.

Together, the two Democrats, Douglas and Breckinridge, received many more *popular* votes than Lincoln, the Republican. Nevertheless, the new political reality was that the populous free states had enough electoral votes to select a president without the need for a single electoral vote from the South.



Secession of the Deep South

The Republicans controlled neither the Congress nor the Supreme Court. Even so, the election of Lincoln was all that Southern secessionists needed to call for immediate disunion. In December 1860, a special convention in South Carolina voted unanimously to secede. Within the next six weeks, other state conventions in Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Texas did the same. In February 1861, representatives of the seven states of the Deep South met in Montgomery, Alabama, and created the Confederate States of America. The constitution of this would-be Southern nation was similar to the U.S. Constitution, except that the Confederacy placed limits on the government's power to impose tariffs and restrict slavery. Elected president and vice president of the Confederacy were Senator Jefferson Davis of Mississippi and Alexander Stephens of Georgia.

Crittenden Compromise. A lame-duck president (a leader completing a term after someone else has been elected to his or her office), Buchanan had five months in office before President-elect Lincoln was due to succeed him. Buchanan was a conservative who did nothing to prevent the secession of the seven states. Congress was more active. In a last-ditch effort to appease the South, Senator John Crittenden of Kentucky proposed a constitutional amendment that would guarantee the right to hold slaves in all territories south of $36^{\circ}30'$. Lincoln, however, said that he could not accept this compromise because it violated the Republican position against extension of slavery into the territories.

Southern whites who voted for secession believed they were acting in the tradition of the Revolution of 1776. They argued that they had a right to national independence and to dissolve a constitutional compact that no longer protected them from “tyranny” (the tyranny of Northern rule). Many of them also thought that Lincoln, like Buchanan, might permit secession without a fight. Those who thought this had badly miscalculated.

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES: WHAT CAUSED THE CIVIL WAR?

Was slavery the primary cause of the Civil War? In the decades after the war, Northern historians argued emphatically that the South’s attachment to slavery was the principal, if not the only, cause. They blamed the war on a conspiracy of slave owners—a small minority of Southerners—who wanted only to expand slavery at the expense of whites and blacks alike.

Southern historians, on the other hand, viewed the conflict between the two sections, North and South, as a dispute over the nature of the Constitution. They argued that Northern abolitionists and Free-Soil politicians attempted to overturn the original compact of the states, and that the Southern states seceded to defend the constitutional rights threatened by Northern aggression.

By the early 20th century, passions had cooled on both sides, and scholars of the Progressive era (1900–1917) thought economic interests were the foundation of all political conflict. Thus, Charles Beard, a leading historian of this era, viewed the sectional conflict of the 1850s as a clash of two opposing economic systems: the industrial North versus the agricultural South. His economic interpretation of the Civil War stressed the importance of the Republicans’ commitment to the economic ambitions of Northern industrialists for high tariffs and of western farmers for free land.

American disillusionment with World War I led historians to question whether the Civil War was any more necessary or inevitable than the world war had been. Previously, people had assumed that the Civil War was, in William Seward’s words, an “irrepressible conflict between opposing forces.” Now, in the 1920s and 1930s, that assumption was

challenged by revisionist historians who argued that it was only the blundering of politicians and the rash acts of a few extremists such as John Brown that were chiefly responsible for secession and war. In an essay in 1940, James G. Randall summarized the thinking of the revisionist school: “If one word or phrase were selected to account for the war, that word would not be slavery, or states’ rights, or diverse civilizations. It would have to be such a word as fanaticism (on both sides), or misunderstanding, or perhaps politics.” Politicians of the 1850s who worked for compromise (Clay, Douglas, and Crittenden) were treated as the revisionists’ heroes, whereas Lincoln was criticized for fomenting sectional passions with his house-divided and other speeches.

In the 1950s and 1960s, the civil rights movement provided the backdrop for rethinking the causes of the Civil War. Historians who were sympathetic with African Americans’ struggles for civil rights returned to the view that slavery was the chief cause of disunion after all. They argued that moral issues such as slavery are impossible to compromise. Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., a leading historian of the 1950s, wrote: “A society closed in the defense of evil institutions thus creates moral differences far too profound to be solved by compromise.” In this view, slavery as an inherently evil institution was at the root of a conflict that was indeed “irrepressible.”

KEY TERMS BY THEME

Battle for the Territories (MIG, POL) free-soil movement Free-Soil party conscience Whigs “barnburners” New England Emigrant Aid Company “bleeding Kansas” Pottawatomie Creek Lecompton constitution	Kansas-Nebraska Act (1854) Crittenden compromise Politics in Crisis (POL) Franklin Pierce Know-Nothing party Republican party John C. Frémont James Buchanan election of 1860 secession	Lincoln-Douglas debates house-divided speech Freeport Doctrine Violent Responses (POL) Sumner-Brooks incident John Brown Harpers Ferry raid
Compromising (POL) popular sovereignty Lewis Cass Henry Clay Zachary Taylor Compromise of 1850 Stephen A. Douglas Millard Fillmore	Slavery (POL) Fugitive Slave Law Underground Railroad Harriet Tubman <i>Dred Scott v. Sandford</i> Roger Taney Abraham Lincoln	Writing Power (CUL) Harriet Beecher Stowe, <i>Uncle Tom’s Cabin</i> Hinton R. Helper, <i>Impending Crisis of the South</i> George Fitzhugh, <i>Sociology of the South</i>

MULTIPLE-CHOICE QUESTIONS

Questions 1–3 refer to the excerpt below.

“It being desirable for the peace, concord, and harmony of the Union of these states to settle and adjust amicably all existing questions of controversy between them arising out of the institution of slavery upon a fair, equitable, and just basis. . . .

“We are told now . . . that the Union is threatened with subversion and destruction . . . If the Union is to be dissolved for any existing causes, it will be dissolved because slavery is interdicted or not allowed to be introduced into the ceded territories, because slavery is threatened to be abolished in the District of Columbia, and because fugitive slaves are not returned . . . to their masters. . . .

“I am for staying within the Union and fighting for my rights.”

—Henry Clay, Resolution on the Compromise of 1850, 1850

1. To which politicians is Clay directing the last line of the excerpt?
 - (A) Southerners who were threatening to secede
 - (B) Senators such as Daniel Webster who rejected any compromise
 - (C) Advocates of popular sovereignty
 - (D) The president, Zachary Taylor
2. Which of the following parts of the Compromise of 1850 was the most appealing to the South?
 - (A) Admitting California as a free state
 - (B) Passing a new Fugitive Slave Law
 - (C) Ending the slave trade in Washington, D.C.
 - (D) Using popular sovereignty in new territories
3. Which of the following parts of the Compromise of 1850 was the most appealing to the North?
 - (A) Admitting California as a free state
 - (B) Passing a new Fugitive Slave Law
 - (C) Ending the slave trade in Washington, D.C.
 - (D) Using popular sovereignty in new territories

Questions 4–5 refer to the excerpt below.

“Mr. President . . . I proposed on Tuesday last that the Senate should proceed to the consideration of the bill to organize the territories of Nebraska and Kansas . . . Now I ask the friends and the opponents of this measure to look at it as it is. Is not the question involved the simple one, whether the people of the territories shall be allowed to do as they please upon the question of slavery, subject only to the limitations of the Constitution? . . .

“If the principle is right, let it be avowed and maintained. If it is wrong, let it be repudiated. Let all this quibbling about the Missouri Compromise, about the territory acquired from France, about the act of 1820, be cast behind you; for the simple question is—Will you allow the people to legislate for themselves upon the subject of slavery? Why should you not?”

—Stephen A. Douglas, Defense of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill, 1854

4. Which of the following ideas is Douglas appealing to when he says, “whether the people of the territories shall be allowed to do as they please upon the question of slavery”?
 - (A) The Crittenden Compromise
 - (B) Popular sovereignty
 - (C) The right of secession
 - (D) The distinction between a territory and a state
5. An increase in which of the following was the key part of the Kansas-Nebraska Act to attract Southern support?
 - (A) Transportation in the South
 - (B) Popular sovereignty
 - (C) Fugitive Slave Act
 - (D) Representation in Congress

Questions 6–8 refer to the excerpt below.

“And upon full and careful consideration . . . Dred Scott was not a citizen of Missouri within the meaning of the Constitution of the United States and not entitled as such to sue in its courts. . . .

“Upon these considerations it is the opinion of the court that the act of Congress which prohibited a citizen from holding and owning property of this kind in the territory of the United States north of the line therein mentioned is not warranted by the Constitution and is therefore void. . . .

“That it is now firmly settled by the decisions of the highest court in the state that Scott and his family, upon their return, were not free, but were, by the laws of Missouri, the property of the defendant; and that the Circuit Court of the United States has no jurisdiction when by the laws of the state, the plaintiff was a slave and not a citizen.”

—Roger B. Taney, *Dred Scott v. Sandford*, 1857

6. Which of the following political groups had its efforts to find a compromise over slavery effectively ended by Taney’s decision in the Dred Scott case?
 - (A) Whigs
 - (B) Free-Soil Party
 - (C) Constitution Union Party
 - (D) Northern Democrats
7. Northerners were most upset by the Supreme Court’s Dred Scott decision because
 - (A) the Court included no Republican Justices
 - (B) the decision allowed slavery in the territories
 - (C) several justices were slave owners
 - (D) blacks and whites were not treated equally
8. Which of the following acts of Congress was declared unconstitutional in the Dred Scott decision?
 - (A) Missouri Compromise of 1820
 - (B) Compromise of 1850
 - (C) Kansas-Nebraska Act
 - (D) Fugitive Slave Law

SHORT-ANSWER QUESTIONS

Use complete sentences; an outline or bulleted list alone is not acceptable.

Question 1 is based on the following cartoon.



Source: Nathaniel Currier, 1848. Library of Congress.

1. Using the cartoon, answer a, b, and c. The figure on the right side of the cartoon is saying, “That’s you Dad! more ‘Free Soil.’ We’ll rat’em out yet. Long life to Davy Wilmot.”
 - a) Explain the point of view reflected in the cartoon above regarding ONE of the following.
 - “barnburners”
 - Free Soilers
 - David Wilmot
 - b) Explain how ONE element of the cartoon expresses the point of view you identified in Part A.
 - c) Explain how the point of view you identified in Part A helped to shape ONE specific action between 1820 and 1860.

Question 2. Answer a, b, and c.

- a) Briefly explain ONE important social or political response to the conflict over slavery in the period 1850 to 1855.
- b) Briefly explain ONE important social or political response to the conflict over slavery in the period 1855 to 1860.
- c) Briefly explain ONE important reason for the change in response from Part A to Part B.

Question 3 is based on the following excerpts.

“The statistics of crime demonstrate that the moral superiority of the slave over the free laborer is still greater than his superiority in animal well-being. There never can be among slaves a class so degraded as is found about wharves and suburbs of cities. The master requires ordinary morality and industry. . . .

“The free laborer rarely has a house and home of his own; he is insecure of employment; sickness may overtake him at any time and deprive him of the means of support; old age is certain to overtake him, if he lives, and generally finds him without the means of subsistence; his family is probably increasing in numbers and is helpless and burdensome to him.”

—George Fitzhugh, lawyer, *Sociology for the South*, 1854

“You relied on the Constitution. It has not the word “slave” in it; and very good argument has shown that it would not warrant the crimes that are done under it. . . .

“For one would have said that a Christian would not keep slaves; but the Christians keep slaves. Of course they will not dare read the Bible. Won’t they? They quote the Bible, quote Paul, quote Christ to justify slavery. If slavery is good, then is lying, theft, arson, homicide, each and all good, and to be maintained by Union societies?

“These things show that no forms, neither constitutions, nor laws, nor covenants, nor churches, nor Bibles, are of any use in themselves. The devil nestles comfortably into them all. There is no help but in the head and heart and hamstrings of a man.”

—Ralph Waldo Emerson, lecturer and author,
speech on the Fugitive Slave Law, 1854

3. Using the excerpts, answer a, b, and c.

- a) Briefly explain the main point of the excerpt by Fitzhugh.
- b) Briefly explain the main point of the excerpt by Emerson.
- c) Provide ONE piece of evidence from the period 1830 to 1860 that is not included in the excerpts and explain how it supports the interpretation in either excerpt.

Question 4. Answer a, b, and c.

- a) Briefly explain why ONE of the following best supports the view that the enforcement of a new Fugitive Slave Law in the 1850s resulted in strong and varied reactions in the North.
 - formation of the Republican Party
 - publication of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*
 - increased activity on the Underground Railroad
- b) Contrast your choice against ONE of the other options demonstrating why that option is not as good as your choice.
- c) Briefly explain ONE critical response to the changes during this period.

THINK AS A HISTORIAN: STATEMENTS ABOUT COMPARISONS

Which THREE of the following statements most clearly express comparisons or contrasts?

1. The reactions to both the Wilmot Proviso and the Ostend Manifesto demonstrated how sensitive the issue of slavery expansion was.
2. Douglas combined a desire to advance his personal interest in railroad expansion with a desire to keep the Union together.
3. Henry Clay was a great legislative leader because he believed in compromise.
4. While Harriet Beecher Stowe's book was fictional and literary, Hinton Rowan Helper's book was nonfiction and statistical.
5. John Brown shared similarities with Anne Hutchinson, Patrick Henry, and Nat Turner.

THE CIVIL WAR, 1861–1865

It is enough to make the whole world start to see the awful amount of death and destruction that now stalks abroad. Daily for the past two months has the work progressed and I see no signs of a remission till one or both the armies are destroyed. . . . I begin to regard the death and mangling of a couple of thousand men as a small affair, a kind of morning dash—and it may be well that we become so hardened.

General William T. Sherman, June 30, 1864

The Civil War between the Union and the Confederacy (1861–1865) was the most costly of all American wars in terms of the loss of human life—and also the most destructive war ever fought in the Western Hemisphere. The deaths of 750,000 people, a true national tragedy, constituted only part of the impact of the war on American society. Most important, the Civil War freed 4 million people from slavery, giving the nation what President Lincoln called a “new birth of freedom.” The war also transformed American society by accelerating industrialization and modernization in the North and destroying much of the South. These changes were so fundamental and profound that some historians refer to the Civil War as the Second American Revolution. While this chapter summarizes the major military aspects of the Civil War, it, like the AP exam, emphasizes the social, economic, and political changes that took place during the war.

The War Begins

When Lincoln took office as the first Republican president in March 1861, people wondered if he would challenge the secession of South Carolina and other states militarily. In his inaugural address, Lincoln assured Southerners that he would not interfere with slavery. At the same time, he warned, no state had the right to break up the Union. He concluded by appealing for restraint:

In *your* hands, my dissatisfied fellow-countrymen, and not in *mine*, is the momentous issue of civil war. The government will not assail *you*. You can have no conflict without being yourselves the aggressors.

Fort Sumter

Despite the president's message of both conciliation and warning, the danger of a war breaking out was acute. Most critical was the status of two federal forts in states that had seceded. One of these, Fort Sumter, in the harbor of Charleston, South Carolina, was cut off from vital supplies and reinforcements by Southern control of the harbor. Rather than either giving up Fort Sumter or attempting to defend it, Lincoln announced that he was sending provisions of food to the small federal garrison. He thus gave South Carolina the choice of either permitting the fort to hold out or opening fire with its shore batteries. Carolina's guns thundered their reply and thus, on April 12, 1861, the war began. The attack on Fort Sumter and its capture after two days of incessant pounding united most Northerners behind a patriotic fight to save the Union.

Use of Executive Power More than any previous president, Lincoln acted in unprecedented ways, drawing upon his powers as both chief executive and commander in chief, often without the authorization or approval of Congress. For example, right after the Fort Sumter crisis he (1) called for 75,000 volunteers to put down the "insurrection" in the Confederacy, (2) authorized spending for a war, and (3) suspended the privilege of the writ of habeas corpus. Since Congress was not in session, the president acted completely on his own authority. Lincoln later explained that he had to take strong measures without congressional approval "as indispensable to the public safety."

Secession of the Upper South

Before the attack on Fort Sumter, only seven states of the Deep South had seceded. After it became clear that Lincoln would use troops in the crisis, four states of the Upper South—Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Arkansas—also seceded and joined the Confederacy. The Confederates then moved their capital to Richmond, Virginia. The people of western Virginia remained loyal to the Union, and the region became a separate state in 1863.

Keeping the Border States in the Union

Four other slaveholding states might have seceded, but instead remained in the Union. The decisions of Delaware, Maryland, Missouri, and Kentucky *not* to join the Confederacy was partly due to Union sentiment in those states and partly the result of shrewd federal policies. In Maryland, pro-secessionists attacked Union troops and threatened the railroad to Washington. The Union army resorted to martial law to keep the state under federal control. In Missouri, the presence of U.S. troops prevented the pro-South elements in the state from gaining control, although guerrilla forces sympathetic to the Confederacy were active throughout the war. In Kentucky, the state legislature voted to remain neutral in the conflict. Lincoln initially respected its neutrality and waited for the South to violate it before moving in federal troops.

Keeping the border states in the Union was a primary military and political goal for Lincoln. Their loss would have increased the Confederate population by more than 50 percent and would have severely weakened the North's

strategic position for conducting the war. Partly to avoid alienating Unionists in the border states, Lincoln rejected initial calls for the emancipation of slaves.

Wartime Advantages

The Union and the Confederacy each started the war with some strengths and some weaknesses.

Military The Confederacy entered the war with the advantage of having to fight only a defensive war to win, while the Union had to conquer an area as large as Western Europe. The Confederates had to move troops and supplies shorter distances than the Union. It had a long, indented coastline that was difficult to blockade and, most important, experienced military leaders and high troop morale. The Union hoped that its population of 22 million against the Confederate's population of only 5.5 million free whites would work to its favor in a war of attrition. The North's population advantage was enhanced during the war by 800,000 immigrants. Emancipation also brought 180,000 African Americans into the Union army in the critical final years of the war. The Union could also count on a loyal U.S. Navy, which ultimately gave it command of the rivers and territorial waters.

Economic The Union dominated the nation's economy, controlling most of the banking and capital of the country, more than 85 percent of the factories, more than 70 percent of the railroads, and even 65 percent of the farmland. The skills of Northern clerks and bookkeepers proved valuable in the logistical support of large military operations. Confederates hoped that European demand for its cotton would bring recognition and financial aid. Like other rebel movements in history, the Confederates counted on outside help to be successful.

Political The two sides had distinct goals. The Confederates were struggling for independence while the Union was fighting to preserve the Union. However, the ideology of states' rights proved a serious liability for the new Confederate government. The irony was that in order to win the war, the Confederates needed a strong central government with strong public support. The Confederates had neither, while the Union had a well-established central government, and in Abraham Lincoln and in the Republican and Democratic parties it had experienced politicians with a strong popular base. The ultimate hope of the Confederates was that the people of the Union would turn against Lincoln and the Republicans and quit the war because it was too costly.

The Confederate States of America

The Confederate constitution was modeled after the U.S. Constitution, except that it provided a single six-year term for the president and gave the president an item veto (the power to veto only part of a bill). Its constitution denied the Confederate congress the powers to levy a protective tariff and to appropriate funds for internal improvements, but it did prohibit the foreign slave trade. President Jefferson Davis tried to increase his executive powers during the war, but Southern governors resisted attempts at centralization, some holding back troops and resources to protect their own states. At one point, Vice President

Alexander H. Stephens, in defense of states' rights, even urged the secession of Georgia in response to the "despotic" actions of the Confederate government.

The Confederacy was chronically short of money. It tried loans, income taxes (including a 10 percent tax in-kind on farm produce), and even impressment of private property, but these revenues paid for only a small part of war costs. The government issued more than \$1 billion in paper money, so much that it caused severe inflation. By the end of the war, the value of a Confederate dollar was less than two cents. The Confederate congress nationalized the railroads and encouraged industrial development. The Confederacy sustained nearly 1 million troops at its peak, but a war of attrition doomed its efforts.

First Years of a Long War: 1861–1862

People at first expected the war to last no more than a few weeks. Lincoln called up the first volunteers for an enlistment period of only 90 days. "On to Richmond!" was the optimistic cry, but as Americans soon learned, it would take almost four years of ferocious fighting before Union troops finally did march into the Confederate capital.

First Battle of Bull Run In the first major battle of the war (July 1861), 30,000 federal troops marched from Washington, D.C., to attack Confederate forces positioned near Bull Run Creek at Manassas Junction, Virginia. Just as the Union forces seemed close to victory, Confederate reinforcements under General Thomas (Stonewall) Jackson counterattacked and sent the inexperienced Union troops in disorderly and panicky flight back to Washington (together with civilian curiosity-seekers and picnickers). The battle ended the illusion of a short war and also promoted the myth that the Rebels were invincible in battle.

Union Strategy General-in-Chief Winfield Scott, veteran of the 1812 and Mexican wars, devised a three-part strategy for winning a long war:

- Use the U.S. Navy to blockade Southern ports (called the Anaconda Plan), cutting off essential supplies from reaching the Confederacy
- Take control of the Mississippi River, dividing the Confederacy in two
- Raise and train an army 500,000 strong to conquer Richmond

The first two parts of the strategy proved easier to achieve than the third, but ultimately all three were important in achieving Northern victory.

After the Union's defeat at Bull Run, federal armies experienced a succession of crushing defeats as they attempted various campaigns in Virginia. Each was less successful than the one before.

Peninsula Campaign General George B. McClellan, the new commander of the Union army in the East, insisted that his troops be given a long period of training before going into battle. Finally, after many delays that sorely tested Lincoln's patience, McClellan's army invaded Virginia in March 1862. The

Union army was stopped as a result of brilliant tactical moves by Confederate General Robert E. Lee, who emerged as the commander of the South's eastern forces. After five months, McClellan was forced to retreat and was ordered back to the Potomac, where he was replaced by General John Pope.

THE CIVIL WAR: THE UNION VS. THE CONFEDERACY



Second Battle of Bull Run Lee took advantage of the change in Union generals to strike quickly at Pope's army in Northern Virginia. He drew Pope into a trap, then struck the enemy's flank, and sent the Union army backward to Bull Run. Pope withdrew to the defenses of Washington.

Antietam Following up his victory at Bull Run, Lee led his army across the Potomac into enemy territory in Maryland. In doing so, he hoped that a major Confederate victory in a Union state would convince Britain to give official recognition and support to the Confederacy. By this time (September 1862), Lincoln had restored McClellan to command of the Union army. McClellan had the advantage of knowing Lee's battle plan, because a copy of it had been dropped accidentally by a Confederate officer. The Union army intercepted the invading Confederates at Antietam Creek in the Maryland town of Sharpsburg.

Here the bloodiest single day of combat in the entire war took place, a day in which more than 22,000 soldiers were killed or wounded.

Unable to break through Union lines, Lee's army retreated to Virginia. Disappointed with McClellan for failing to pursue Lee's weakened and retreating army, Lincoln removed him for a final time as the Union commander. The president complained that his general had a "bad case of the slows." While a draw on the battlefield, Antietam proved to be a decisive battle because the Confederates failed to get what they so urgently needed—open recognition and aid from a foreign power. On the other side, Lincoln found enough encouragement in the results of Antietam to claim a Union victory. As explained later in this chapter, Lincoln used the partial triumph of Union arms to announce plans for a direct assault on the institution of slavery.

Fredericksburg Replacing McClellan with the more aggressive General Ambrose Burnside, Lincoln discovered that a strategy of reckless attack could have even worse consequences than McClellan's strategy of caution and inaction. In December 1862, a large Union army under Burnside attacked Lee's army at Fredericksburg, Virginia, and suffered immense losses: 12,000 dead or wounded compared to 5,000 Confederate casualties. Both Union and Confederate generals were slow to learn that improved weaponry, especially the deadly fire from enemy artillery, took the romance out of heroic charges against entrenched positions. By the end of 1862, the awful magnitude of the war was all too clear—with no prospect of military victory for either side.

The second year of war, 1862, was a disastrous one for the Union except for two engagements, one at sea and the other on the rivers of the West.

Monitor vs. Merrimac The Union's hopes for winning the war depended upon its ability to maximize its economic and naval advantages by an effective blockade of Confederate ports (the Anaconda plan). During McClellan's Peninsula campaign, the Union's blockade strategy was placed in jeopardy by the Confederate ironclad ship the *Merrimac* (a former Union ship, rebuilt and renamed the *Virginia*) that attacked and sunk several Union wooden ships on March 8, 1862, near Hampton Roads, Virginia. The ironclad ship seemed unstoppable. However, on March 9, the Union's own ironclad, the *Monitor*, engaged the *Merrimac* in a five-hour duel. Although the battle ended in a draw, the *Monitor* prevented the Confederate's formidable new weapon from challenging the U.S. naval blockade. More broadly, the *Monitor* and the *Merrimac* marked a turning point in naval warfare, with vulnerable wooden ships being replaced by far more formidable ironclad ones.

Grant in the West The battle of the ironclads occurred at about the same time as a far bloodier encounter in western Tennessee, a Confederate state. The Union's campaign for control of the Mississippi River was partly under the command of a West Point graduate, Ulysses S. Grant, who had joined up for the war after an unsuccessful civilian career. Striking south from Illinois in early 1862, Grant used a combination of gunboats and army maneuvers to capture Fort Henry and Fort Donelson on the Cumberland River (a branch of the Mississippi). These stunning victories, in which 14,000 Confederates were taken

prisoner, opened up the state of Mississippi to Union attack. A few weeks later, a Confederate army under Albert Johnston surprised Grant at Shiloh, Tennessee, but the Union army held its ground and finally forced the Confederates to retreat after terrible losses on both sides (more than 23,000 dead and wounded). Grant's drive down the Mississippi was complemented in April 1862 by the capture of New Orleans by the Union navy under David Farragut.

Foreign Affairs and Diplomacy

The Confederate's hopes for securing independence hinged as much on its diplomats as on soldiers. Confederate leaders fully expected that cotton would indeed prove to be "king" and induce Britain or France, or both, to give direct aid to the war effort. Besides depending on cotton for their textile mills, wealthy British industrialists and members of the British aristocracy looked forward with pleasure to the breakup of the American democratic experiment. From the Union's point of view, it was critically important to prevent the Confederacy from gaining the foreign support and recognition that it desperately needed.

Trent Affair

Britain came close to siding with the Confederacy in late 1861 over an incident at sea. Confederate diplomats James Mason and John Slidell were traveling to England on a British steamer, the *Trent*, on a mission to gain recognition for their government. A Union warship stopped the British ship, removed Mason and Slidell, and brought them to the United States as prisoners of war. Britain threatened war over the incident unless the two diplomats were released. Despite intense public criticism, Lincoln gave in to British demands. Mason and Slidell were duly set free, but after again sailing for Europe, they failed to obtain full recognition of the Confederacy from either Britain or France.

Confederate Raiders

The Confederates were able to gain enough recognition as a belligerent to purchase warships from British shipyards. Confederate commerce-raiders did serious harm to U.S. merchant ships. One of them, the *Alabama*, captured more than 60 vessels before being sunk off the coast of France by a Union warship. After the war, Great Britain eventually agreed to pay the United States \$15.5 million for damages caused by the South's commerce-raiders.

The U.S. minister to Britain, Charles Francis Adams, prevented a potentially much more serious threat. Learning that the Confederacy had arranged to purchase Laird rams (ships with iron rams) from Britain for use against the Union's naval blockade, Adams persuaded the British government to cancel the sale rather than risk war with the United States.

Failure of Cotton Diplomacy

In the end, the South's hopes for European intervention were disappointed. "King Cotton" did not have the power to dictate another nation's foreign policy, since Europe quickly found ways of obtaining cotton from other sources. By the time shortages of Southern cotton hit the British textile industry, adequate

shipments of cotton began arriving from Egypt and India. Also, materials other than cotton could be used for textiles, and the woolen and linen industries were not slow to take advantage of their opportunity.

Two other factors went into Britain's decision not to recognize the Confederacy. First, as mentioned, General Lee's setback at Antietam played a role; without seeing a decisive Confederate military victory, the British government would not risk recognition. Second, Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation (January 1863) made the end of slavery an objective of the Union, a position that appealed strongly to Britain's working class. While conservative leaders of Britain were sympathetic to the Confederates, they could not defy the pro-Northern, antislavery feelings of the British majority.

The End of Slavery

Even though Lincoln in the 1850s spoke out against slavery as "an unqualified evil," as president he seemed hesitant to take action against slavery as advocated by many of his Republican supporters. Lincoln's concerns included (1) keeping the support of the border states, (2) the constitutional protections of slavery, (3) the racial prejudice of many Northerners, and (4) the fear that premature action could be overturned in the next election. All these concerns made the timing and method of ending slavery fateful decisions. Enslaved individuals were freed during the Civil War as a result of military events, governmental policy, and their own actions.

Confiscation Acts

Early in the war (May 1861), Union General Benjamin Butler refused to return captured slaves to their Confederate owners, arguing that they were "contraband of war." The power to seize enemy property used to wage war against the United States was the legal basis for the first Confiscation Act passed by Congress in August 1861. Soon after the passage of this act, thousands of "contrabands" were using their feet to escape slavery by finding their way into Union camps. In July 1862, Congress passed a second Confiscation Act that freed persons enslaved by anyone engaged in rebellion against the United States. The law also empowered the president to use freed slaves in the Union army in any capacity, including battle.

Emancipation Proclamation

By July 1862, Lincoln had already decided to use his powers as commander in chief of the armed forces to free all enslaved persons in the states then at war with the United States. He justified his policy as a "military necessity." Lincoln delayed announcement of the policy, however, until he could win the support of conservative Northerners. At the same time, he encouraged the border states to come up with plans for emancipation, with compensation to the owners.

After the Battle of Antietam, on September 22, 1862, Lincoln issued a warning that enslaved people in all states still in rebellion on January 1, 1863, would be "then, thenceforward, and forever free." As promised, on the first

day of the new year, 1863, the president issued his Emancipation Proclamation. After listing states from Arkansas to Virginia that were in rebellion, the proclamation stated:

I do order and declare that all persons held as slaves within said designated States and parts of States are, and henceforward shall be, free; and that the Executive Government of the United States, including the military and naval authorities thereof, shall recognize and maintain the freedom of said persons.

Consequences Since the president's proclamation applied only to enslaved people residing in Confederate states *outside* Union control, it immediately freed only about 1 percent of slaves. Slavery in the border states was allowed to continue. Even so, the proclamation was of major importance because it enlarged the purpose of the war. For the first time, Union armies were fighting against slavery, not merely against secession. The proclamation added weight to the Confiscation acts, increasing the number of slaves who sought freedom by fleeing to Union lines. Thus, with each advance of Northern troops into the South, abolition advanced as well. As an added blow to the Confederacy, the proclamation also authorized the use of freed slaves as Union soldiers. Suddenly, the Union army had thousands of dedicated new recruits.

Thirteenth Amendment

Standing in the way of full emancipation were phrases in the U.S. Constitution that had long legitimized slavery. To free all enslaved people in the border states, the country needed to ratify a constitutional amendment. Even the abolitionists gave Lincoln credit for playing an active role in the political struggle to secure enough votes in Congress to pass the 13th Amendment. By December 1865 (months after Lincoln's death), this amendment abolishing slavery was ratified by the required number of states. The language of the amendment could not be simpler or clearer:

Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

Freedmen in the War

After the Emancipation Proclamation (January 1863), hundreds of thousands of Southern blacks—approximately one-quarter of the slave population—walked away from slavery to seek the protection of the approaching Union armies. Almost 200,000 African Americans, most of whom were newly freed slaves, served in the Union army and navy. Segregated into all-black units, such as the Massachusetts 54th Regiment, black troops performed courageously under fire and won the respect of Union white soldiers. More than 37,000 African American soldiers died in what became known as the Army of Freedom.

The Union Triumphs, 1863–1865

By early 1863, the fortunes of war were turning against the Confederates. Although General Lee started the year with another major victory at Chancellorsville, Virginia, the Confederate economy was in desperate shape, as planters and farmers lost control of their slave labor force, and an increasing number of poorly provisioned soldiers were deserting from the Confederate army.

Turning Point

The decisive turning point in the war came in the first week of July when the Confederacy suffered two crushing defeats in the West and the East.

Vicksburg In the West, by the spring of 1863, Union forces controlled New Orleans as well as most of the Mississippi River and surrounding valley. Thus, the Union objective of securing complete control of the Mississippi River was close to an accomplished fact when General Grant began his siege of the heavily fortified city of Vicksburg, Mississippi. Union artillery bombarded Vicksburg for seven weeks before the Confederates finally surrendered the city (and nearly 29,000 soldiers) on July 4. Federal warships now controlled the full length of the Mississippi and cut off Texas, Louisiana, and Arkansas from the rest of the Confederacy.

Gettysburg Meanwhile, in the East, Lee again took the offensive by leading an army into enemy territory: the Union states of Maryland and Pennsylvania. If he could either destroy the Union army or capture a major Northern city, Lee hoped to force the Union to call for peace—or at least to gain foreign intervention on behalf of the Confederacy. On July 1, 1863, the invading Confederate army surprised Union units at Gettysburg in southern Pennsylvania. What followed was the most crucial battle of the war and the bloodiest, with more than 50,000 casualties. Lee's assault on Union lines on the second and third days, including a famous but unsuccessful charge led by George Pickett, proved futile, and destroyed a key part of the Confederate army. What was left of Lee's forces retreated to Virginia, never to regain the offensive.

Grant in Command

Lincoln finally found a general who could fight and win. In early 1864, he brought Grant east to Virginia and made him commander of all the Union armies. Grant settled on a strategy of war by attrition. He aimed to wear down the Confederate's armies and systematically destroy their vital lines of supply. Fighting doggedly for months, Grant's Army of the Potomac suffered heavier casualties than Lee's forces in the battles of the Wilderness, Spotsylvania, and Cold Harbor. But by never letting up, Grant succeeded in reducing Lee's army in each battle and forcing it into a defensive line around Richmond. In this final stage of the Civil War, the fighting foreshadowed the trench warfare that would later characterize World War I. No longer was this a war "between gentlemen" but a modern "total" war against civilians as well as soldiers.

Sherman's March The chief instrument of Grant's aggressive tactics for subduing the South was a hardened veteran, General William Tecumseh

Sherman. Leading a force of 100,000 men, Sherman set out from Chattanooga, Tennessee, on a campaign of deliberate destruction that went clear across the state of Georgia and then swept north into South Carolina. Sherman was a pioneer of the tactics of total war. Marching relentlessly through Georgia, his troops destroyed everything in their path, burning cotton fields, barns, and houses—everything the enemy might use to survive. Sherman took Atlanta in September 1864 in time to help Lincoln’s prospects for reelection. He marched into Savannah in December and completed his campaign in February 1865 by setting fire to Columbia, the capital of South Carolina and cradle of secession.

Sherman’s march had its intended effects: helping to break the spirit of the Confederacy and destroying its will to fight on.

The Election of 1864 The Democrats’ nominee for president was the popular General George McClellan, whose platform calling for peace had wide appeal among millions of war-weary voters. The Republicans renamed their party the Unionist party as a way of attracting the votes of “War Democrats” (those who disagreed with the Democratic platform). A brief “ditch-Lincoln” movement fizzled out, and the Republican (Unionist) convention again chose Lincoln as its presidential candidate and a loyal War Democrat from Tennessee, Senator Andrew Johnson, as his running mate. The Lincoln-Johnson ticket won 212 electoral votes to the Democrats’ 21. The popular vote, however, was much closer, for McClellan took 45 percent of the total votes cast.

The End of the War

The effects of the Union blockade, combined with Sherman’s march of destruction, spread hunger through much of the South in the winter of 1864–1865. On the battlefield in Virginia, Grant continued to outflank Lee’s lines until they collapsed around Petersburg, resulting in the fall of Richmond on April 3, 1865. Everyone knew that the end was near.

Surrender at Appomattox The Confederate government tried to negotiate for peace, but Lincoln would accept nothing short of restoration of the Union, and Jefferson Davis still demanded nothing less than independence. Lee retreated from Richmond with an army of less than 30,000 men. He tried to escape to the mountains, only to be cut off and forced to surrender to Grant at Appomattox Court House on April 9, 1865. The Union general treated his longtime enemy with respect and allowed Lee’s men to return to their homes with their horses.

Assassination of Lincoln Only a month before Lee’s surrender, Lincoln delivered one of his greatest speeches—the second inaugural address. He urged that the defeated South be treated benevolently, “with malice toward none; with charity for all.”

On April 14, John Wilkes Booth, an embittered actor and Confederate sympathizer, shot and killed the president while he was attending a performance in Ford’s Theater in Washington. On the same night, a co-conspirator attacked but only wounded Secretary of State William Seward. These shocking events aroused the fury of Northerners at the very time that the Confederates

most needed a sympathetic hearing. The loss of Lincoln's leadership was widely mourned, but the extent of the loss was not fully appreciated until the two sections of a reunited country had to cope with the overwhelming problems of postwar Reconstruction.

Effects of the War on Civilian Life

Both during the war and in the years that followed, American society underwent deep and sometimes wrenching changes.

Political Change

The electoral process continued during the war with surprisingly few restrictions. Secession of the Southern states had created Republican majorities in both houses of Congress. Within Republican ranks, however, there were sharp differences between the radical faction (those who championed the cause of immediate abolition of slavery) and the moderate faction (Free-Soilers who were chiefly concerned about economic opportunities for whites). Most Democrats supported the war but criticized Lincoln's conduct of it. Peace Democrats and Copperheads opposed the war and wanted a negotiated peace. The most notorious Copperhead, Congressman Clement L. Vallandigham of Ohio, was briefly banished from the United States to the Confederacy for his "treasonable," pro-Confederacy speeches against the war. He then went to Canada.

Civil Liberties Like many leaders in wartime governments, Lincoln focused more on prosecuting the war than with protecting citizens' constitutional rights. Early in the war, Lincoln suspended the writ of habeas corpus in Maryland and other states with strong pro-Confederate sentiment. Suspension of this constitutional right meant that persons could be arrested without being informed of the charges against them. During the war, an estimated 13,000 people were arrested on suspicion of aiding the enemy. Without a right to habeas corpus, many of them were held without trial.

Democrats charged that Lincoln acted no better than a tyrant. However, most historians have been less critical. Especially in the border states, people had difficulty distinguishing between combatants and noncombatants. Moreover, the Constitution does state that the writ of habeas corpus "shall not be suspended, unless when in cases of rebellion or invasion the public safety may require it." After the war, in the case of *Ex Parte Milligan* (1866), the Supreme Court ruled that the government had acted improperly in Indiana where, during the war, certain civilians had been subject to a military trial. The Court declared that such procedures could be used only when regular civilian courts were unavailable.

The Draft When the war began in 1861, those who fought were volunteers. However, as the need for replacements became acute, both the Union and the Confederacy resorted to laws for conscripting, or drafting, men into service. The Union's first Conscription Act, adopted in March 1863, made all men between the ages of 20 and 45 liable for military service but allowed a draftee to avoid service by either finding a substitute to serve or paying a \$300

exemption fee. The law provoked fierce opposition among poorer laborers, who feared that—if and when they returned to civilian life—their jobs would be taken by freed African Americans. In July 1863, riots against the draft erupted in New York City, in which a mostly Irish American mob attacked blacks and wealthy whites. Some 117 people were killed before federal troops and a temporary suspension of the draft restored order.

Political Dominance of the North The suspension of habeas corpus and the operation of the draft were only temporary. Far more important were the long-term effects of the war on the balance of power between two sectional rivals, the North and the South. With the military triumph of the Union came a new definition of the nature of the federal union. Old arguments for nullification and secession ceased to be issues. After the Civil War, the supremacy of the federal government over the states was accepted as an established fact.

Furthermore, the abolition of slavery—in addition to its importance to freed African Americans—gave new meaning and legitimacy to the concept of American democracy. In his famous Gettysburg Address of November 19, 1863, Lincoln rallied Americans to the idea that their nation was “dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal.” Lincoln was probably alluding to the Emancipation Proclamation when he spoke of the war bringing “a new birth of freedom.” His words—and even more, the abolition of slavery—advanced the cause of democratic government in the United States and inspired champions of democracy around the world.

Economic Change

The costs of the war in both money and men were staggering and called for extraordinary measures by both the Union and Confederate legislatures.

Financing the War The Union financed the war chiefly by borrowing \$2.6 billion, obtained through the sale of government bonds. Even this amount was not enough, so Congress raised tariffs (Morrill Tariff of 1861), added excise taxes, and instituted the first income tax. The U.S. Treasury also issued more than \$430 million in a paper currency known as Greenbacks. This paper money could not be redeemed in gold, which contributed to creeping inflation. Prices in the North rose by about 80 percent during the war. To manage the added revenue moving in and out of the Treasury, Congress created a national banking system in 1863. This was the first unified banking network since Andrew Jackson vetoed the recharter of the Bank of the United States in the 1830s.

Modernizing Northern Society The war’s impact on the Northern economy was dramatic. Economic historians differ on the question of whether, in the short run, the war promoted or retarded the growth of the Northern economy. On the negative side, workers’ wages did not keep pace with inflation. On the other hand, there is little doubt that many aspects of a modern industrial economy were accelerated by the war. Because the war placed a premium on mass production and complex organization, it sped up the consolidation of the North’s manufacturing businesses. War profiteers took advantage of the government’s urgent needs for military supplies to sell shoddy goods at high

prices—a problem that decreased after the federal government took control of the contract process away from the states. Fortunes made during the war produced a concentration of capital in the hands of a new class of millionaires, who would finance the North’s industrialization in the postwar years.

Civilians Employed by the Federal Government				
Year	Post Office	Defense	Other	Total
1841	14,290	598	3,150	18,038
1851	21,391	403	4,480	26,274
1861	30,269	946	5,457	36,672
1871	36,696	1,183	13,741	51,020
1881	56,421	16,297	27,302	100,020

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census. *Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1970*

Republican politics also played a major role in stimulating the economic growth of the North and the West. Taking advantage of their wartime majority in Congress, the Republicans passed an ambitious economic program that included not only a national banking system, but also the following:

- The *Morrill Tariff Act* (1861) raised tariff rates to increase revenue and protect American manufacturers. Its passage initiated a Republican program of high protective tariffs to help industrialists.
- The *Homestead Act* (1862) promoted settlement of the Great Plains by offering parcels of 160 acres of public land free to any person or family that farmed that land for at least five years.
- The *Morrill Land Grant Act* (1862) encouraged states to use the sale of federal land grants to maintain agricultural and technical colleges.
- The *Pacific Railway Act* (1862) authorized the building of a transcontinental railroad over a northern route in order to link the economies of California and the western territories with the eastern states.

Social Change

Although every part of American society away from the battlefield was touched by the war, those most directly affected were women, whose labors became more burdensome, and African Americans, who won emancipation.

Women at Work The absence of millions of men from their normal occupations in fields and factories added to the responsibilities of women in all regions. They stepped into the labor vacuum created by the war, operating

farms and plantations and taking factory jobs customarily held by men. In addition, women played a critical role as military nurses and as volunteers in soldiers' aid societies. When the war ended and the war veterans returned home, most urban women vacated their jobs in government and industry, while rural women gladly accepted male assistance on the farm. Of course, for the women whose men never returned—or returned disabled—the economic struggle continued for a lifetime.

The Civil War had at least two permanent effects on American women. First, the field of nursing was now open to women for the first time; previously, hospitals employed only men as doctors and nurses. Second, the enormous responsibilities undertaken by women during the war gave impetus to the movement to obtain equal voting rights for women. (The suffragists' goal would not be achieved until women's efforts in another war—World War I—finally convinced enough male conservatives to adopt the 19th Amendment.)

End of Slavery Both in the short run and the long run, the group in American society whose lives were most profoundly changed by the Civil War were those African Americans who had been born into slavery. After the adoption of the 13th Amendment in 1865, 4 million people (3.5 million in the Confederate states and 500,000 in the border states) were "freed men" and "freed women." For these people and their descendants, economic hardship and political oppression would continue for generations. Even so, the end of slavery represented a momentous step. Suddenly, slaves with no rights were protected by the U.S. Constitution, with open-ended possibilities of freedom.

While four years of nearly total war, the tragic human loss of 750,000 lives, and an estimated \$15 billion in war costs and property losses had enormous effects on the nation, far greater changes were set in motion. The Civil War destroyed slavery and devastated the Southern economy, and it also acted as a catalyst to transform America into a complex modern industrial society of capital, technology, national organizations, and large corporations. During the war, the Republicans were able to enact the pro-business Whig program that was designed to stimulate the industrial and commercial growth of the United States. The characteristics of American democracy and its capitalist economy were strengthened by this Second American Revolution.

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES: WHY DID THE UNION WIN?

The Union's victory in the Civil War was by no means inevitable. Why did the Union win and the Confederates lose? To be sure, the Union had the advantage of a larger population and superior wealth, industry, and transportation. On the other hand, the Confederacy's advantages were also formidable. The Confederacy needed merely to fight to a stalemate and hold out long enough to secure foreign recognition or intervention. The Union faced the more daunting challenge of having to conquer an area comparable in size to Western Europe.

Some historians blame the Confederacy's defeat on the overly aggressive military strategy of its generals. For example, Lee's two invasions of the North leading to Antietam and Gettysburg resulted in a much higher loss of his own men, in percentage terms, than of his opponent's forces. If the Confederates had used more defensive and cautious tactics, they might have secured a military stalemate—and political victory (independence).

Other historians blame the Confederacy's loss on its political leadership. They argue that, compared to the Lincoln administration, Jefferson Davis and his cabinet were ineffective. Another weakness was the lack of a strong political party system in the Confederacy. Without a strong party, Davis had trouble developing a base of popular support. Confederates' traditional emphasis on states' rights also worked against a unified war effort. Governors of Confederate states would withhold troops rather than yield to the central government's urgent requests for cooperation. Vital supplies were also held back in state warehouses, where they remained until war's end.

Historian Henry S. Commager argued that slavery may have been responsible for the Confederates' defeat. For one thing, slavery played a role in deterring European powers from intervening in support of the Confederacy and its backward institution. Beyond this, Commager also believed that slavery undermined the region's ability to adapt to new challenges. It fostered an intolerant society, which lacked the "habit of independent inquiry and criticism." Thus, according to Commager, the failure of the Confederacy was not a "failure of resolution or courage or will but of intelligence and morality." If so, then the Confederacy's attachment to an outdated institution—slavery—was what ultimately meant the difference between victory and defeat.

KEY NAMES, EVENTS, AND TERMS

The Break (NAT, POL)	Winfield Scott Anaconda Plan George McClellan Robert E. Lee Antietam Fredericksburg <i>Monitor vs. Merrimac</i> Ulysses S. Grant Shiloh	Wartime Politics (POL) Copperheads election of 1864
border states Confederate States of America Jefferson Davis Alexander H. Stephens Second American Revolution	David Farragut Gettysburg Vicksburg Sherman's March Appomattox Court House	War Diplomacy (WOR) Trent Affair Alabama Laird rams
Economic Growth (WXT)	War and the Law (POL)	The Final Act (CUL)
greenbacks Morrill Tariff Act (1861) Morrill Land Grant Act (1862) Pacific Railway Act (1862)	executive power habeas corpus insurrection Confiscation acts Emancipation Proclamation 13th Amendment <i>Ex Parte Milligan</i> draft riots	John Wilkes Booth
Free Land (MIG)		Social Impact (NAT, CUL)
Homestead Act (1862)		segregated black troops Massachusetts 54th Regiment women in the workplace women in nursing war's long term effects 4 million freedmen
The Fighting (POL, GEO, CUL)		
Fort Sumter Bull Run Thomas (Stonewall) Jackson		

MULTIPLE-CHOICE QUESTIONS

Questions 1–2 refer to the excerpt below.

“Now, therefore, I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, by virtue of the power in me vested as commander in chief . . . and as a fit and necessary war measure for suppressing said rebellion do . . . order and designate as the states and parts of states wherein the people thereof, respectively, are this day in rebellion against the United States the following . . .

“I do order and declare that all persons held as slaves within said designated states and parts of states are, and henceforward shall be, free. . . .

“And I further declare . . . that such persons of suitable condition will be received into the armed service of the United States . . .

“And upon this act, sincerely believed to be an act of justice, warranted by the Constitution upon military necessity.”

—Abraham Lincoln, The Emancipation Proclamation, 1863

1. President Lincoln delayed issuing an Emancipation Proclamation because of his concern that it would
 - (A) increase foreign support for the Confederacy
 - (B) cause the border states to secede
 - (C) decrease power of the cotton industry
 - (D) free slaves before they were ready
2. To issue an Emancipation Proclamation, President Lincoln felt that he needed which of the following?
 - (A) A Constitutional amendment
 - (B) Supreme Court approval
 - (C) Republican control of Congress
 - (D) A military victory

Questions 3–5 refer to the excerpt below.

“We drift fast toward war with England, but I think we shall not reach that point. The shopkeepers who own England want to do us all harm they can and to give all possible aid and comfort to our slave-breeding and woman-flogging adversary, for England has degenerated into a trader, manufacturer, and banker, and has lost all the instincts and sympathies that her name still suggests . . .

She cannot ally herself with slavery, as she inclines to do, without closing a profitable market, exposing her commerce to [Yankee] privateers, and diminishing the supply of [Northern] breadstuffs on which her operatives depend for life. On the other side, however, is the consideration that by allowing piratical *Alabamas* to be built, armed, and manned in her ports to prey on our commerce, she is making a great deal of money.”

—George Templeton Strong, New York lawyer, *Diary*, 1863

3. A major part of the Confederate strategy for winning independence was based on
 - (A) building a modern navy to break the Union blockade
 - (B) developing factories to manufacture weapons
 - (C) encircling the Union capital, Washington, D.C.
 - (D) winning recognition and support from Great Britain
4. Which of the following describes a reason not mentioned by Strong in this excerpt that ultimately stopped Britain from recognizing the Confederacy?
 - (A) Concern about causing problems in Canada
 - (B) Desire for closer ties with Mexico
 - (C) Respect for the Monroe Doctrine
 - (D) Opposition from the British working class
5. The Union was most disturbed because they believed that Britain was supporting the Confederates by doing which of the following?
 - (A) Building warships
 - (B) Purchasing cotton
 - (C) Loaning money
 - (D) Supplying food

Questions 6–8 refer to the map below.



6. In July of 1861, President Lincoln was particularly concerned about how his policies on slavery would affect which areas?
 - (A) the states in white because they were slave states that remained in the Union
 - (B) the states in medium gray because they were home to most of his political supporters
 - (C) the states in dark gray because he thought he could persuade them to rejoin the Union
 - (D) the region in light gray because it consisted of territories that had not yet become states
7. Which of the following statements best describes the states in medium gray?
 - (A) Most people lived in large cities
 - (B) Most people advocated abolition of slavery
 - (C) They lacked good river transportation
 - (D) They included most of the country's population
8. Which of the following statements best describes the states in dark gray?
 - (A) They were economically self-sufficient
 - (B) They were well connected by railroads
 - (C) They had a strong military tradition
 - (D) They had a strong navy

SHORT-ANSWER QUESTIONS

Use complete sentences; an outline or bulleted list alone is not acceptable.

Question 1 is based on the following excerpts.

“[In the Civil War,] great issues were at stake, issues about which Americans were willing to fight and die, issues whose resolution profoundly transformed and redefined the United States. The Civil War was a total war in three senses: It mobilized the total human and material resources of both sides; it ended not in a negotiated peace but in total victory by one side and unconditional surrender by the other; it destroyed the economy and social system of the loser and established those of the winner as the norm for the future . . . The North went to war to preserve the Union; it ended by creating a nation.”

—James M. McPherson, historian, “A War That Never Goes Away,”
American Heritage, March 1990

“Should we consecrate a war that killed and maimed over a million Americans? Or should we question . . . whether this was really a war of necessity that justified its appalling costs? . . .

“Very few Northerners went to war seeking or anticipating the destruction of slavery. They fought for Union, and the Emancipation Proclamation was a means to that end: a desperate measure to undermine the South and save a democratic nation that Lincoln called ‘the last best, hope of earth.’ . . .

“From the distance of 150 years, Lincoln’s transcendent vision at Gettysburg of a ‘new birth of freedom’ seems premature. . . . Rather than simply consecrate the dead with words, he said, it is for ‘us the living’ to rededicate ourselves to the unfinished work of the Civil War.”

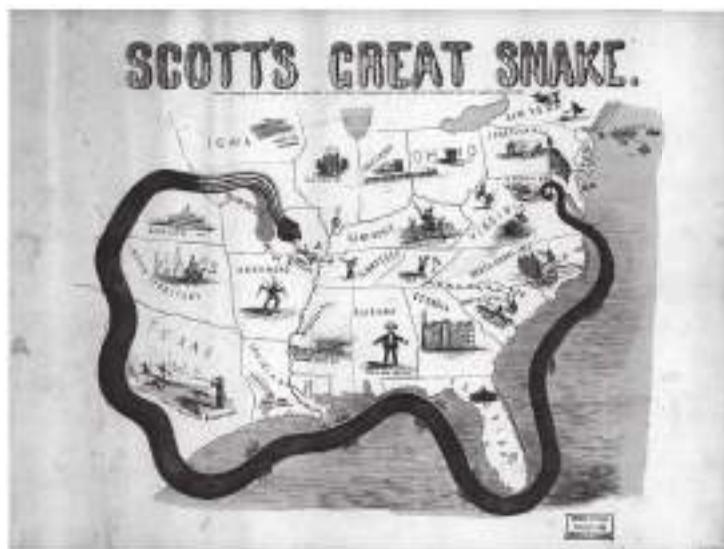
—Tony Horwitz, journalist and writer, “150 Years of Misunderstanding the Civil War,” *The Atlantic*, June 2013

1. Using the excerpt, answer a, b, and c.
 - a) Briefly explain ONE major difference between McPherson’s and Horwitz’s historical interpretation of the Civil War.
 - b) Briefly explain how ONE development from the period 1861 to 1865 not directly mentioned in the excerpts supports McPherson’s argument.
 - c) Briefly explain how ONE development from the period 1861 to 1865 not directly mentioned in the excerpts supports Horwitz’s argument.

Question 2. Answer a, b, and c.

- a) Briefly explain why ONE of the following best supports the view that slavery largely ended during the Civil War before the passage of the 13th Amendment.
 - President Lincoln
 - U.S. Congress
 - enslaved African Americans
- b) Contrast your choice against ONE of the other options, demonstrating why that option is not as good as your choice.
- c) Briefly describe what role, if any, slaves played in the war.

Question 3 is based on the following cartoon.



Source: J. B. Elliot, 1861. Library of Congress

3. Using the cartoon, answer a, b, and c.

- a) Explain the point of view reflected in the cartoon above regarding ONE of the following.
 - blockade
 - Mississippi River
 - General Grant
- b) Explain how ONE element of the cartoon expresses the point of view you identified in Part A.
- c) Explain how the point of view you identified in Part A helped to shape ONE specific action between 1861 and 1865.

Question 4. Answer a, b, and c.

- a) Briefly explain why ONE of the following best supports the view that Lincoln was one of the most democratic and also one of the most autocratic of presidents.
 - Emancipation Proclamation
 - Gettysburg Address
 - habeas corpus
- b) Contrast your choice against ONE of the other options, demonstrating why that option is not as good as your choice.
- c) Briefly identify ONE other president you believe combined the two qualities mentioned in the statement above.

THINK AS A HISTORIAN: STATEMENTS ABOUT CONTEXTUALIZATION

Which THREE of the following statements best express the idea of contextualization?

1. While slavery ended throughout the Americas in the late 1700s and during the 1800s, the United States and Haiti were the only two places where it ended through large-scale violence.
2. The Republican economic plans carried out the ideas expressed in earlier days by Alexander Hamilton and Henry Clay.
3. The Emancipation Proclamation was written in rather boring language.
4. Considering that Sherman's March was conducted as an act of war, remarkably few people died from it.
5. General Robert E. Lee's decision to join the Confederacy provides a fascinating look into how he thought about the world.

RECONSTRUCTION, 1863–1877

Though slavery was abolished, the wrongs of my people were not ended. Though they were not slaves, they were not yet quite free. No man can be truly free whose liberty is dependent upon the thought, feeling, and action of others, and who has no means in his own hands for guarding, protecting, defending, and maintaining his liberty.

Frederick Douglass, 1882

The silencing of the cannons of war left the victorious United States with immense challenges. How would the South rebuild its shattered society and economy after the damage inflicted by four years of war? What would be the place in that society of 4 million freed African Americans? To what extent, if any, was the federal government responsible for helping ex-slaves adjust to freedom? Should the former states of the Confederacy be treated as states that had never really left the Union (Lincoln's position) or as conquered territory subject to continued military occupation? Under what conditions would the Confederate states be fully accepted as coequal partners in the restored Union? Finally, who had the authority to decide these questions of Reconstruction: the president or the Congress?

The conflicts that existed before and during the Civil War—between regions, political parties, and economic interests—continued after the war. Republicans in the North wanted to continue the economic progress begun during the war. The Southern aristocracy still desired a cheap labor force to work its plantations. The freedmen and women hoped to achieve independence and equal rights. However, traditional beliefs limited the actions of the federal government. Constitutional concepts of limited government and states' rights discouraged national leaders from taking bold action. Little economic help was given to either whites or blacks in the South, because most Americans believed that free people in a free society had both an opportunity and a responsibility to provide for themselves. The physical rebuilding of the South was largely left up to the states and individuals, while the federal government concentrated on political issues.

Reconstruction Plans of Lincoln and Johnson

Throughout his presidency, Abraham Lincoln held firmly to the belief that the Southern states could not constitutionally leave the Union and therefore never did leave. He viewed the Confederates as only a disloyal minority. After Lincoln's assassination, Andrew Johnson attempted to carry out Lincoln's plan for the political Reconstruction of the 11 former states of the Confederacy.

Lincoln's Policies

Because Lincoln thought the Southern states had never left the Union, he hoped they could be reestablished by meeting a minimum test of political loyalty.

Proclamation of Amnesty and Reconstruction (1863) As early as December 1863, Lincoln set up an apparently simple process for political reconstruction—that is, for reconstructing the state governments in the South so that Unionists were in charge rather than secessionists. The president's Proclamation of Amnesty and Reconstruction provided for the following:

- Full presidential pardons would be granted to most Confederates who (1) took an oath of allegiance to the Union and the U.S. Constitution, and (2) accepted the emancipation of slaves.
- A state government could be reestablished and accepted as legitimate by the U.S. president as soon as at least 10 percent of the voters in that state took the loyalty oath.

In practice, Lincoln's proclamation meant that each Southern state would be required to rewrite its state constitution to eliminate the existence of slavery. Lincoln's seemingly lenient policy was designed both to shorten the war and to give added weight to his Emancipation Proclamation. (When Lincoln made this proposal in late 1863, he feared that if the Democrats won the 1864 election, they would overturn the proclamation.)

Wade-Davis Bill (1864) Many Republicans in Congress objected to Lincoln's 10 percent plan, arguing that it would allow a supposedly reconstructed state government to fall under the domination of disloyal secessionists. In 1864, Congress passed the Wade-Davis Bill, which proposed far more demanding and stringent terms for Reconstruction. The bill required 50 percent of the voters of a state to take a loyalty oath and permitted only non-Confederates to vote for a new state constitution. Lincoln refused to sign the bill, pocket-vetoing it after Congress adjourned. How serious was the conflict between President Lincoln and the Republican Congress over Reconstruction policy? Historians still debate this question. In any case, Congress was no doubt ready to reassert its powers in 1865, as Congresses traditionally do after a war.

Freedmen's Bureau In March 1865, Congress created an important new agency: the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, known simply as the Freedmen's Bureau. The bureau acted as an early welfare agency, providing food, shelter, and medical aid for those made destitute by

the war—both blacks (chiefly freed slaves) and homeless whites. At first, the Freedmen's Bureau had authority to resettle freed blacks on confiscated farm-lands in the South. Its efforts at resettlement, however, were later frustrated when President Johnson pardoned Confederate owners of the confiscated lands, and courts then restored most of the lands to their original owners.

The bureau's greatest success was in education. Under the able leadership of General Oliver O. Howard, it established nearly 3,000 schools for freed blacks, including several colleges. Before federal funding was stopped in 1870, the bureau's schools taught an estimated 200,000 African Americans how to read.

Lincoln's Last Speech In his last public address (April 11, 1865), Lincoln encouraged Northerners to accept Louisiana as a reconstructed state. (Louisiana had already drawn up a new constitution that abolished slavery in the state and provided for African Americans' education.) The president also addressed the question—highly controversial at the time—of whether freedmen should be granted the right to vote. Lincoln said: “I myself prefer that it were *now* conferred on the very intelligent, and on those who serve our cause as soldiers.” Three days later, Lincoln’s evolving plans for Reconstruction were ended with his assassination. His last speech suggested that, had he lived, he probably would have moved closer to the position taken by the progressive, or Radical, Republicans. In any event, hope for lasting reform was dealt a devastating blow by the sudden removal of Lincoln’s skillful leadership.

Johnson and Reconstruction

Andrew Johnson’s origins were as humble as Lincoln’s. A self-taught tailor, he rose in Tennessee politics by championing the interests of poor whites in their economic conflict with rich planters. Johnson was the only senator from a Confederate state who remained loyal to the Union. After Tennessee was occupied by Union troops, he was appointed that state’s war governor. Johnson was a Southern Democrat, but Republicans picked him to be Lincoln’s running mate in 1864 in order to encourage pro-Union Democrats to vote for the Union (Republican) party. In one of the accidents of history, Johnson became the wrong man for the job. As a white supremacist, the new president was bound to clash with Republicans in Congress who believed that the war was fought not just to preserve the Union but also to liberate blacks from slavery.

Johnson’s Reconstruction Policy At first, many Republicans in Congress welcomed Johnson’s presidency because of his animosity for the Southern aristocrats who had led the Confederacy. In May 1865, Johnson issued his own Reconstruction proclamation that was very similar to Lincoln’s 10 percent plan. In addition to Lincoln’s terms, it provided for the disfranchisement (loss of the right to vote and hold office) of (1) all former leaders and officeholders of the Confederacy and (2) Confederates with more than \$20,000 in taxable property. However, the president retained the power to grant individual pardons to “disloyal” Southerners. This was an escape clause for the wealthy planters, and Johnson made frequent use of it. As a result of the president’s pardons, many former Confederate leaders were back in office by the fall of 1865.

Southern Governments of 1865 Just eight months after Johnson took office, all 11 of the ex-Confederate states qualified under the president's Reconstruction plan to become functioning parts of the Union. The Southern states drew up constitutions that repudiated secession, negated the debts of the Confederate government, and ratified the 13th Amendment abolishing slavery. On the other hand, none of the new constitutions extended voting rights to blacks. Furthermore, to the dismay of Republicans, former leaders of the Confederacy won seats in Congress. For example, Alexander Stephens, the former Confederate vice president, was elected U.S. senator from Georgia.

Black Codes The Republicans became further disillusioned with Johnson as Southern state legislatures adopted Black Codes that restricted the rights and movements of the former slaves. The codes (1) prohibited blacks from either renting land or borrowing money to buy land; (2) placed freedmen into a form of semibondage by forcing them, as "vagrants" and "apprentices," to sign work contracts; and (3) prohibited blacks from testifying against whites in court. The contract-labor system, in which blacks worked cotton fields under white supervision for deferred wages, seemed little different from slavery.

Appalled by reports of developments in the South, Republicans began to ask, "Who won the war?" In early 1866, unhappiness with Johnson developed into an open rift when the Northern Republicans in Congress challenged the results of elections in the South. They refused to seat Alexander Stephens and other duly elected representatives and senators from ex-Confederate states.

Johnson's Vetoes Johnson alienated even moderate Republicans in early 1866 when he vetoed a bill increasing the services and protection offered by the Freedmen's Bureau and a civil rights bill that nullified the Black Codes and guaranteed full citizenship and equal rights to African Americans. The vetoes marked the end of the first round of Reconstruction. During this round, Presidents Lincoln and Johnson had restored the 11 ex-Confederate states to their former position in the Union, ex-Confederates had returned to high offices, and Southern states began passing Black Codes.

Presidential Vetoes, 1853 to 1880	
President	Vetoes
Franklin Pierce	9
James Buchanan	7
Abraham Lincoln	7
Andrew Johnson	29
Ulysses S. Grant	93
Rutherford B. Hayes	13

Source: "Summary of Bills Vetoed, 1789–Present." United States Senate, www.senate.gov

Congressional Reconstruction

By the spring of 1866, the angry response of many members of Congress to Johnson's policies led to the second round of Reconstruction. This one was dominated by Congress and featured policies that were harsher on Southern whites and more protective of freed African Americans.

Radical Republicans

Republicans had long been divided between (1) moderates, who were chiefly concerned with economic gains for the white middle class, and (2) radicals, who championed civil rights for blacks. Although most Republicans were moderates, several became more radical in 1866 partly out of fear that a reunified Democratic party might again become dominant. After all, now that the federal census counted all people equally (no longer applying the old three-fifths rule for enslaved persons), the South would have more representatives in Congress than before the war and more strength in the electoral college in future presidential elections.

The leading Radical Republican in the Senate was Charles Sumner of Massachusetts (who returned to the Senate three years after his caning by Brooks). In the House, Thaddeus Stevens of Pennsylvania hoped to revolutionize Southern society through an extended period of military rule in which African Americans would be free to exercise their civil rights, would be educated in schools operated by the federal government, and would receive lands confiscated from the planter class. Many Radical Republicans, such as Benjamin Wade of Ohio, endorsed several liberal causes: women's suffrage, rights for labor unions, and civil rights for Northern African Americans. Although their program was never fully implemented, the Radical Republicans struggled to extend equal rights to all Americans.

Civil Rights Act of 1866 Among the first actions in congressional Reconstruction were votes to override, with some modifications, Johnson's vetoes of both the Freedmen's Bureau Act and the first Civil Rights Act. The Civil Rights Act pronounced all African Americans to be U.S. citizens (thereby repudiating the decision in the Dred Scott case) and also attempted to provide a legal shield against the operation of the Southern states' Black Codes. Republicans feared, however, that the law could be repealed if the Democrats ever won control of Congress. They therefore looked for a more permanent solution in the form of a constitutional amendment.

Fourteenth Amendment In June 1866, Congress passed and sent to the states an amendment that, when ratified in 1868, had both immediate and long-term significance for American society. The 14th Amendment

- declared that all persons born or naturalized in the United States were citizens
- obligated the states to respect the rights of U.S. citizens and provide them with "equal protection of the laws" and "due process of law" (clauses full of meaning for future generations)

For the first time, the Constitution required *states* as well as the federal government to uphold the rights of citizens. The amendment's key clauses about citizenship and rights produced mixed results in 19th-century courtrooms. However, in the 1950s and later, the Supreme Court would make "equal protection of the laws" and the "due process" clause the keystone of civil rights for minorities, women, children, disabled persons, and those accused of crimes.

Other parts of the 14th Amendment applied specifically to Congress' plan of Reconstruction. These clauses

- disqualified former Confederate political leaders from holding either state or federal offices
- repudiated the debts of the defeated governments of the Confederacy
- penalized a state if it kept any eligible person from voting by reducing that state's proportional representation in Congress and the electoral college

Report of the Joint Committee In June 1866, a joint committee of the House and the Senate issued a report recommending that the reorganized former states of the Confederacy were not entitled to representation in Congress. Therefore, those elected from the South as senators and representatives should not be permitted to take their seats. The report further asserted that Congress, not the president, had the authority to determine the conditions for allowing reconstructed states to rejoin the Union. By this report, Congress officially rejected the presidential plan of Reconstruction and promised to substitute its own plan, part of which was embodied in the 14th Amendment.

The Election of 1866 Unable to work with Congress, Johnson took to the road in the fall of 1866 in his infamous "swing around the circle" to attack his opponents. His speeches appealed to the racial prejudices of whites by arguing that equal rights for blacks would result in an "Africanized" society. Republicans counterattacked by accusing Johnson of being a drunkard and a traitor. They appealed to anti-Southern prejudices by employing a campaign tactic known as "waving the bloody shirt"—inflaming the anger of Northern voters by reminding them of the hardships of war. Republican propaganda emphasized that Southerners were Democrats and, by a gross jump in logic, branded the entire Democratic party as a party of rebellion and treason.

Election results gave the Republicans an overwhelming victory. After 1866, Johnson's political adversaries—both moderate and Radical Republicans—had more than a two-thirds majority in both the House and the Senate.

Reconstruction Acts of 1867 Over Johnson's vetoes, Congress passed three Reconstruction acts in early 1867, which took the drastic step of placing the South under military occupation. The acts divided the former Confederate states into five military districts, each under the control of the Union army. In addition, the Reconstruction acts increased the requirements for gaining readmission to the Union. To win such readmission, an ex-Confederate state had to ratify the 14th Amendment and place guarantees in its constitution for granting the franchise (right to vote) to all adult males, regardless of race.

Impeachment of Andrew Johnson

Also in 1867, over Johnson's veto, Congress passed the Tenure of Office Act. This law, which may have been an unconstitutional violation of executive authority, prohibited the president from removing a federal official or military commander without the approval of the Senate. The purpose of the law was strictly political. Congress wanted to protect the Radical Republicans in Johnson's cabinet, such as Secretary of War Edwin Stanton, who was in charge of the military governments in the South.

Believing the new law to be unconstitutional, Johnson challenged it by dismissing Stanton on his own authority. The House responded by impeaching Johnson, charging him with 11 "high crimes and misdemeanors." Johnson thus became the first president to be impeached. (Bill Clinton was impeached in 1998.) In 1868, after a three-month trial in the Senate, Johnson's political enemies fell one vote short of the necessary two-thirds vote required to remove a president from office. Seven moderate Republicans joined the Democrats in voting against conviction because they thought it was a bad precedent to remove a president for political reasons.

Reforms After Grant's Election

The impeachment and trial of Andrew Johnson occurred in 1868, a presidential election year. At their convention, the Democrats nominated another candidate, Horatio Seymour, so that Johnson's presidency would have ended soon in any case, with or without impeachment by the Republicans.

The Election of 1868 At their convention, the Republicans turned to a war hero, giving their presidential nomination to General Ulysses S. Grant, even though Grant had no political experience. Despite Grant's popularity in the North, he managed to win only 300,000 more popular votes than his Democratic opponent. The votes of 500,000 blacks gave the Republican ticket its margin of victory. Even the most moderate Republicans began to realize that the voting rights of the freedmen needed federal protection if their party hoped to keep control of the White House in future elections.

Fifteenth Amendment Republican majorities in Congress acted quickly in 1869 to secure the vote for African Americans. Adding one more Reconstruction amendment to those already adopted (the 13th Amendment in 1865 and the 14th Amendment in 1868), Congress passed the 15th Amendment, which prohibited any state from denying or abridging a citizen's right to vote "on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude." It was ratified in 1870.

Civil Rights Act of 1875 The last civil rights reform enacted by Congress in Reconstruction was the Civil Rights Act of 1875. This law guaranteed equal accommodations in public places (hotels, railroads, and theaters) and prohibited courts from excluding African Americans from juries. However, the law was poorly enforced because moderate and conservative Republicans felt frustrated trying to reform an unwilling South—and feared losing white votes in the North. By 1877, Congress would abandon Reconstruction completely.

Reconstruction in the South

During the second round of Reconstruction, dictated by Congress, the Republican party in the South dominated the governments of the ex-Confederate states. Beginning in 1867, each Republican-controlled government was under the military protection of the U.S. Army until such time as Congress was satisfied that a state had met its Reconstruction requirements. Then the troops were withdrawn. The period of Republican rule in a Southern state lasted from as little as one year (Tennessee) to as much as nine years (Florida), depending on how long it took conservative Democrats to regain control.

Composition of the Reconstruction Governments

In every Radical, or Republican, state government in the South except one, whites were in the majority in both houses of the legislature. The exception was South Carolina, where the freedmen controlled the lower house in 1873. Republican legislators included native-born white Southerners, freedmen, and recently arrived Northerners.

“Scalawags” and “Carpetbaggers” Democratic opponents gave nicknames to their hated Republican rivals. They called Southern Republicans “scalawags” and Northern newcomers “carpetbaggers.” Southern whites who supported the Republican governments were usually former Whigs who were interested in economic development for their state and peace between the sections. Northerners went South after the war for various reasons. Some were investors interested in setting up new businesses, while others were ministers and teachers with humanitarian goals. Some went simply to plunder.

African American Legislators Most of the African Americans who held elective office in the reconstructed state governments were educated property holders who took moderate positions on most issues. During the Reconstruction era, Republicans in the South sent two African Americans (Blanche K. Bruce and Hiram Revels) to the Senate and more than a dozen African Americans to the House of Representatives. Revels was elected in 1870 to take the Senate seat from Mississippi once held by Jefferson Davis. Seeing African Americans and former slaves in positions of power caused bitter resentment among disfranchised ex-Confederates.

Evaluating the Republican Record

Much controversy still surrounds the legislative record of the Republicans during their brief control of Southern state politics. Did they abuse their power for selfish ends (plunder and corruption), or did they govern responsibly in the public interest? They did some of each.

Accomplishments On the positive side, Republican legislators liberalized state constitutions in the South by providing for universal male suffrage, property rights for women, debt relief, and modern penal codes. They also promoted the building of roads, bridges, railroads, and other internal improvements. They established such needed state institutions as hospitals, asylums, and homes for the disabled. The reformers established state-supported public

school systems in the South, which benefited whites and African Americans alike. They paid for these improvements by overhauling the tax system and selling bonds.

Failures Long after Reconstruction ended, many Southerners and some Northern historians continued to depict Republican rule as utterly wasteful and corrupt. Some instances of graft and wasteful spending did occur, as Republican politicians took advantage of their power to take kickbacks and bribes from contractors who did business with the state. However, corruption occurred throughout the country, Northern states and cities as well. No geographic section, political party, or ethnic group was immune to the general decline in ethics in government that marked the postwar era.

African Americans Adjusting to Freedom

Undoubtedly, the Southerners who had the greatest adjustment to make during the Reconstruction era were the freedmen and freedwomen. Having been so recently emancipated from slavery, they were faced with the challenges of securing their economic survival as well as their political rights as citizens.

Building Black Communities Freedom meant many things to Southern blacks: reuniting families, learning to read and write, migrating to cities where “freedom was free-er.” Most of all, ex-slaves viewed emancipation as an opportunity for achieving independence from white control. This drive for autonomy was most evident in the founding of hundreds of independent African American churches after the war. By the hundreds of thousands, African Americans left white-dominated churches for the Negro Baptist and African Methodist Episcopal churches. During Reconstruction, black ministers emerged as leaders in the African American community.

Percentage of School Age Children Enrolled, 1850 to 1880		
Year	White	African American
1850	56	2
1860	60	2
1870	54	10
1880	62	34

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census. *Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1970*

The desire for education induced large numbers of African Americans to use their scarce resources to establish independent schools for their children and to pay educated African Americans to become their teachers. Black colleges such as Howard, Atlanta, Fisk, and Morehouse were established during Reconstruction to prepare African American black ministers and teachers.

Another aspect of blacks' search for independence and self-sufficiency was the decision of many freedmen to migrate away from the South and establish new black communities in frontier states such as Kansas.

Sharecropping The South's agricultural economy was in turmoil after the war, in part because landowners had lost their compulsory labor force. At first, white landowners attempted to force freed African Americans into signing contracts to work the fields. These contracts set terms that nearly bound the signer to permanent and unrestricted labor—in effect, slavery by a different name. African Americans' insistence on autonomy, however, combined with changes in the postwar economy, led white landowners to adopt a system based on tenancy and sharecropping. Under sharecropping, the landlord provided the seed and other needed farm supplies in return for a share (usually half) of the harvest. While this system gave poor people of the rural South (whites as well as African Americans) the opportunity to work a piece of land for themselves, sharecroppers usually remained either dependent on the landowners or in debt to local merchants. By 1880, no more than 5 percent of Southern African Americans had become independent landowners. Sharecropping had evolved into a new form of servitude.

The North During Reconstruction

The North's economy in the postwar years continued to be driven by the Industrial Revolution and the pro-business policies of the Republicans. As the South struggled to reorganize its labor system, Northerners focused on railroads, steel, labor problems, and money.

Greed and Corruption

During the Grant administration, as the material interests of the age took center stage, the idealism of Lincoln's generation and the Radical Republicans' crusade for civil rights were pushed aside.

Rise of the Spoilsman In the early 1870s, leadership of the Republican party passed from reformers (Thaddeus Stevens, Charles Sumner, and Benjamin Wade) to political manipulators such as Senators Roscoe Conkling of New York and James Blaine of Maine. These politicians were masters of the game of patronage—giving jobs and government favors (spoils) to their supporters.

Corruption in Business and Government The postwar years were notorious for the corrupt schemes devised by business bosses and political bosses to enrich themselves at the public's expense. For example, in 1869, Wall Street financiers Jay Gould and James Fisk obtained the help of President Grant's brother-in-law in a scheme to corner the gold market. The Treasury Department broke the scheme, but not before Gould had made a huge profit.

In the Crédit Mobilier affair, insiders gave stock to influential members of Congress to avoid investigation of the profits they were making—as high as 348 percent—from government subsidies for building the transcontinental railroad. In the case of the Whiskey Ring, federal revenue agents conspired with the liquor industry to defraud the government of millions in

taxes. While Grant himself did not personally profit from the corruption, his loyalty to dishonest men around him badly tarnished his presidency.

Local politics in the Grant years were equally scandalous. In New York City, William Tweed, the boss of the local Democratic party, master-minded dozens of schemes for helping himself and cronies to large chunks of graft. The Tweed Ring virtually stole about \$200 million from New York's taxpayers before *The New York Times* and the cartoonist Thomas Nast exposed "Boss" Tweed and brought about his arrest and imprisonment in 1871.

CONGRESSIONAL RECONSTRUCTION 1865–1877



The Election of 1872

The scandals of the Grant administration drove reform-minded Republicans to break with the party in 1872 and select Horace Greeley, editor of the *New York Tribune*, as their presidential candidate. The Liberal Republicans advocated civil service reform, an end to railroad subsidies, withdrawal of troops from the South, reduced tariffs, and free trade. Surprisingly, the Democrats joined them and also nominated Greeley.

The regular Republicans countered by merely "waving the bloody shirt" again—and it worked. Grant was reelected in a landslide. Just days before the counting of the electoral vote, the luckless Horace Greeley died.

The Panic of 1873

Grant's second term began with an economic disaster that rendered thousands of Northern laborers both jobless and homeless. Overspeculation by financiers and overbuilding by industry and railroads led to widespread business failures and depression. Debtors on the farms and in the cities, suffering from the tight money policies, demanded the creation of greenback paper money that was not supported by gold. In 1874, Grant finally decided to side with the hard-money bankers and creditors who wanted a money supply backed by gold and vetoed a bill calling for the release of additional greenbacks.

The End of Reconstruction

During Grant's second term, it was apparent that Reconstruction had entered another phase, which proved to be its third and final round. With Radical Republicanism on the wane, Southern conservatives—known as redeemers—took control of one state government after another. This process was completed by 1877. The redeemers had different social and economic backgrounds, but they agreed on their political program: states' rights, reduced taxes, reduced spending on social programs, and white supremacy.

White Supremacy and the Ku Klux Klan

During the period that Republicans controlled state governments in the South, groups of Southern whites organized secret societies to intimidate blacks and white reformers. The most prominent of these was the Ku Klux Klan, founded in 1867 by an ex-Confederate general, Nathaniel Bedford Forrest. The “invisible empire” burned black-owned buildings and flogged and murdered freedmen to keep them from exercising their voting rights. To give federal authorities the power to stop Ku Klux Klan violence and to protect the civil rights of citizens in the South, Congress passed the Force Acts of 1870 and 1871.

The Amnesty Act of 1872

Seven years after Lee's surrender at Appomattox, many Northerners were ready to put hatred of the Confederacy behind them. As a sign of the changing times, Congress in 1872 passed a general amnesty act that removed the last of the restrictions on ex-Confederates, except for the top leaders. The chief political consequence of the Amnesty Act was that it allowed Southern conservatives to vote for Democrats to retake control of state governments.

The Election of 1876

By 1876, federal troops had been withdrawn from all but three Southern states—South Carolina, Florida, and Louisiana. The Democrats had returned to power in all ex-Confederate states except these. This fact was to play a critical role in the presidential election.

At their convention, the Republicans looked for someone untouched by the corruption of the Grant administration and nominated the governor of Ohio, Rutherford B. Hayes. The Democrats chose New York's reform governor,

Samuel J. Tilden, who had made a name for himself fighting the corrupt Tweed Ring. In the popular votes, the Democrats had won a clear majority and expected to put Tilden in the White House. However, in three Southern states, the returns were contested. To win the election, Tilden needed only one *electoral* vote from the contested returns of South Carolina, Florida, and Louisiana.

A special electoral commission was created to determine who was entitled to the disputed votes of the three states. In a straight party vote of 8–7, the commission gave all the electoral votes to Hayes, the Republican. Outraged Democrats threatened to filibuster the results and send the election to the House of Representatives, which they controlled.

The Compromise of 1877

Leaders of the two parties worked out an informal deal. The Democrats would allow Hayes to become president. In return, he would (1) immediately end federal support for the Republicans in the South, and (2) support the building of a Southern transcontinental railroad. Shortly after his inauguration, President Hayes fulfilled his part in the Compromise of 1877 and promptly withdrew the last of the federal troops protecting African Americans and other Republicans.

The end of a federal military presence in the South was not the only thing that brought Reconstruction to an end. In a series of decisions in the 1880s and 1890s, the Supreme Court struck down one Reconstruction law after another that protected blacks from discrimination. Supporters of the New South promised a future of industrial development, but most Southern African Americans and whites in the decades after the Civil War remained poor farmers, and they fell further behind the rest of the nation.

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES: DID RECONSTRUCTION FAIL?

Reconstruction may be the most controversial period in U.S. history. Generations of both northern and southern historians, starting with William Dunning in the early 1900s, portrayed Reconstruction as a failure. According to this traditional interpretation, illiterate African Americans and corrupt Northern carpetbaggers abused the rights of Southern whites and stole vast sums from the state governments. The Radical Republicans brought on these conditions when, in an effort to punish the South, they gave the former slaves too many rights too soon. The Dunning school of historical thought provided a rationale for the racial segregation in the early 20th century. It was given popular expression in a 1915 movie, D. W. Griffith's *The Birth of a Nation*, which pictured the Ku Klux Klanmen as the heroes coming to the rescue of Southern whites oppressed by vindictive Northern radicals and African Americans.

continued

African American historians such as W. E. B. Du Bois and John Hope Franklin countered this interpretation by highlighting the positive achievements of the Reconstruction governments and black leaders. Their view was supported and expanded upon in 1965 with the publication of Kenneth Stampp's *Era of Reconstruction*. Other historians of the 1960s and 1970s followed Stampp's lead in stressing the significance of the civil rights legislation passed by the Radical Republicans and pointing out the humanitarian work performed by Northern reformers.

By the 1980s, some historians criticized Congress' approach to Reconstruction, not for being too radical, but for not being radical enough. They argued that the Radical Republicans neglected to provide land for African Americans, which would have enabled them to achieve economic independence. Furthermore, these historians argued, the military occupation of the South should have lasted longer to protect the freedmen's political rights. Eric Foner's comprehensive *Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution* (1988) acknowledged the limitations of Reconstruction in achieving lasting reforms but also pointed out that, in the post-Civil War years, the freedmen established many of the institutions in the African American community upon which later progress depended. According to Foner, it took a "second Reconstruction" after World War II (the civil rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s) to achieve the promise of the "first Reconstruction."

KEY NAMES, EVENTS, AND TERMS

Equality (NAT, POL) Civil Rights Act of 1866 14th Amendment equal protection of the laws due process of law 15th Amendment Civil Rights Act of 1875	Panic of 1873 greenbacks redeemers Rutherford B. Hayes Samuel J. Tilden Compromise of 1877	Radical Republicans Charles Sumner Thaddeus Stephens Benjamin Wade Reconstruction Acts (1867) Tenure of Office Act (1867) Edwin Stanton impeachment scalawags carpetbaggers Blanche K. Bruce Hiram Revels sharecropping Ku Klux Klan Force Acts (1870, 1871) Amnesty Act of 1872
Corruption (WXT, POL) Jay Gould Crédit Mobilier William (Boss) Tweed	presidential Reconstruction Proclamation of Amnesty and Reconstruction (1863) Wade-Davis Bill (1864) Andrew Johnson Freedmen's Bureau Black Codes Congressional Reconstruction	
Politics (POL) spoilsman patronage Thomas Nast Liberal Republicans Horace Greeley		

MULTIPLE-CHOICE QUESTIONS

Questions 1–3 refer to the excerpt below.

“Though we have had war, reconstruction, and abolition as a nation, we still linger in the shadow and blight of an extinct institution. Though the colored man is no longer subject to be bought and sold, he is still surrounded by an adverse sentiment . . . In his downward course he meets no resistance, but his course upward is resented and resisted at every step of his progress. . . .

“If liberty, with us, is yet but a name, our citizenship is but a sham, and our suffrage thus far only a cruel mockery, we may yet congratulate ourselves upon the fact that the laws and institutions of the country are sound, just, and liberal. There is hope . . . But until this nation shall make its practice accord with its Constitution and its righteous laws, it will not do to reproach the colored people of this country.”

—Frederick Douglass, Speech, September 24, 1883

1. Which of the following would in part cause Douglass’s view that for African Americans, “citizenship is but a sham”?
 - (A) 14th Amendment
 - (B) Black Codes
 - (C) Freedmen’s Bureau
 - (D) Election of Ulysses S. Grant
2. Which best provides an example of how the “Constitution and its righteous laws,” according to Douglass, provide hope for the “colored people of this country”?
 - (A) Wade-Davis Bill
 - (B) Amnesty Act of 1872
 - (C) Civil Rights Act of 1866
 - (D) 16th Amendment
3. Which of the following developed during Reconstruction to provide direct support and support self-determination for those freed from slavery?
 - (A) Crédit Mobilier
 - (B) Tenant farming
 - (C) Sharecropping
 - (D) Black churches

Questions 4–5 refer to the excerpt below.

- “1. All persons born or naturalized in the United States . . . are citizens . . . No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens . . . nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process; nor deny . . . equal protection of the laws.
- “2. Representatives shall be apportioned among the several States . . . counting the whole number of persons in each State, excluding Indians not taxed. But when the right to vote at any election . . . thereof, is denied to any of the male inhabitants . . . being twenty-one years of age, and citizens . . . or in any way abridged, except for . . . crime, . . . the basis of representation therein shall be reduced. . . .
- “3. No person shall . . . hold any office . . . who, having previously taken an oath . . . shall have engaged in insurrection or rebellion against the same . . . But Congress may by a vote of two-thirds of each House, remove such disability.”

—14th Amendment, Constitution of the United States, July 9, 1868

4. In proclaiming that all persons born in the United States were citizens, the 14th Amendment directly repudiated which of the following?
- (A) Compromise of 1850
(B) Dred Scott Decision
(C) Johnson’s Reconstruction Plan
(D) Wade-Davis Bill
5. For future Supreme Courts, one of the key points of the 14th Amendment would be which of the following?
- (A) “nor deny . . . equal protection of the laws”
(B) “Representatives shall be apportioned”
(C) “the basis of representation therein shall be reduced”
(D) “shall have engaged in insurrection or rebellion”

Questions 6–8 refer to the map below.



6. Which of the following was most important in enabling the Democratic Party to regain political power in the South?
 - A) Limiting education for the freedmen
 - B) Limiting the voting rights of the freedmen
 - C) The Panic of 1873
 - D) The Amnesty Act of 1872
7. The victor in the 1876 presidential election was decided by
 - A) a special electoral commission
 - B) the House of Representatives
 - C) the Senate
 - D) the Supreme Court
8. Democrats agreed to accept Rutherford B. Hayes as president in 1876 in part if he agreed to which of the following?
 - A) to support a nationwide Black Code
 - B) to remove federal troops from the South
 - C) to promote Southern industrial development
 - D) to support civil service reform

SHORT-ANSWER QUESTIONS

Use complete sentences; an outline or bulleted list alone is not acceptable.

Question 1 is based on the following excerpts.

“It is apparent to my mind that the President thoroughly believed the tenure-of-office act to be unconstitutional and void. He was so advised by every member of his cabinet. . . .

“This was a punitive statute. It was directed against the President alone. It interfered with the prerogatives of his department as recognized from the foundation of the Government. . . . This Government can only be preserved and the liberty of the people maintained by preserving intact the co-ordinate branches of it — legislative, executive, judicial—alike. I am no convert to any doctrine of the omnipotence of Congress.

“I cannot agree to destroy the . . . Constitution for the sake of getting rid of an Unacceptable President.”

—Senator James W. Grimes, Iowa, statement on the trial of Andrew Johnson, 1868

“This is one of the last great battles with slavery. . . . this monstrous power has found a refuge in the Executive Mansion, . . . Andrew Johnson is the impersonation of the tyrannical slave power. . . .

“The veto power conferred by the Constitution . . . was turned by him into a weapon of offence against Congress. . . . Laws enacted by Congress for the benefit of the colored race, including . . . the Freedmen’s Bureau, and . . . Civil Rights, were first attacked by his veto. . . . he boldly attempted to prevent the adoption of a constitutional amendment, by which the right of citizens and the national debt were placed under the guarantee of irrepealable law.”

—Senator Charles Sumner, Massachusetts, statement on the trial of Andrew Johnson, *Congressional Globe*, 1868

1. Using the excerpts, answer a, b, and c.
 - a) Briefly explain the main point of Excerpt 1.
 - b) Briefly explain the main point of Excerpt 2.
 - c) Provide ONE piece of evidence from the period 1865 to 1868 that is not included in the excerpts and explain how it supports the interpretation in either excerpt.

Question 2. Answer a, b, and c.

- a) Briefly explain the significance of ONE of the following during Reconstruction in the South during this period.
 - scalawags
 - carpetbaggers
 - African American legislators
- b) Briefly explain the effects of ONE of the following on African Americans in the South during this period.
 - Black Codes
 - sharecropping
 - Ku Klux Klan
- c) Briefly explain the impact of the impeachment of Andrew Johnson on Reconstruction.

Question 3. Answer a, b, and c.

- a) Briefly explain the role of ONE of the following in the Republican Party during this period.
 - spoilsman
 - “waving the bloody shirt”
 - tariffs
- b) Briefly explain the effects of ONE of the following on business and government during this period.
 - Crédit Mobilier
 - the Tweed Ring
 - Panic of 1873
- c) Briefly explain the significance of ONE of the following in terms of President Grant’s administration.
 - Jay Gould
 - Horace Greeley
 - Rutherford B. Hayes

Question 4 is based on the following cartoon.



Source: Thomas Nast, "Slavery is Dead(?)" *Harper's Weekly*, 1867.
Library of Congress

4. Using the cartoon, answer a, b, and c. The left side shows a scene from before the Emancipation Proclamation. The right side shows a scene from after the Civil War.
 - a) Explain the point of view reflected in the cartoon above regarding ONE of the following.
 - Johnson's Reconstruction Plan
 - Civil Rights Act of 1866
 - impeachment
 - b) Explain how ONE element of the cartoon expresses the point of view you identified in Part A.
 - c) Briefly explain ONE development in the period of the 1860s that challenged or supported the point of view expressed in the cartoon.

THINK AS A HISTORIAN: STATEMENTS ABOUT ARGUMENTATION

Which TWO of the following statements best express historical argumentation?

1. Dunning's view of Reconstruction was grounded in racial beliefs that almost no one accepts today.
2. I agree with the efforts of Charles Sumner on Reconstruction.
3. The Freedmen's Bureau and Black Codes provide contradictory evidence for the conclusion that Reconstruction was a success.

PERIOD 5 Review: 1848–1877

LONG-ESSAY QUESTIONS

Directions: Respond to one of each pair of questions. The suggested writing time is 35 minutes. In your response you should do the following.

- State a relevant thesis that directly addresses all parts of the question.
- Support your argument with evidence, using specific examples.
- Apply historical thinking skills as directed by the question.
- Synthesize the elements above into a persuasive essay that extends your argument, connects it to a different historical context, or connects it to a different category of analysis.

Choose EITHER Question 1 or Question 2.

1. Analyze and evaluate the importance and efforts of the Confederate States in gaining international support during the Civil War.
2. Analyze and evaluate the importance and efforts of the Americans in gaining international support during the Revolutionary War.

Choose EITHER Question 3 or Question 4.

3. Analyze and evaluate the motivation and rationale behind the Manifest Destiny expansion that began in the United States in the 1840s.
4. Analyze and evaluate the motivation and rationale behind the western expansion through the Louisiana Purchase that took hold in the United States at the start of the 19th century.

Choose EITHER Question 5 or Question 6.

5. Compare and contrast the efforts for and against the increasing of guarantees for equal rights for all during Reconstruction.
6. Compare and contrast the efforts for and against the increasing of protections of the rights of individuals during the period of the ratification of the United States Constitution.

Choose EITHER Question 7 or Question 8.

7. Analyze and evaluate the arguments presented by the Federalists and the Anti-Federalists during the debate over the ratification of the United States Constitution.
8. Analyze and evaluate the arguments presented by Abraham Lincoln and Stephen A. Douglas in their debates that focused on slavery.

DOCUMENT-BASED QUESTION 1

Directions: Question 1 is based on the accompanying documents. The documents have been edited for the purpose of this exercise. You are advised to spend 15 minutes planning and 40 minutes writing your answer.

In your response you should do the following.

- State a relevant thesis that directly addresses all parts of the question.
 - Support the thesis or a relevant argument with evidence from all, or all but one, of the documents.
 - Incorporate analysis of all, or all but one, of the documents into your argument.
 - Focus your analysis of each document on at least one of the following: intended audience, purpose, historical context, and/or point of view.
 - Support your argument with analysis of historical examples outside the documents.
 - Connect historical phenomena relevant to your argument to broader events or processes.
 - Synthesize the elements above into a persuasive essay.
1. To what extent did Manifest Destiny and territorial expansion unite or divide the United States from 1830 to 1860?

Document 1

Source: Anonymous, “California and the National Interest,” *American Review*, a Whig journal, 1846

The natural progress of events will undoubtedly give us that province [California] just as it gave us Texas. Already American emigrants thither are to be numbered by thousands, and we may, at almost any moment, look for a declaration, which shall dissolve the slight bounds that now link the province to Mexico, and prepare the way for its ultimate annexation to the United States. . . .

Here, then, lies the Pacific coast, adjoining our western border . . . which embrace the southern sections of the United States and stretching northward to the southern boundary of Oregon. . . .

California, to become the seat of wealth and power for which nature has marked it, must pass into the hands of another race. And who can conjecture what would now have been its condition, had its first colonists been of the stock which peopled the Atlantic coast?

Document 2

Source: William Ellery Channing, abolitionist and pacifist, statement opposing the annexation of Texas, 1837

Texas is the first step to Mexico. The moment we plant authority on Texas, the boundaries of these two countries will become nominal, will be little more than lines on the sand. . . .

A country has no right to adopt a policy, however gainful, which, as it may foresee, will determine it to a career of war. A nation, like an individual, is bound to seek, even by sacrifices, a position which will favor peace, justice, and the exercise of beneficent influence on the world. A nation provoking war by cupidity, by encroachment, and above all, by efforts to propagate the curse of slavery, is alike false to itself, to God, and to the human race.

Document 3

Source: Editorial, “New Territory versus No Territory,” *United States Magazine and Democratic Review*, October 1847

This occupation of territory by the people is the great movement of the age, and until every acre of the North American continent is occupied by citizens of the United States, the foundation of the future empire will not have been laid. . . .

When these new states come into the Union, they are controlled by the Constitution only; and as that instrument permits slavery in all the states that are parties to it, how can Congress prevent it? . . .

When through the results of war, territory comes into the possession of the Union, it is equally a violation of the Constitution for Congress to undertake to say that there shall be no slavery then. The people of the United States were nearly unanimous for the admission of Texas into the Union; but probably not an insignificant fraction require its annexation “for the purpose” of extending slavery.

Document 4

Source: John L. O’Sullivan, editor, *Democratic Review*, 1846

California will, probably, next fall away from [Mexico]. . . . The Anglo-Saxon foot is already on its borders. Already the advance guard of the irresistible army of Anglo-Saxon emigration has begun to pour down upon it, armed with the plough and the rifle, and marking its trail with schools and colleges, courts and representative halls, mills and meeting-houses. A population will soon be in actual occupation of California, over which it be idle for Mexico to dream of dominion. They will necessarily become independent. All this without . . . responsibility of our people—in the natural flow of events.

Document 5

Source: Senator Thomas Corwin, Speech, 1847

What is the territory, Mr. President, which you propose to wrest from Mexico? . . .

Sir, look at this pretense of want of room.

There is one topic connected with this subject which I tremble when I approach, and yet I cannot forbear to notice it. It meets you in every step you take; it threatens you which way soever you go in prosecution of this war. I allude to the question of slavery . . . the North and the South are brought together into a collision on a point where neither will yield. Who can foresee or foretell the result . . . why should we participate this fearful struggle, by continuing a war the result of which must be to force us at once upon a civil conflict? . . . Let us wash Mexican blood from our hands, and . . . swear to preserve honorable peace with all the world.

Document 6

Source: President James Polk, Inaugural Address, 1845

None can fail to see the danger to our safety and future peace if Texas remains an independent state, or becomes an ally or dependency of some foreign nation more powerful than herself. Is there one among our citizens who would not prefer perpetual peace with Texas to occasional wars, which often occur between bordering independent nations? Is there one who would not prefer free intercourse with her, to high duties on all our products and manufactures which enter her ports or cross her frontiers? Is there one who would not prefer an unrestricted communication with her citizens, to the frontier obstructions which must occur if she remains out of the Union?

Document 7

Source: Senator Charles Sumner, Massachusetts Legislature, 1847

Resolved, That the present war with Mexico has its primary origin in the unconstitutional annexation to the United States of the foreign state of Texas while the same was still at war with Mexico; that it was unconstitutionally commenced by the order of the President . . . —by a powerful nation against a weak neighbor—unnecessarily and without just cause, at immense cost of a portion of her territory, from which slavery has already been excluded, with the triple object of extending slavery, of strengthening “Slave Power,” and of obtaining the control of the Free States, under the Constitution of the United States.

Resolved, That our attention is directed anew to the wrong and “enormity” of slavery, and to the tyranny and usurpation of the “Slave Power,” as displayed in the history of our country, particularly in the annexation of Texas and the present war with Mexico.

DOCUMENT-BASED QUESTION 2

Directions: The following question is based on the accompanying documents. This question is designed to test your ability to apply several historical thinking skills simultaneously. You should write a well-integrated essay that states and supports an appropriate thesis that directly addresses all parts of the question. Make sure to use evidence from all or all but one of the documents AND your knowledge of United States history beyond/outside the documents. (For complete directions for a DBQ, see page 312.)

2. “The Civil War was not inevitable; it was the result of extremism and failures of leadership on both sides.” Assess the validity of this statement, using the following documentation and your knowledge of the period from 1840 to 1861.

Document 1

Source: Daniel Webster, Speech in the Senate, March 7, 1850

Sir, there are those abolition societies, of which I am unwilling to speak, but in regard to which I have very clear notions and opinions. I do not think them useful. I think their operations of the last twenty years have produced nothing good or valuable.

I do not mean to impute gross motives even to the leaders of these societies, but I am not blind to the consequences. I cannot but see what mischiefs their interference with the South has produced. . . . These abolition societies commenced their course of action in 1835. It is said—I do not know how true it may be—that they sent incendiary publications into the slave states. At any event, they attempted to arouse, and did arouse, a very strong feeling. In other words, they created great agitation in the North against . . . slavery.

Document 2

Source: Harriet Beecher Stowe, *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, 1852

Tom spoke in a mild voice . . . Legree shook with anger . . .

“Well, here’s a pious dog, at last, let down among us sinners!—a saint, a gentleman, and no less, to talk to us sinners about our sins! Powerful holy crittur, he must be! Here, you rascal, you make to believe to be so pious—didn’t you never hear, out of yer Bible, ‘Servants, obey yer masters’? An’t I yer master? Didn’t I pay down twelve hundred dollars, cash, for all there is inside yer old cussed black shell? An’t yer mine now body and soul?” . . .

“No! no! no! my soul an’t yours, Mas’r! You haven’t bought it—ye can’t buy it! It’s been bought and paid for by One that is able to keep it. No matter, no matter, you can’t harm me!”

“I can’t!” said Legree, with a sneer, “we’ll see—we’ll see!”

Document 3

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census. *Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1970*

Session	Senate			House		
	Majority Party	Minority Party	Other	Majority Party	Minority Party	Other
1849–51	D: 35	W: 25	2	D: 112	W: 109	9
1851–53	D: 35	W: 24	3	D: 140	W: 88	5
1853–55	D: 40	W: 22	2	D: 159	W: 71	4
1855–57	D: 40	R: 15	5	R: 108	D: 83	43
1857–59	D: 36	R: 20	8	D: 118	R: 92	26
1859–61	D: 36	R: 26	4	R: 114	D: 92	31

D: Democrat W: Whig R: Republican

Document 4

Source: Abraham Lincoln, Speech at the Republican state convention, Springfield, Illinois, June 17, 1858

A house divided against itself cannot stand. I believe this Government can not endure permanently half slave and half free. I do not expect the Union to be dissolved—I do not expect the house to fall—but I do expect it will cease to be divided. It will become all one thing, or all the other. Either the opponents of slavery will arrest the further spread of it, and place it where the public mind shall rest in the belief that it is in the course of ultimate extinction; or its advocates will push it forward till it shall become alike lawful in all the States, old as well as new, North as well as South.

Document 5

Source: Stephen Douglas, Speech at Alton, Illinois, October 15, 1858

In my opinion our government can endure forever, divided into free and slave States as our fathers made it,—each State having the right to prohibit, abolish, or sustain slavery, just as it pleases. This government was made upon the great basis of the sovereignty of the states, the right of each State to regulate its own domestic institutions to suit itself; and that right was conferred with the understanding and expectation that, inasmuch as each locality had separate interests, each locality must have different and distinct local and domestic institutions, corresponding to its wants and interests. Our fathers knew, when they made the government, that the laws and institutions which were well adapted to the green mountains of Vermont, were unsuited to the rice plantations of South Carolina.

Document 6

Source: Frederick Douglass, Speech at Storer College, Harpers Ferry, Virginia, May 1882

If John Brown did not end the war that ended slavery, he did, at least, begin the war that ended slavery. . . .

The irrepressible conflict was one of words, votes, and compromises. When John Brown stretched forth his arm the sky was cleared . . . and the clash of arms was at hand.

Document 7

Source: “A Declaration of the Immediate Causes Which Induce and Justify the Secession of South Carolina, from the Federal Union,” 1860

We affirm that these ends for which this government was instituted have been defeated and the Government itself has been destructive of them by the action of the nonslaveholding States. Those states have assumed the right of deciding . . . and have denied the rights of property established in fifteen of the states and recognized by the Constitution . . .

A geographical line has been drawn across the Union, and all the States north of that line have united in the election of a man to the high office of President of the United States whose opinions and purposes are hostile to slavery. He is to be entrusted with the administration of the common Government, because he has declared that that “Government cannot endure permanently half slave [and] half free,” and that the public mind must rest in the belief that slavery is in the course of ultimate extinction.

PERIOD 6: 1865–1898

Chapter 16 *The Rise of Industrial America, 1865–1900*

Chapter 17 *The Last West and the New South, 1865–1900*

Chapter 18 *The Growth of Cities and American Culture, 1865–1900*

Chapter 19 *The Politics of the Gilded Age, 1877–1900*

The end of Civil War in 1865 and to the start of the Spanish-American War in 1898 serve as a convenient time frame for Period 6, which is focused on the fast-paced economic and urban development of the United States. During this period United States emerged as the largest economy in the world and a potential international power.

Overview Historians have labeled the period in many ways. For some, it is the “Second Industrial Revolution,” which introduced the wonders of electric-powered technologies, petroleum energy, and the first industrial laboratories. Others called it, the “Railroad Era,” which produced a continental network of railroads that could move the products of the new large-scale industries. For some it is the “Last Frontier,” which witnessed the settlement of lands between the Mississippi River and the Pacific Ocean, and the end of the “Indian Wars.” However, the characterization that has most endured is the “Gilded Age,” a time during which the “captains of industry” controlled large corporations, created great fortunes, and dominated politics, while the problems of farmlands and burgeoning cities festered under the surface.

During the late 1800s, waves of “new” immigrants also added to the growth of the nation, while reformers, labor unions, farmer organizations, and a growing middle class began to challenge economic, political, and cultural institutions.

Alternate View One limitation to ending the period in 1898 is that it fragments the early reform movements that started in the late 1800s, but produce few results until the Progressive era from 1900 to 1917.

Key Concepts

6.1: Technological advances, large-scale production methods, and the opening of new markets encouraged the rise of industrial capitalism in the United States.

6.2: The migrations that accompanied industrialization transformed both urban and rural areas of the United States and caused dramatic social and cultural change.

6.3: The Gilded Age produced new cultural and intellectual movements, public reform efforts, and political debates over economic and social policies.

Source: AP® United States History Course and Exam Description, Updated Fall 2015

THE RISE OF INDUSTRIAL AMERICA, 1865–1900

As we view the achievements of aggregated capital, we discover the existence of trusts, combinations, and monopolies, while the citizen is struggling far in the rear or is trampled to death beneath an iron heel. Corporations, which should be the carefully restrained creatures of the law and servants of the people, are fast becoming the people's masters.

President Grover Cleveland, 1888

By 1900, the United States was the leading industrial power in the world, manufacturing more than its leading rivals, Great Britain, France, or Germany. Several factors contributed to the rapid growth (about 4 percent a year) of the U.S. economy:

- The country was a treasure-house of raw materials essential to industrialization—coal, iron ore, copper, lead, timber, and oil.
- An abundant labor supply that was, between 1865 and 1900, supplemented yearly by the arrival of hundreds of thousands of immigrants.
- A growing population and an advanced transportation network made the United States the largest market in the world for industrial goods.
- Capital was plentiful, as Europeans with surplus wealth joined well-to-do Americans in investing in the economic expansion.
- The development of labor-saving technologies and an efficient patent system increased productivity. The federal government granted more than 440,000 new patents from 1860 to 1890.
- Businesses benefited from friendly government policies that protected private property, subsidized railroads with land grants and loans, supported U.S. manufacturers with protective tariffs, refrained from regulating business operations, and limited taxes on corporate profits.
- Talented entrepreneurs emerged during this era who were able to build and manage vast industrial and commercial enterprises.

The Business of Railroads

The dynamic combination of business leadership, capital, technology, markets, labor, and government support was especially evident in the development of the nation's first big business—railroads. After the Civil War, railroad mileage increased more than fivefold in a 35-year period (from 35,000 miles in 1865 to 193,000 miles in 1900). Railroads created a market for goods that was national in scale, and by so doing encouraged mass production, mass consumption, and economic specialization. The resources used in railroad-building promoted the growth of other industries, especially coal and steel. Railroads also affected the routines of daily life. Soon after the American Railroad Association divided the country into four time zones in 1883, railroad time became standard time for all Americans. Maybe the most important innovations of the railroads was the creation of the modern stockholder corporation and the development of complex structures in finance, business management, and the regulation of competition.

Eastern Trunk Lines

In the early decades of railroading (1830–1860), the building of dozens of separate local lines had resulted in different gauges (distance between tracks) and incompatible equipment. These inefficiencies were reduced after the Civil War through the consolidation of competing railroads into integrated trunk lines. (A trunk line was the major route between large cities; smaller branch lines connected the trunk line with outlying towns.) “Commodore” Cornelius Vanderbilt used his millions earned from a steamboat business to merge local railroads into the New York Central Railroad (1867), which ran from New York City to Chicago and operated more than 4,500 miles of track. Other trunk lines, such as the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad and the Pennsylvania Railroad, connected eastern seaports with Chicago and other midwestern cities and set standards of excellence and efficiency for the rest of the industry.

Western Railroads

The great age of railroad-building coincided with the settlement of the last frontier. Railroads not only promoted settlement on the Great Plains, but they linked the West with the East to create one great national market.

Federal Land Grants Recognizing that western railroads would lead the way to settlement, the federal government provided railroad companies with huge subsidies in the form of loans and land grants. The government gave 80 railroad companies more than 170 million acres of public land, more than three times the acres given away under the Homestead Act. The land was given in alternate mile-square sections in a checkerboard pattern along the proposed route of the railroad. The government expected that the railroad would sell the land to new settlers to finance construction. Furthermore, the completed railroad might both increase the value of government lands and provide preferred rates for carrying the mail and transporting troops.

The subsidies carried some negative consequences. The land grants and cash loans promoted hasty and poor construction and led to corruption in all levels of government. Insiders used construction companies, like the notorious Crédit Mobilier (see Chapter 15), to bribe government officials and pocket huge profits. Protests against the land grants mounted in the 1880s when citizens discovered that the railroads controlled half of the land in some western states.

Transcontinental Railroads During the Civil War, Congress authorized land grants and loans for the building of the first transcontinental railroad to tie California to the rest of the Union. Two newly incorporated railroad companies divided the task. The Union Pacific (UP) started from Omaha, Nebraska, and built westward across the Great Plains. The UP employed thousands of war veterans and Irish immigrants under the direction of General Grenville Dodge. The Central Pacific started from Sacramento, California, and built eastward. Led by Charles Crocker, the workers, including 6,000 Chinese immigrants, took on the great risks of laying track and blasting tunnels through the Sierra Nevada mountains. The two railroads came together on May 10, 1869, at Promontory Point, Utah, where a golden spike was ceremoniously driven into the rail tie to mark the linking of the Atlantic and the Pacific states.

In 1883, three other transcontinental railroads were completed. The Southern Pacific tied New Orleans to Los Angeles. The Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe linked Kansas City and Los Angeles. The Northern Pacific connected Duluth, Minnesota, with Seattle, Washington. In 1893, a fifth transcontinental railroad was finished, the Great Northern, which ran from St. Paul, Minnesota, to Seattle. It was built by James Hill. The transcontinental railroads may have helped to settle the West, but many proved failures as businesses. They were built in areas with few customers and with little promise of returning a profit in the near term.

Competition and Consolidation

During speculative bubbles, investors often overbuild new technologies, as did railroads owners in the 1870s and 1880s. Railroads also suffered from mismanagement and outright fraud. Speculators such as Jay Gould entered the railroad business for quick profits and made their millions by selling off assets and watering stock (inflating the value of a corporation's assets and profits before selling its stock to the public). In a ruthless scramble to survive, railroads competed by offering rebates (discounts) and kickbacks to favored shippers while charging exorbitant freight rates to smaller customers such as farmers. They also attempted to increase profits by forming pools, in which competing companies agreed secretly and informally to fix rates and share traffic.

A financial panic in 1893 forced a quarter of all railroads into bankruptcy. J. Pierpont Morgan and other bankers quickly moved in to take control of the bankrupt railroads and consolidate them. With competition eliminated, they could stabilize rates and reduce debts. By 1900, seven giant systems controlled nearly two-thirds of the nation's railroads. The consolidation made the rail system more efficient. However, the system was controlled by a few powerful men

TRANSCONTINENTAL RAILROADS, 1865–1900



such as Morgan, who dominated the boards of competing railroad corporations through interlocking directorates (the same directors ran competing companies). In effect, they created regional railroad monopolies.

Railroads captured the imagination of late-19th century America, as the public, local communities, states, and the federal government invested in their development. At the same time, however, customers and small investors often felt that they were the victims of slick financial schemes and ruthless practices. Early attempts to regulate the railroads by law did little good. The Granger laws passed by midwestern states in the 1870s were overturned by the courts, and the federal Interstate Commerce Act of 1886 was at first ineffective (see Chapter 17). Not until the Progressive era in the early 20th century did Congress expand the powers of Interstate Commerce Commission to protect the public interest.

Industrial Empires

The late 19th century witnessed a major shift in the nature of industrial production. Early factories had concentrated on producing textiles, clothing, and

leather products. After the Civil War, a “second Industrial Revolution” resulted in the growth of large-scale industry and the production of steel, petroleum, electric power, and the industrial machinery to produce other goods.

The Steel Industry

The technological breakthrough that launched the rise of heavy industry was the discovery of a new process for making large quantities of steel (a more durable metal than iron). In the 1850s, both Henry Bessemer in England and William Kelly in the United States discovered that blasting air through molten iron produced high-quality steel. The Great Lakes region, from Pennsylvania to Illinois, used its abundant coal reserves and access to the iron ore of Minnesota’s Mesabi Range to emerge as the center of steel production.

Andrew Carnegie Leadership of the fast-growing steel industry passed to a shrewd business genius, Andrew Carnegie. Born in 1835 in Scotland, Carnegie immigrated to the United States and worked his way up from poverty to become the superintendent of a Pennsylvania railroad. In the 1870s, he started manufacturing steel in Pittsburgh and soon outdistanced his competitors by a combination of salesmanship and the use of the latest technology. Carnegie employed a business strategy known as vertical integration, by which a company would control every stage of the industrial process, from mining the raw materials to transporting the finished product. By 1900, Carnegie Steel employed 20,000 workers and produced more steel than all the mills in Britain.

U.S. Steel Corporation Deciding to retire from business to devote himself to philanthropy, Carnegie sold his company in 1900 for more than \$400 million to a new steel combination headed by J. P. Morgan. The new corporation, United States Steel, was the first billion-dollar company and also the largest enterprise in the world, employing 168,000 people and controlling more than three-fifths of the nation’s steel business.

Rockefeller and the Oil Industry

The first U.S. oil well was drilled by Edwin Drake in 1859 in Pennsylvania. Only four years later, in 1863, a young John D. Rockefeller founded a company that would come to control most of the nation’s oil refineries by eliminating its competition. Rockefeller took charge of the chaotic oil refinery business by applying the latest technologies and efficient practices. At the same time, as his company grew, he was able to extort rebates from railroad companies and temporarily cut prices for Standard Oil kerosene to force rival companies to sell out. By 1881 his company—by then known as the Standard Oil Trust—controlled 90 percent of the oil refinery business. The trust that Rockefeller put together consisted of the various companies that he had acquired, all managed by a board of trustees that Rockefeller and Standard Oil controlled. Such a combination represented a horizontal integration of an industry, in which former competitors were brought under a single corporate umbrella. By controlling the supply and prices of oil products, Standard Oil’s profits soared and

so did Rockefeller's fortune, which at the time of his retirement amounted to \$900 million. By eliminating waste in the production of kerosene, Standard Oil was also able to keep prices low for consumers. Emulating Rockefeller's success, dominant companies in other industries (sugar, tobacco, leather, meat) also organized trusts.

Antitrust Movement

The trusts came under widespread scrutiny and attack in the 1880s. Middle-class citizens feared the trusts' unchecked power, and urban elites (old wealth) resented the increasing influence of the new rich. After failing to curb trusts on the state level, reformers finally moved Congress to pass the Sherman Antitrust Act in 1890, which prohibited any "contract, combination, in the form of trust or otherwise, or conspiracy in restraint of trade or commerce."

Although a federal law against monopolies was now on the books, it was too vaguely worded to stop the development of trusts in the 1890s. Furthermore, the Supreme Court in *United States v. E. C. Knight Co.* (1895) ruled that the Sherman Antitrust Act could be applied only to commerce, not to manufacturing. As a result, the U.S. Department of Justice secured few convictions until the law was strengthened during the Progressive era (see Chapter 21).

Laissez-Faire Capitalism

The idea of government regulation of business was alien to the prevailing economic, scientific, and religious beliefs of the late 19th century. The economic expression of these beliefs was summed up in the phrase "laissez-faire."

Conservative Economic Theories

As early as 1776, the economist Adam Smith had argued in *The Wealth of Nations* that business should be regulated, not by government, but by the "invisible hand" (impersonal economic forces) of the law of supply and demand. If government kept its hands off, so the theory went, businesses would be motivated by their own self-interest to offer improved goods and services at low prices. In the 19th century, American industrialists appealed to laissez-faire theory to justify their methods of doing business—even while they readily accepted the protection of high tariffs and federal subsidies. The rise of monopolistic trusts in the 1880s seemed to undercut the very competition needed for natural regulation. Even so, among conservatives and business leaders, laissez-faire theory was constantly invoked in legislative halls and lobbies to ward off any threat of government regulation.

Social Darwinism Charles Darwin's theory of natural selection in biology offended the beliefs of many religious conservatives, but it bolstered the views of economic conservatives. Led by English social philosopher Herbert Spencer, some people argued for Social Darwinism, the belief that Darwin's ideas of natural selection and survival of the fittest should be applied to the marketplace.

Spencer believed that concentrating wealth in the hands of the “fit” benefited everyone. An American Social Darwinist, Professor William Graham Sumner of Yale University, argued that helping the poor was misguided because it interfered with the laws of nature and would only weaken the evolution of the species by preserving the unfit. Social Darwinism gave some during this period a “scientific” sanction for their racial intolerance. Race theories about the superiority of one group over others would continue to produce problems in the 20th century.

Gospel of Wealth A number of Americans found religion more convincing than social Darwinism in justifying the wealth of successful industrialists and bankers. Because he diligently applied the Protestant work ethic (that hard work and material success are signs of God’s favor) to both his business and personal life, John D. Rockefeller concluded that “God gave me my riches.” In a popular lecture, “Acres of Diamonds,” the Reverend Russell Conwell preached that everyone had a duty to become rich. Andrew Carnegie’s article “Wealth” argued that the wealthy had a God-given responsibility to carry out projects of civic philanthropy for the benefit of society. Practicing what he preached, Carnegie distributed more than \$350 million of his fortune to support the building of libraries, universities, and various public institutions.

Technology and Innovations

Vital to industrial progress were new inventions. These led to greater productivity in the workplace and mass-produced goods in the home.

Inventions

The first radical change in the speed of communications was the invention of a workable telegraph by Samuel F. B. Morse, initially demonstrated in 1844. By the time of the Civil War, electronic communication by telegraph and rapid transportation by railroad were already becoming standard parts of modern living, especially in the northern states. After the war, Cyrus W. Field’s invention of an improved transatlantic cable in 1866 suddenly made it possible to send messages across the seas in minutes. By 1900, cables linked all continents of the world in an electronic network of nearly instantaneous, global communication. This communication revolution soon internationalized markets and prices for basic commodities, such as grains, coal, and steel, often placing local and smaller producers at the mercy of international forces.

Among the hundreds of noteworthy inventions of the late 19th century were the typewriter (1867), the telephone developed by Alexander Graham Bell (1876), the cash register (1879), the calculating machine (1887), and the adding machine (1888). These new products became essential tools for business. Products for the consumer that were in widespread use by the end of the century were George Eastman’s Kodak camera (1888), Lewis E. Waterman’s fountain pen (1884), and King Gillette’s safety razor and blade (1895).

Edison and Westinghouse

Possibly the greatest inventor of the 19th century, Thomas Edison was a young telegraph operator and patented his first invention, a machine for recording votes in 1869. Income from his early inventions enabled Edison to establish a research laboratory in Menlo Park, New Jersey, in 1876. This was the world's first modern research laboratory. It ranks among Edison's most important contribution to science and industry because it introduced the concept of mechanics and engineers working on a project as a team rather than as lone inventors. Out of Edison's lab came more than a thousand patented inventions, including the phonograph, the improvement of the incandescent lamp in 1879 (the first practical electric lightbulb), the dynamo for generating electric power, the mimeograph machine, and the motion picture camera.

Another remarkable inventor, George Westinghouse, held more than 400 patents and was responsible for developing an air brake for railroads (1869) and a transformer for producing high-voltage alternating current (1885). The latter invention made possible the lighting of cities and the operation of electric streetcars, subways, and electrically powered machinery and appliances.

Marketing Consumer Goods

The increased output of U.S. factories as well as the invention of new consumer products prompted businesses to find ways of selling their merchandise to a large public. R.H. Macy in New York and Marshall Field in Chicago made the large department store the place to shop in urban centers, while Frank Woolworth's Five and Ten Cent Store brought nationwide chain stores to the towns and urban neighborhoods. Two large mail-order companies, Sears, Roebuck and Montgomery Ward, used the improved rail system to ship to rural customers everything from hats to houses ordered from their thick catalogs, which were known to millions of Americans as the "wish book."

Packaged foods under such brand names as Kellogg and Post became common items in American homes. Refrigerated railroad cars and canning enabled Gustavus Swift and other packers to change the eating habits of Americans with mass-produced meat and vegetable products. Advertising and new marketing techniques not only promoted a consumer economy but also created a consumer culture in which shopping became a favorite pastime.

Impact of Industrialization

The growth of American industry raised the standard of living for most people. However, growth also created sharper economic and class divisions among the rich, the middle class, and the poor.

The Concentration of Wealth

By the 1890s, the richest 10 percent of the U.S. population controlled 90 percent of the nation's wealth. Industrialization created a new class of millionaires, some of whom flaunted their wealth by living in ostentatious mansions, sailing enormous yachts, and throwing lavish parties. The Vanderbilts graced

the waterfront of Newport, Rhode Island, with summer homes that rivaled the villas of European royalty. Guests at one of their dinner parties were invited to hunt for their party favors by using small silver shovels to seek out the precious gems hidden in sand on long silver trays.

Horatio Alger Myth Many Americans ignored the widening gap between the rich and the poor. They found hope in the examples of “self-made men” in business such as Andrew Carnegie and Thomas Edison and novels by Horatio Alger Jr. Every Alger novel portrayed a young man of modest means who becomes wealthy through honesty, hard work, and a little luck. In reality, opportunities for upward mobility (movement into a higher economic bracket) did exist, but the rags-to-riches career of an Andrew Carnegie was unusual. Statistical studies demonstrate that the typical wealthy businessperson of the day was a white, Anglo-Saxon, Protestant male who came from an upper- or middle-class background and whose father was in business or banking.

The Expanding Middle Class

The growth of large corporations required thousands of white-collar workers (salaried workers whose jobs generally do not involve manual labor) to fill the highly organized administrative structures. Middle management was needed to coordinate the operations between the chief executives and the factories. In addition, industrialization helped expand the middle class by creating jobs for accountants, clerical workers, and salespersons. In turn, these middle-class employees increased the demand for services from other middle-class workers: professionals (doctors and lawyers), public employees, and storekeepers. The increase in the number of good-paying occupations after the Civil War significantly increased the size of the middle class.

Wage Earners

By 1900, two-thirds of all working Americans worked for wages, usually at jobs that required them to work ten hours a day, six days a week. Wages were determined by the laws of supply and demand, and because there was usually a large supply of immigrants competing for factory jobs, wages were barely above the level needed for bare subsistence. Low wages were justified by David Ricardo (1772–1823), whose famous “iron law of wages” argued that raising wages would only increase the working population, and the availability of more workers would in turn cause wages to fall, thus creating a cycle of misery and starvation. Real wages (income adjusted for inflation) rose steadily in the late 19th century, but even so most wage earners could not support a family decently on one income. Therefore, working-class families depended on the income of women and children. In 1890, 11 million of the 12.5 million families in the United States averaged less than \$380 a year in income.

Working Women

One adult woman out of every five in 1900 was in the labor force working for wages. Most were young and single—only 5 percent of married women worked outside the home. In 1900, men and women alike believed that, if a

family could afford it, a woman's proper role was in the home raising children. Factory work for women was usually in industries that people perceived as an extension of the home: the textile, garment, and food-processing industries, for example. As the demand for clerical workers increased, women moved into formerly male occupations as secretaries, bookkeepers, typists, and telephone operators. Occupations or professions that became feminized (women becoming the majority) usually lost status and received lower wages and salaries.

Labor Discontent

Before the Industrial Revolution, workers labored in small workplaces that valued an artisan's skills. They often felt a sense of accomplishment in creating a product from start to finish. Factory work was radically different. Industrial workers were often assigned just one step in the manufacturing of a product, performing semiskilled tasks monotonously. Both immigrants from abroad and migrants from rural America had to learn to work under the tyranny of the clock. In many industries, such as railroads and mining, working conditions were dangerous. Many workers were exposed to chemicals and pollutants that only later were discovered to cause chronic illness and early death.

Industrial workers rebelled against intolerable working conditions by missing work or quitting. They changed jobs on the average of every three years. About 20 percent of those who worked in factories eventually dropped out of the industrial workplace rather than continuing. This was a far higher percentage than those who protested by joining labor unions.

The American Workforce, 1900–1960

Year	Farm		Nonfarm	
	Total in millions	Percentage	Total in millions	Percentage
1900	11,050	41	15,906	59
1910	11,260	32	23,299	68
1920	10,440	27	28,768	73
1930	10,340	22	33,843	78
1940	9,540	20	37,980	80
1950	7,160	12	51,760	88
1960	5,458	8	60,318	92

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census. *Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1970*

The Struggle of Organized Labor

The late 19th century witnessed the most deadly—and frequent—labor conflicts in the nation’s history. Many feared the country was heading toward open warfare between capital and labor.

Industrial Warfare

With a surplus of cheap labor, management held most of the power in its struggles with organized labor. Strikers could easily be replaced by bringing in strikebreakers, or scabs—unemployed persons desperate for jobs. Employers also used all of the following tactics for defeating unions:

- *the lockout*: closing the factory to break a labor movement before it could get organized
- *blacklists*: names of pro-union workers circulated among employers
- *yellow-dog contracts*: workers being told, as a condition for employment, that they must sign an agreement not to join a union
- calling in *private guards* and *state militia* to put down strikes
- obtaining *court injunctions* against strikes

Moreover, management fostered public fear of unions as anarchistic and un-American. Before 1900, management won most of its battles with organized labor because, if violence developed, employers could almost always count on the support of the federal and state governments.

Labor itself was often divided on the best methods for fighting management. Some union leaders advocated political action. Others favored direct confrontation: strikes, picketing, boycotts, and slowdowns to achieve union recognition and collective bargaining.

Great Railroad Strike of 1877 One of the worst outbreaks of labor violence in the century erupted in 1877, during an economic depression, when the railroad companies cut wages in order to reduce costs. A strike on the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad quickly spread across 11 states and shut down two-thirds of the country’s rail trackage. Railroad workers were joined by 500,000 workers from other industries in an escalating strike that quickly became national in scale. For the first time since the 1830s, a president (Rutherford B. Hayes) used federal troops to end labor violence. The strike and the violence finally ended, but not before more than 100 people had been killed. After the strike, some employers addressed the workers’ grievances by improving wages and working conditions, while others took a hard line by busting workers’ organizations.

Attempts to Organize National Unions

Before the 1860s, unions had been organized as local associations in one city or region. They usually focused on one craft or type of work.

National Labor Union The first attempt to organize all workers in all states—both skilled and unskilled, both agricultural workers and industrial workers—was the National Labor Union. Founded in 1866, it had some 640,000 members by 1868. Besides championing the goals of higher wages and the eight-hour day, the first national union also had a broad social program: equal rights for women and blacks, monetary reform, and worker cooperatives. Its chief victory was winning the eight-hour day for workers employed by the federal government. It lost support, however, after a depression began in 1873 and after the unsuccessful strikes of 1877.

Knights of Labor A second national labor union, the Knights of Labor, began in 1869 as a secret society in order to avoid detection by employers. Under the leadership of Terence V. Powderly, the union went public in 1881, opening its membership to all workers, including African Americans and women. Powderly advocated a variety of reforms: (1) worker cooperatives “to make each man his own employer,” (2) abolition of child labor, and (3) abolition of trusts and monopolies. He favored settling labor disputes by means of arbitration rather than resorting to strikes. Because the Knights were loosely organized, however, he could not control local units that decided to strike. The Knights of Labor grew rapidly and attained a peak membership of 730,000 workers in 1886. It declined just as rapidly, however, after the violence of the Haymarket riot in Chicago in 1886 turned public opinion against the union.

Haymarket Bombing Chicago, with about 80,000 Knights in 1886, was the site of the first May Day labor movement. Also living in Chicago were about 200 anarchists who advocated the violent overthrow of all government. In response to the May Day movement calling for a general strike to achieve an eight-hour day, labor violence broke out at Chicago’s McCormick Harvester plant. On May 4, workers held a public meeting in Haymarket Square, and as police attempted to break up the meeting, someone threw a bomb, which killed seven police officers. The bomb thrower was never found. Even so, eight anarchist leaders were tried for the crime and seven were sentenced to death. Horrified by the bomb incident, many Americans concluded that the union movement was radical and violent. The Knights of Labor, as the most visible union at the time, lost popularity and membership.

American Federation of Labor Unlike the reform-minded Knights of Labor, the American Federation of Labor (AF of L) concentrated on attaining narrower economic goals. Founded in 1886 as an association of 25 craft unions, and led by Samuel Gompers until 1924, the AF of L focused on just higher wages and improved working conditions. Gompers directed his local unions of skilled workers to walk out until the employer agreed to negotiate a new contract through collective bargaining. By 1901, the AF of L was by far the nation’s largest union, with 1 million members. Even this union, however, would not achieve major successes until the early decades of the 20th century.

Strikebreaking in the 1890s

Two massive strikes in the last decade of the 19th century demonstrated both the growing discontent of labor and the continued power of management to prevail in industrial disputes.

Homestead Strike Henry Clay Frick, the manager of Andrew Carnegie's Homestead Steel plant near Pittsburgh, precipitated a strike in 1892 by cutting wages by nearly 20 percent. Frick used the weapons of the lockout, private guards, and strikebreakers to defeat the steelworkers' walkout after five months. The failure of the Homestead strike set back the union movement in the steel industry until the New Deal in the 1930s.

Pullman Strike Even more alarming to conservatives was a strike of workers living in George Pullman's company town near Chicago. Pullman manufactured the famous railroad sleeping cars known as Pullman cars. In 1894, he announced a general cut in wages and fired the leaders of the workers' delegation who came to bargain with him. The workers at Pullman laid down their tools and appealed for help from the American Railroad Union whose leader, Eugene V. Debs, directed railroad workers not to handle any trains with Pullman cars. The union's boycott tied up rail transportation across the country.

Railroad owners supported Pullman by linking Pullman cars to mail trains. They then appealed to President Grover Cleveland, persuading him to use the army to keep the mail trains running. A federal court issued an injunction forbidding interference with the operation of the mail and ordering railroad workers to abandon the boycott and the strike. For failing to respond to this injunction, Debs and other union leaders were arrested and jailed. The jailing of Debs and others effectively ended the strike. In the case of *In re Debs* (1895), the Supreme Court approved the use of court injunctions against strikes, which gave employers a very powerful weapon to break unions. After serving a six-month jail sentence, Debs concluded that more radical solutions were needed to cure labor's problems. He turned to socialism and the American Socialist party, which he helped to found in 1900.

By 1900, only 3 percent of American workers belonged to unions. Management held the upper hand in labor disputes, with government generally taking its side. However, people were beginning to recognize the need for a better balance between the demands of employers and employees to avoid the numerous strikes and violence that characterized the late 19th century.

Regional Differences During the Gilded Age, industrial growth was concentrated in the Northeast and Midwest regions, the parts of the country with the largest populations, the most capital, and the best transportation. As industry grew, these regions developed more cities, attracted more immigrants and migrants from rural areas, and created more middle-class jobs. The next chapter will analyze the development of the West and South during this period.

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES: STATESMEN OR ROBBER BARONS?

Middle-class Americans who enjoyed the benefits of increased industrial production, new consumer goods, and a higher standard of living generally admired the business leaders of the age, viewing them as great industrial statesmen. University professors gave intellectual respectability to this view by drawing upon social Darwinism to argue that business leaders' success was due to their superior intelligence and fitness. Did they not, after all, make the United States the leading economic power in the world?

In the early 20th century, however, a growing number of citizens and historians questioned the methods used by business leaders to build their industrial empires. Charles Beard and other Progressive historians called attention to the oppression of farmers and workers, the corruption of democratic institutions, and the plundering of the nation's resources. Their critical view of 19th-century business leaders received support from historians of the 1930s (the Depression decade). Matthew Josephson, for example, popularized the view that John D. Rockefeller and others like him were robber barons, who took from American workers and small businesses to build personal fortunes. The robber barons were presented as ruthless exploiters who used unethical means to destroy competition, create monopolies, and corrupt the free enterprise system. Any positive contributions that might have been made were merely unplanned by-products of the industrialists' ruthlessness and greed.

The prevailing wisdom of the 1930s shifted in the 1950s, as Allan Nevins urged other historians to right the injustice done to "our business history and our industrial leaders." Nevins and other revisionists argued that the mass production that helped win two world wars and that made the United States an economic superpower far outweighed in significance any self-serving actions by business leaders.

Another approach to the era was taken by historians who analyzed statistical data in an effort to judge the contributions of industrialists and big business. They asked: Were big corporations essential for the economic development of the United States? Did monopolies such as the Standard Oil Trust advance or retard the growth of the U.S. economy? Robert Fogel, for example, used statistical data to prove his startling thesis that railroads were *not* indispensable to the economic growth of the era. The shifting perspectives and criteria of historians from one generation to another may ensure that the question will remain unsettled, yet these perspectives still help to shape economic policy today.

KEY TERMS BY THEME

Transportation (WXT) nation's first big business Cornelius Vanderbilt Eastern trunk lines transcontinental railroads Union and Central Pacific American Railroad Association railroads and time zones speculation and overbuilding Jay Gould, watering stock rebates and pools bankruptcy of railroads Panic of 1893	Alexander Graham Bell telephone Thomas Edison Menlo Park research laboratory electric power; lighting George Westinghouse Eastman's Kodak camera	railroad strike of 1877 Knights of Labor Haymarket bombing American Federation of Labor Samuel Gompers Pullman Strike Eugene Debs
Large Scale Industry (WXT) causes of industrial growth Andrew Carnegie vertical integration U.S. Steel John D. Rockefeller horizontal integration Standard Oil Trust interlocking directorates J. P. Morgan leading industrial power	Marketing (WXT) large department stores R. H. Macy mail-order companies Sears, Roebuck packaged foods refrigeration; canning Gustavus Swift advertising consumer economy	Work and Migration (WXT, MIG) railroad workers: Chinese, Irish, veterans old rich vs. new rich white-collar workers expanding middle class factory wage earners women and children factory workers women clerical workers
Technology (WXT) Second Industrial Revolution Bessemer process transatlantic cable	Role of Government (WXT) federal land grants and loans fraud and corruption, Crédit Mobilier Interstate Commerce Act of 1886 anti-trust movement Sherman Antitrust Act of 1890 federal courts, <i>U.S. v. E. C. Knight</i>	Ideas, Beliefs (CUL) Protestant work ethic Adam Smith laissez-faire capitalism concentration of wealth Social Darwinism William Graham Sumner survival of the fittest Gospel of Wealth Horatio Alger stories "self-made man"
	Organized Labor (WXT) causes of labor discontent "iron law of wages" anti-union tactics	

MULTIPLE-CHOICE QUESTIONS

Questions 1–3 refer to the excerpt below.

“Competition therefore is the law of nature. Nature is entirely neutral; she submits to him who most energetically and resolutely assails her. She grants her rewards to the fittest; therefore, without regard to other considerations of any kind. . . . Such is the system of nature. If we do not like it and if we try to amend it, there is one way in which we can do it. We take from the better and give to the worse. . . . Let it be understood that we cannot go outside this alternative: liberty, inequality, survival of the fittest; not-liberty, equality, survival of the unfittest. The former carries society forward and favors all its best members; the latter carries society downward and favors all its worst members.”

—William Graham Sumner, social scientist,
The Challenge of Facts, 1882

1. The ideas expressed in this excerpt most clearly show the influence of which of the following?
 - (A) John Locke’s *Second Treatise of Government*
 - (B) Adam Smith’s *The Wealth of Nations*
 - (C) Thomas Jefferson’s Declaration of Independence
 - (D) Charles Darwin’s *On the Origins of Species*
2. Which idea would Sumner most likely support?
 - (A) Socialism
 - (B) Laissez-faire
 - (C) Manifest Destiny
 - (D) Gospel of wealth
3. Which of the following developments would be most consistent with the beliefs expressed in the excerpt?
 - (A) Consolidation of wealth by an elite
 - (B) Expansion of rights for women
 - (C) Passage of anti-trust legislation
 - (D) Spread of organized labor

Questions 4–5 refer to the cartoon below.



Source: *Literary Digest*, 1905. The Granger Collection, NYC

4. Which of the following groups would most likely support the sentiments behind this cartoon?
 - (A) Proponents of Social Darwinism
 - (B) Proponents of anti-monopoly legislation
 - (C) Proponents of organizing unskilled workers
 - (D) Proponents of the Interstate Commerce Commission
5. The kind of sentiments in the cartoon above contributed most directly to which of the following?
 - (A) The sale of Standard Oil to J. P. Morgan for \$900 million
 - (B) The breakup of Standard Oil into competing oil companies
 - (C) The replacement of kerosene lamps with the incandescent lights
 - (D) The rise of the American Federation of Labor

Questions 6–8 refer to the excerpt below.

“You evidently have observed the growth of corporate wealth and influence. You recognize that wealth, in order to become more highly productive, is concentrated into fewer hands, and controlled by representatives and directors, and yet you sing the old siren song that the workingman should depend entirely upon his own ‘individual effort.’

“The school of laissez-faire, of which you seem to be a pronounced advocate, has produced great men in advocating the theory of each for himself and his Satanic majesty taking the hindermost, but the most pronounced advocates of your school of thought in economics have, when practically put to the test, been compelled to admit that combination and organizations of the toiling masses are essential both to prevent the deterioration and to secure an improvement in the condition of the wage earners.”

—Samuel Gompers, Letter to Judge Peter Grosscup, “Labor in Industrial Society,” 1894

6. This excerpt was written to most directly support which of the following?
 - (A) Formation of trusts
 - (B) Collective bargaining
 - (C) The anti-trust movement
 - (D) Employee ownership of business
7. According to the author, what has most contributed to the need for wage earners to organize?
 - (A) The school of laissez-faire economics
 - (B) The rise of the captains of industry
 - (C) The concentration of corporate wealth and power
 - (D) The belief in individualism and self-reliance
8. Which of the following was most closely allied to the sentiments in this excerpt?
 - (A) The economic theory of wages by David Ricardo
 - (B) The practice of horizontal integration
 - (C) Pullman’s company town for workers
 - (D) American Federation of Labor

SHORT-ANSWER QUESTIONS

Use complete sentences; an outline or bulleted list alone is not acceptable.

Question 1. Answer a, b, and c.

- a) Briefly explain ONE specific example of how government promoted the growth of railroads in the United States before 1900.
- b) Briefly explain ONE specific example to support the argument that the growth of railroads proved a turning point in the development of the U.S. economy.
- c) Briefly explain ONE significant effect of the overbuilding of the railroads in the 19th-century United States.

Question 2 is related to the excerpts below.

“We accept and welcome... the law of competition between these, as being not only beneficial, but essential for the progress of the race.”

—Andrew Carnegie, *Gospel of Wealth*, 1889

“The struggle for the survival of the fittest . . . as well as the law of supply and demand, were observed in all ages past until Standard Oil company preached cooperation, and it did cooperate so successfully.”

—John D. Rockefeller, Interview given around 1917

2. Using the excerpt, answer a, b, and c.

- a) Briefly explain ONE significant difference between Carnegie’s point of view and Rockefeller’s point of view on the role of competition in industrial development.
- b) Briefly explain ONE specific example from Carnegie’s career that supports his view on competition.
- c) Briefly explain ONE specific example from Rockefeller’s career that supports his view on competition.

Question 3. Answer a, b, and c.

- a) Briefly explain ONE business practice that caused or influenced the antitrust movement from 1865 to 1900.
- b) Briefly explain ONE example of an antitrust effort from 1865 to 1900.
- c) Briefly explain ONE reason why antitrust efforts were generally unsuccessful before 1900.

Question 4 is related to the excerpt below.

“The continuing process of sorting out classes at the workplace and in metropolitan space made the denial of class more difficult in the post-Civil War America. . . . In nineteenth century America, ‘middle class’ represented a specific set of experiences, a specific style of living, and a specific social identity.”

—Stuart M. Blumin, *The Emergence of the Middle Class*, 1989

4. Using the excerpt, answer a, b, and c.
 - a) Briefly explain ONE reason why “sorting out classes at the workplace” became more evident during the period from 1865 to 1900.
 - b) Briefly explain ONE specific cause of the expansion of the middle class during the period from 1865 to 1900.
 - c) Briefly explain ONE specific example of the increased opportunities for working women during the period from 1865 to 1900.

THINK AS A HISTORIAN: STATEMENTS ABOUT CONTEXT

Which TWO of the following statements best demonstrate the skill of placing an event in context?

1. Wages for American workers, though low, were higher than wages for similar workers in Europe.
2. The creation of time zones demonstrated the nationalization of events and behavior in the late 19th century.
3. Eugene Debs dedicated his adult life fighting for working people.
4. Thomas Edison deserves great credit for his contributions to modern life.

THE LAST WEST AND THE NEW SOUTH, 1865–1900

American social development has been continually beginning over again on the frontier. This perennial rebirth, this fluidity of American life, this expansion westward with its new opportunities, its continuous touch with the simplicity of primitive society, furnish the forces dominating American character. The true point of view in the history of this nation is not the Atlantic coast, it is the Great West.

Frederick Jackson Turner, 1893

During the post-Civil War era most of the large-scale industrial development took place in the Northeast and Midwest, while the South and West most often supplied raw materials and consumed northern manufactured goods. Some in the South and West resented this apparent colonial status, which helped to shape the politics in the final decades of the 19th century. However, the South and West were not defined by their economic roles alone. Their geography, people, and cultures shaped their regional characteristics well into the future.

The West: Settlement of the Last Frontier

After the Civil War, many Americans began settling in the vast arid territory in the West that included the Great Plains, the Rocky Mountains, and the Western Plateau. Before 1860, these lands between the Mississippi River and the Pacific Coast were known as “the Great American Desert” by pioneers passing through on the way to the green valleys of Oregon and the goldfields of California. The plains west of the 100th meridian had few trees and usually received less than 15 inches of rainfall a year, which was not considered enough moisture to support farming. While the winter blizzards and hot dry summers discouraged settlement, the open grasslands of the plains supported an estimated 15 million bison, or buffalo. The buffalo in turn provided food, clothing, shelter, and even tools for many of the 250,000 American Indians living in the West in 1865.

STATES ADMITTED TO THE UNION 1864–1896



In only 35 years, conditions on the Great Plains changed so dramatically that the frontier largely vanished. By 1900, the great buffalo herds had been wiped out. The open western lands were fenced in by homesteads and ranches, crisscrossed by steel rails, and modernized by new towns. Ten new western states had been carved out of the last frontier. Only Arizona, New Mexico, and Oklahoma remained as territories awaiting statehood. Progress came at a cost. The frenzied rush for the West's natural resources not only nearly exterminated the buffalo, but also seriously damaged the environment. Most significantly, the American Indians who lived in the region paid a high human and cultural price as land was settled by miners, ranchers, and farmers.

The Mining Frontier

The discovery of gold in California in 1848 caused the first flood of newcomers to the territory. The California Gold Rush was only the beginning of a feverish quest for gold and silver that would extend well into the 1890s and would help to settle much of the region. A series of gold strikes and silver strikes in what became the states of Colorado, Nevada, Idaho, Montana, Arizona, and South Dakota kept a steady flow of hopeful prospectors pushing into the western mountains. The discovery of gold near Pike's Peak, Colorado, in 1859 brought

nearly 100,000 miners to the area. In the same year, the discovery of the fabulous Comstock Lode (which produced more than \$340 million in gold and silver by 1890) was responsible for Nevada entering the Union in 1864. Idaho and Montana also received early statehood, largely because of mining booms.

California's great gold rush of 1849 set the pattern for other rushes. First, individual prospectors would look for traces of gold in the mountain streams by a method called placer mining, using simple tools such as shovels and washing pans. Such methods eventually gave way to deep-shaft mining that required expensive equipment and the resources of wealthy investors and corporations.

Rich strikes created boomtowns overnight—towns that became infamous for saloons, dance-hall girls, and vigilante justice. Many of these, however, became lonely ghost towns within a few years after the gold or silver ran out. Some towns, such as Nevada's Virginia City (created by the Comstock Lode), did grow, adding theaters, churches, newspapers, schools, libraries, railroads, and police. Mark Twain started his career as a writer working on a Virginia City newspaper in the early 1860s. A few towns that served the mines, such as San Francisco, Sacramento, and Denver, expanded into prosperous cities.

Chinese Exclusion Act Most of the mining towns that endured and grew were more like industrial cities than the frontier towns depicted in western films. As the mines developed, mining companies employed experienced miners from Europe, Latin America, and China. In many mining towns, half the population was foreign-born. About one-third of the western miners in the 1860s were Chinese immigrants. Native-born Americans resented the competition. In California, hostility to foreigners took the form of a Miner's Tax of \$20 a month on all foreign-born miners. Political pressure from western states moved Congress to pass the Chinese Exclusion Act in 1882, which prohibited further immigration to the United States by Chinese laborers. Immigration from China was severely restricted until 1965. The 1882 law was the first major act of Congress to restrict immigration on the basis of race and nationality.

Mining not only stimulated the settlement of the West but also reshaped the economics and politics of the nation. The vast increase in the supply of silver created a crisis over the relative value of gold- and silver-backed currency, which became a bitter political issue in the 1880s and 1890s. The mining boom left environmental scars that remain visible today, and it had a disastrous effect on American Indians, who lost their lands to miners pursuing instant riches.

The Cattle Frontier

The economic potential of the vast open grasslands that reached from Texas to Canada was realized by ranchers in the decades after the Civil War. Earlier, cattle had been raised and rounded up in Texas on a small scale by Mexican cowboys, or *vaqueros*. The traditions of the cattle business in the late 1800s, like the hardy "Texas" longhorn cattle, were borrowed from the Mexicans. By the 1860s, wild herds of about 5 million head of cattle roamed freely over the Texas grasslands. The Texas cattle business was easy to get into because both the cattle and the grass were free.

The construction of railroads into Kansas after the war opened up eastern markets for the Texas cattle. Joseph G. McCoy built the first stockyards in the region, at Abilene, Kansas, to hold cattle destined for Chicago. There, they could be sold for the high price of \$30 to \$50 per head. Dodge City and other cow towns sprang up along the railroads to handle the millions of cattle driven up the Chisholm, Goodnight-Loving, and other trails out of Texas during the 1860s and 1870s. The cowboys, many of whom were African Americans or Mexicans, received about a dollar a day for their dangerous work.

The long cattle drives began to come to an end in the 1880s. Overgrazing destroyed the grass and a winter blizzard and drought of 1885–1886 killed off 90 percent of the cattle. Another factor that closed down the cattle frontier was the arrival of homesteaders, who used barbed wire fencing to cut off access to the formerly open range. Wealthy cattle owners turned to developing huge ranches and using scientific ranching techniques. They raised new breeds of cattle that produced more tender beef by feeding them hay and grains. The Wild West was largely tamed by the 1890s, but in these few decades, Americans' eating habits changed from pork to beef and people created the legend of the rugged, self-reliant American cowboy.

The Farming Frontier

The Homestead Act of 1862 encouraged farming on the Great Plains by offering 160 acres of public land free to any family that settled on it for a period of five years. The promise of free land combined with the promotions of railroads and land speculators induced hundreds of thousands of native-born and immigrant families to attempt to farm the Great Plains between 1870 and 1900. About 500,000 families took advantage of the Homestead Act. However, five times that number had to purchase their land, because the best public lands often ended up in the hands of railroad companies and speculators.

Problems and Solutions The first “sodbusters” on the dry and treeless plains often built their homes of sod bricks. Extremes of hot and cold weather, plagues of grasshoppers, and the lonesome life on the plains challenged even the most resourceful of the pioneer families. Water was scarce, and wood for fences was almost nonexistent. The invention of barbed wire by Joseph Glidden in 1874 helped farmers to fence in their lands on the lumber-scarce plains. Using mail-order windmills to drill deep wells provided some water. Even so, many homesteaders discovered too late that 160 acres was not adequate for farming the Great Plains. Long spells of severe weather, together with falling prices for their crops and the cost of new machinery, caused the failure of two-thirds of the homesteaders’ farms on the Great Plains by 1900. Western Kansas alone lost half of its population between 1888 and 1892.

Those who managed to survive adopted “dry farming” and deep-plowing techniques to use the moisture available. They also learned to plant hardy strains of Russian wheat that withstood the extreme weather. Ultimately, dams and irrigation saved many western farmers, as humans reshaped the rivers and physical environment of the West to provide water for agriculture.

The Closing of the Frontier

The Oklahoma Territory, once set aside for the use of American Indians, was opened for settlement in 1889, and hundreds of homesteaders took part in the last great land rush in the West. The next year, the U.S. Census Bureau declared that the entire frontier—except for a few pockets—had been settled.

Turner's Frontier Thesis Reacting to the closing of the frontier, historian Frederick Jackson Turner wrote an influential essay, “The Significance of the Frontier in American History” (1893). Turner argued that 300 years of frontier experience had shaped American culture by promoting independence and individualism. The frontier was a powerful social leveler, breaking down class distinctions and thus fostering social and political democracy. Furthermore, the challenges of frontier life caused Americans to be inventive and practical-minded—but also wasteful in their attitude toward natural resources.

The closing of the frontier troubled Turner. He saw the availability of free land on the frontier as a safety valve for harmlessly releasing discontent in American society. The frontier had always held out the promise of a fresh start. Once the frontier was gone, would the United States be condemned to follow the patterns of class division and social conflict that troubled Europe?

While many debate the Turner thesis, historians acknowledge that by the 1890s the largest movement of Americans was to the cities and industrialized areas. Not only was the era of the western frontier coming to a close, but the dominance of rural America was also on a decline.

American Indians in the West

The American Indians who occupied the West in 1865 belonged to dozens of different cultural and tribal groups. In New Mexico and Arizona, Pueblo groups such as the Hopi and Zuni lived in permanent settlements as farmers raising corn and livestock. The Navajo and Apache peoples of the Southwest were nomadic hunter-gatherers who adapted a more settled way of life, not only raising crops and livestock but also producing arts and crafts. In the Pacific Northwest (Washington and Oregon), such tribes as the Chinook and Shasta developed complex communities based on abundant fish and game.

About two-thirds of the western tribal groups lived on the Great Plains. These nomadic tribes, such as the Sioux, Blackfoot, Cheyenne, Crow, and Comanche, had given up farming in colonial times after the introduction of the horse by the Spanish. By the 1700s, they had become skillful horse riders and developed a way of life centered on the hunting of buffalo. Although they belonged to tribes of several thousand, they lived in smaller bands of 300 to 500 members. In the late 19th century, their conflicts with the U.S. government were partly the result of white Americans having little understanding of the Plains people’s loose tribal organization and nomadic lifestyle.

Reservation Policy In the 1830s, President Andrew Jackson’s policy of removing eastern American Indians to the West was based on the belief that lands west of the Mississippi would permanently remain “Indian country.” This expectation soon proved false, as wagon trains rolled westward on the Oregon

Trail, and plans were made for building a transcontinental railroad. In 1851, in councils (negotiations) at Fort Laramie and Fort Atkinson, the federal government began to assign the Plains tribes large tracts of land—or reservations—with definite boundaries. Most Plains tribes, however, refused to restrict their movements to the reservations and continued to follow the migrating buffalo wherever they roamed.

Indian Wars In the late 19th century, the settlement of thousands of miners, ranchers, and homesteaders on American Indian lands led to violence. Fighting between U.S. troops and Plains Indians was often brutal, with the U.S. Army responsible for several massacres. In 1866, during the Sioux War, the tables were turned when an army column under Captain William Fetterman was wiped out by Sioux warriors. Following these wars, another round of treaties attempted to isolate the Plains Indians on smaller reservations with federal

AMERICAN INDIANS IN THE WEST



agents promising government support. However, gold miners refused to stay off American Indians' lands if gold was to be found on them, as indeed it was in the Dakotas' Black Hills. Soon, minor chiefs not involved in the treaty-making and younger warriors denounced the treaties and tried to return to ancestral lands.

A new round of conflicts in the West began in the 1870s. The Indian Appropriation Act of 1871 ended recognition of tribes as independent nations by the federal government and nullified previous treaties made with the tribes. Conflicts included the Red River War against the Comanche in the southern plains and a second Sioux War led by Sitting Bull and Crazy Horse in the northern plains. Before the Sioux went down to defeat, they ambushed and destroyed Colonel George Custer's command at Little Big Horn in 1876. Chief Joseph's courageous effort to lead a band of the Nez Percé into Canada ended in defeat and surrender in 1877. The constant pressure of the U.S. Army forced tribe after tribe to comply with Washington's terms. In addition, the slaughter of most of the buffalo by the early 1880s doomed the way of life of the Plains people.

The last effort of American Indians to resist U.S. government controls came through a religious movement known as the Ghost Dance. Leaders of the movements believed it could return prosperity to American Indians. In the government's campaign to suppress the movement, the famous Sioux medicine man Sitting Bull was killed during his arrest. Then in December 1890, the U.S. Army gunned down more than 200 American Indian men, women, and children in the "battle" (massacre) of Wounded Knee in the Dakotas. This final tragedy marked the end of the Indian Wars on the crimsoned prairie.

Assimilationists The injustices done to American Indians were chronicled in a best-selling book by Helen Hunt Jackson, *A Century of Dishonor* (1881). Although this book created sympathy for American Indians, especially in the eastern United States, it also generated support for ending Indian culture through assimilation. Reformers advocated formal education, job training, and conversion to Christianity. They set up boarding schools such as the Carlisle School in Pennsylvania to segregate American Indian children from their people and teach them white culture and farming and industrial skills.

Dawes Severalty Act (1887) A new phase in the relationship between the U.S. government and American Indians was incorporated in the Dawes Act of 1887. The act was designed to break up tribal organizations, which many felt kept American Indians from becoming "civilized" and law-abiding citizens. The Dawes Act divided the tribal lands into plots of up to 160 acres, depending on family size. U.S. citizenship was granted to those who stayed on the land for 25 years and "adopted the habits of civilized life."

Under the Dawes Act, as intended, the government distributed 47 million acres of land to American Indians. However, 90 million acres of former reservation land—often the best land—was sold over the years to white settlers by

the government, speculators, or American Indians themselves. The new policy proved a failure. By the turn of the century, disease and poverty had reduced the American Indian population to just 200,000 persons, most of whom lived as wards of the federal government.

Changes in the 20th Century In 1924, in partial recognition that forced assimilation had failed, the federal government granted U.S. citizenship to all American Indians, whether or not they had complied with the Dawes Act. As part of President Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal in the 1930s, Congress adopted the Indian Reorganization Act (1934), which promoted the re-establishment of tribal organization and culture. Today, more than 3 million American Indians, belonging to 500 tribes, live within the United States.

The Latino Southwest

After the Mexican War ended in 1848, the Spanish-speaking landowners in California and the Southwest were guaranteed their property rights and granted citizenship. However, drawn-out legal proceedings often resulted in the sale or loss of lands to new Anglo arrivals. Hispanic culture was preserved in dominant Spanish-speaking areas, such as the New Mexico territories, the border towns, and the barrios of California.

Mexican Americans moved to find work, such as to the sugar beet fields and the mines of Colorado, and the building of western railroads. Before 1917, the border with Mexico was open and few records were kept for either seasonal workers or permanent settlers. Mexicans, like their European counterparts, were drawn by the explosive economic development of the region.

The Conservation Movement

The concerns over deforestation sparked the conservation movement, and the breathtaking paintings and photographs of western landscapes helped to push Congress to preserve such western icons as Yosemite Valley as a California state park in 1864 (a national park in 1890), and to dedicate the Yellowstone area as the first



Source: Logging in California, 1909. Library of Congress

National Park in 1872. Carl Schurz, as Secretary of the Interior in the 1880s, advocated creation of forest reserves and a federal forest service to protect federal lands from exploitation. Presidents Benjamin Harrison and Grover Cleveland reserved 33 million acres of national timber.

With the closing of the frontier era, Americans grew increasingly concerned about the loss of public lands and the natural treasures they contained. The Forest Reserve Act of 1891 and the Forest Management Act of 1897 withdrew federal timberlands from development and regulated their use. While most “conservationists” believed in scientific management and regulated use of natural resources, “preservationists,” such as John Muir, a leading founder of the Sierra Club in 1892, went a step further, and aimed to preserve natural areas from human interference. The education efforts of the Arbor Day, Audubon Society, and the Sierra Club were another sign of a growing conservation movement by 1900.

The New South

While the West was being “won” by settlers and the U.S. Army, the South was recovering from the devastation of the Civil War. Some southerners promoted a new vision for a self-sufficient southern economy built on modern capitalist values, industrial growth, and improved transportation. Chief among them was Henry Grady, the editor of the *Atlanta Constitution*. Grady spread the gospel of the New South with editorials that argued for economic diversity and laissez-faire capitalism. To attract businesses, local governments offered tax exemptions to investors and the promise of low-wage labor.

Economic Progress

The growth of cities, the textual industry, and improved railroads symbolized efforts to create a “New South” in the late 19th century.” Birmingham, Alabama, developed into one of the nation’s leading steel producers. Memphis, Tennessee, prospered as a center for the South’s growing lumber industry. Richmond, Virginia, the former capital of the Confederacy, became the capital of the nation’s tobacco industry. Georgia, North Carolina, and South Carolina overtook the New England states as the chief producers of textiles. By 1900, the South had 400 cotton mills employing almost 100,000 white workers. Southern railroad companies rapidly converted to the standard-gauge rails used in the North and West, so the South was integrated into the national rail network. The South’s rate of postwar growth from 1865 to 1900 equaled or surpassed that of the rest of the country in population, industry, and railroads.

Continued Poverty

Despite progress and growth, the South remained a largely agricultural section—and also the poorest region in the country. To a greater extent than before the war, northern financing dominated much of the southern economy. Northern investors controlled three-quarters of the southern railroads and by 1900 had control of the South’s steel industry as well. A large share of the profits from the new industries went to northern banks and financiers. Industrial workers in

the South (94 percent of whom were white) earned half of the national average and worked longer hours than elsewhere. Most southerners of both races remained in traditional roles and barely got by from year to year as sharecroppers and farmers.

The poverty of the majority of southerners was not caused by northern capitalists. Two other factors were chiefly responsible: (1) the South's late start at industrialization and (2) a poorly educated workforce. Only a small number of southerners had the technological skills needed for industrial development. The South failed to invest in technical and engineering schools as did the North. Furthermore, in the late 1800s, political leadership in the South provided little support for the education of either poor whites or poor African Americans. Without adequate education, the southern workforce faced limited economic opportunities in the fast-changing world of the late 19th century.

Agriculture

The South's postwar economy remained tied mainly to growing cotton. Between 1870 and 1900, the number of acres planted in cotton more than doubled. Increased productivity, however, only added to the cotton farmer's problems, as a glut of cotton on world markets caused cotton prices to decline by more than 50 percent by the 1890s. Per capita income in the South actually declined, and many farmers lost their farms. By 1900, more than half the region's white farmers and three-quarters of the black farmers were tenants (or sharecroppers), most of them straining to make a living from small plots of 15 to 20 acres. A shortage of credit forced farmers to borrow supplies from local merchants in the spring with a lien, or mortgage, on their crops to be paid at harvest. The combination of sharecropping and crop liens forced poor farmers to remain tenants, virtual serfs tied to the land by debt.

Some southern farmers sought to diversify their farming to escape the trap of depending entirely on cotton. George Washington Carver, an African-American scientist at Tuskegee Institute in Alabama, promoted the growing of such crops as peanuts, sweet potatoes, and soybeans. His work played an important role in shifting southern agriculture toward a more diversified base.

Even so, most small farmers in the South remained in the cycle of debt and poverty. As in the North and the West, hard times produced a harvest of discontent. By 1890, the Farmers' Southern Alliance claimed more than 1 million members. A separate organization for African Americans, the Colored Farmers' National Alliance, had about 250,000 members. Both organizations rallied behind political reforms to solve the farmers' economic problems. If poor black and poor white farmers in the South could have united, they would have been a potent political force, but the economic interests of the upper class and the powerful racial attitudes of whites stood in their way.

Segregation

With the end of Reconstruction in 1877, the North withdrew its protection of the freedmen and left southerners to work out solutions to their own social and economic problems. The Democratic politicians who came to power in the

southern states after Reconstruction, known as redeemers, won support from two groups: the business community and the white supremacists. The latter group favored policies of separating, or segregating, public facilities for blacks and whites as a means of treating African Americans as social inferiors. The redeemers often used race as a rallying cry to deflect attention away from the real concerns of tenant farmers and the working poor. They discovered that they could exert political power by playing on the racial fears of whites.

Discrimination and the Supreme Court During Reconstruction, federal laws protected southern blacks from discriminatory acts by local and state governments. Starting in the late 1870s, however, the U.S. Supreme Court struck down one Reconstruction act after another applying to civil rights. In the *Civil Rights Cases* of 1883, the Court ruled that Congress could not legislate against the racial discrimination practiced by private citizens, which included railroads, hotels, and other businesses used by the public. Then, in 1896, in the landmark case of *Plessy v. Ferguson*, the Supreme Court upheld a Louisiana law requiring “separate but equal accommodations” for white and black passengers on railroads. The Court ruled that the Louisiana law did not violate the 14th Amendment’s guarantee of “equal protection of the laws.”

These federal court decisions supported a wave of segregation laws, commonly known as Jim Crow laws, that southern states adopted beginning in the 1870s. These laws required segregated washrooms, drinking fountains, park benches, and other facilities in virtually all public places. Only the use of streets and most stores was not restricted according to a person’s race.

Loss of Civil Rights Other discriminatory laws resulted in the wholesale disfranchisement of black voters by 1900. In Louisiana, for example, 130,334 black voters were registered in 1896 but only 1,342 in 1904—a 99 percent decline. Various political and legal devices were invented to prevent southern blacks from voting. Among the most common obstacles were literacy tests, poll taxes, and political party primaries for whites only. Many southern states adopted so-called grandfather clauses, which allowed a man to vote only if his grandfather had cast ballots in elections before Reconstruction. The Supreme Court again gave its sanction to such laws in a case of 1898, in which it upheld a state’s right to use literacy tests to determine citizens’ qualifications for voting.

Discrimination took many forms. In southern courts, African Americans were barred from serving on juries. If convicted of crimes, they were often given stiffer penalties than whites. In some cases, African Americans accused of crimes were not even given the formality of a court-ordered sentence. Lynch mobs killed more than 1,400 men during the 1890s. Economic discrimination was also widespread, keeping most southern African Americans out of skilled trades and even factory jobs. Thus, while poor whites and immigrants learned the industrial skills that would help them rise into the middle class, African Americans remained engaged in farming and low-paying domestic work.

Responding to Segregation Segregation, disenfranchisement, and lynching left African Americans in the South oppressed but not powerless. Some responded with confrontation. Ida B. Wells, editor of the *Memphis Free Speech*,

a black newspaper, campaigned against lynching and the Jim Crow laws. Death threats and the destruction of her printing press forced Wells to carry on her work from the North. Other black leaders advocated migration. Bishop Henry Turner formed the International Migration Society in 1894 to help blacks emigrate to Africa. Many African Americans moved to Kansas and Oklahoma.

A third response to oppression, advocated by Booker T. Washington, was to accommodate it. Washington, a former slave, had graduated from Hampton Institute in Virginia. In 1881, he established an industrial and agricultural school for African Americans in Tuskegee, Alabama. There, African Americans learned skilled trades while Washington preached the virtues of hard work, moderation, and economic self-help. Earning money, he said, was like having “a little green ballot” that would empower African Americans more effectively than a political ballot. Speaking at an exposition in Atlanta in 1895, Washington argued that “the agitation of the questions of social equality is the extremist folly.” In 1900, he organized the National Negro Business League, which established 320 chapters across the country to support businesses owned and operated by African Americans. Washington’s emphasis on racial harmony and economic cooperation won praise from many whites, including industrialist Andrew Carnegie and President Theodore Roosevelt.

Later civil rights leaders had mixed reactions to Washington’s approach, especially his Atlanta speech. Some criticized him as too willing to accept discrimination. For example, after 1900, the younger African American leader W. E. B. Du Bois would demand an end to segregation and the granting of equal civil rights to all Americans. (See Chapter 21.) In contrast, other writers have praised Washington for paving the way for black self-reliance because of his emphasis on starting and supporting black-owned businesses.

Farm Problems: North, South, and West

By the end of the 1800s, farmers had become a minority within American society. While the number of U.S. farms more than doubled between 1865 and 1900, people working as farmers declined from 60 percent of the working population in 1860 to less than 37 percent in 1900. All farmers—white or black, westerner or southerner—faced similar problems.

Changes in Agriculture

With every passing decade in the late 1800s, farming became increasingly commercialized—and also more specialized. Northern and western farmers of the late 19th century concentrated on raising single cash crops, such as corn or wheat, for both national and international markets. As consumers, farmers began to procure their food from the stores in town and their manufactured goods from the mail-order catalogs sent to them by Montgomery Ward and Sears Roebuck. As producers, farmers became more dependent on large and expensive machines, such as steam engines, seeders, and reaper-thresher combines. Ever larger farms were run like factories. Unable to afford the new equipment, small, marginal farms could not compete and, in many cases, were driven out of business.

Falling Prices Increased American production as well as increased production in Argentina, Russia, and Canada drove prices down for wheat, cotton, and other crops. And since the money supply was not growing as fast as the economy, each dollar became worth more. This put more downward pressure on prices, or deflation. These figures tell the depressing story for farmers:

Wheat and Corn Prices per Bushel, 1867 and 1889		
Year	Wheat	Corn
1867	\$2.01	\$0.78
1889	\$0.70	\$0.28

*Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census. *Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1970**

As prices fell, farmers with mortgages faced both high interest rates and the need to grow more and more to pay off old debts. Of course, increased production only lowered prices. The predictable results of this vicious circle were more debts, foreclosures by banks, and more independent farmers forced to become tenants and sharecroppers.

Rising Costs Farmers felt victimized by impersonal forces of the larger national economy. Industrial corporations were able to keep prices high on manufactured goods by forming monopolistic trusts. Wholesalers and retailers (known as “the middlemen”) took their cut before selling to farmers. Railroads, warehouses, and elevators took what little profit remained by charging high or discriminatory rates for the shipment and storage of grain. Railroads would often charge more for short hauls on lines with no competition than for long hauls on lines with competition.

Taxes too seemed unfair to farmers. Local and state governments taxed property and land heavily but did not tax income from stocks and bonds. The tariffs protecting various American industries were viewed as just another unfair tax paid by farmers and consumers for the benefit of the industrialists.

Fighting Back

A long tradition of independence and individualism restrained farmers from taking collective action. Finally, however, they began to organize for their common interests and protection.

National Grange Movement The National Grange of Patrons of Husbandry was organized in 1868 by Oliver H. Kelley primarily as a social and educational organization for farmers and their families. Within five years, Granges existed in almost every state, with the most in the Midwest. As the Grange expanded, it became active in economics and politics to defend members against middlemen, trusts, and railroads. For example, Grangers established *cooperatives*—businesses owned and run by the farmers to save the costs charged by middlemen. In Illinois, Iowa, Minnesota, and Wisconsin, the Grangers, with help from local

businesses, successfully lobbied their state legislatures to pass laws regulating the rates charged by railroads and elevators. Other Granger laws made it illegal for railroads to fix prices by means of pools and to give rebates to privileged customers. In the landmark case of *Munn v. Illinois* (1877), the Supreme Court upheld the right of a state to regulate businesses of a public nature, such as railroads.

Interstate Commerce Act (1886) The state laws regulating railroad rates ran into numerous legal problems, especially with railroads that crossed state lines. States could regulate only local or short-haul rates. Interstate commerce, on the other hand, was a federal matter, and railroad companies adapted to the Granger laws by simply raising their long-haul (interstate) rates. The Supreme Court ruled in the case of *Wabash v. Illinois* (1886) that individual states could not regulate interstate commerce. In effect, the Court's decision nullified many of the state regulations achieved by the Grangers.

Congress responded to the outcry of farmers and shippers by passing the first federal effort to regulate the railroads. The Interstate Commerce Act of 1886 required railroad rates to be "reasonable and just." It also set up the first federal regulatory agency, the Interstate Commerce Commission (ICC), which had the power to investigate and prosecute pools, rebates, and other discriminatory practices. Ironically, the first U.S. regulatory commission helped the railroads more than the farmers. The new commission lost most of its cases in the federal courts in the 1890s. On the other hand, the ICC helped railroads by stabilizing rates and curtailing destructive competition.

Farmers' Alliances Farmers also expressed their discontent by forming state and regional groups known as farmers' alliances. Like the Grange, the alliances taught about scientific farming methods. Unlike the Grange, alliances always had the goal of economic and political action. Hence, the alliance movement had serious potential for creating an independent national political party. By 1890, about 1 million farmers had joined farmers' alliances. In the South, both poor white and black farmers joined the movement.

Ocala Platform Potential nearly became reality in 1890 when a national organization of farmers—the National Alliance—met in Ocala, Florida, to address the problems of rural America. The alliance attacked both major parties as subservient to Wall Street bankers and big business. Ocala delegates created a platform that would significantly impact politics. They supported (1) direct election of U.S. senators (in the original U.S. Constitution, senators were selected by state legislatures), (2) lower tariff rates, (3) a graduated income tax (people with higher incomes would pay higher rates of tax), and (4) a new banking system regulated by the federal government.

In addition, the alliance platform demanded that Treasury notes and silver be used to increase the amount of money in circulation, which farmers hoped would create inflation and raise crop prices. The platform also proposed federal storage for farmers' crops and federal loans, which would free farmers from dependency on middlemen and creditors.

The alliances stopped short of forming a political party. Even so, their backing of local and state candidates who pledged support for alliance goals often proved decisive in the elections of 1890. Many of the reform ideas of the Grange and the farmers' alliances would become part of the Populist movement, which would shake the foundations of the two-party system in the elections of 1892 and 1896. (See Chapter 19.)

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES: HOW DID THE FRONTIER DEVELOP?

Frederick Jackson Turner set the agenda for generations of historians with his frontier thesis. He presented the settling of the frontier as an evolutionary process. The frontier, according to Turner, began as wilderness. The hunting frontier came first, which was followed by either the mining or the cattle frontier, and then the farming frontier. Finally, the founding of towns and cities completed the process.

Later historians challenged Turner's evolutionary view by arguing that frontier cities played an early and primary role in development. For example, Charles Glaab documented the role of town "boosters," who tried to create settlements on the frontier overnight in the middle of nowhere. After laying out town plots on paper, boosters of different western towns strove to establish their own town as a territory's central hub of development by competing to capture the county seat or state capital, a state asylum, a railroad depot, or a college. Many would-be towns, promoted as the next "Athens of the West," proved a booster's false prophecy and died as ghost towns.

Historian William Cronon argued that the frontier and cities grew up together, not sequentially. In his analysis of the growth of Chicago in the 19th century, (*Nature's Metropolis*, 1991) Cronon argued that the "frontier and the metropolis turn out to be two sides of the same coin. . . . The history of the Great West is a long dialogue between the place we call city and the place we call country." Urban markets made rural development possible. The cattle ranchers' frontier developed because it was linked by the railroads to Chicago and eastern markets. By "reading Turner backward," Cronon demonstrated how Chicago helped to create the mining, cattle, lumber, and farming frontiers as it developed into the great city of the West, or "nature's metropolis." By integrating the history of the city and the settlement of the frontier, Cronon challenged the perspective that urban areas and rural areas are necessarily in conflict. Not only the development of the American frontier, but the growth of cities and rural areas is clarified, when we begin to understand, as Cronon argued, "every city is nature's metropolis and every countryside its rural hinterland."

KEY TERMS BY THEME

<p>Western Environment (GEO)</p> <p>Great American Desert 100th meridian buffalo herds Great Plains mineral resources</p> <p>Western Development (WXT)</p> <p>Mining frontier, boomtowns Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 commercial cities longhorns, vaqueros cattle drives barbed wire Joseph Glidden Homestead Act dry farming</p> <p>American Indians (MIG, POL)</p> <p>Great Plains tribes Southwest tribes federal treaty policies causes of "Indian wars" Little Big Horn assimilationists Helen Hunt Jackson Dawes Act of 1887 Ghost Dance movement Indian Reorganization Act of 1934</p>	<p>Mexican Americans (PEO)</p> <p>Mexican War aftermath Spanish-speaking areas Migration for jobs</p> <p>Conservation Movement (GEO)</p> <p>deforestation Yellowstone, Yosemite Department of Interior conservationists and preservationists</p> <p>Forest Reserve Act of 1891</p> <p>Forest Management Act of 1897</p> <p>John Muir, Sierra Club</p> <p>Southern Development (WXT)</p> <p>"New South" Henry Grady Birmingham (steel) Memphis (lumber) Richmond (tobacco) integrated rail network agriculture's dominance sharecropping; tenant farmers</p> <p>George Washington Carver Tuskegee Institute</p> <p>Racial Discrimination (MIG, POL)</p> <p>white supremacists Civil Rights Cases of 1883</p>	<p><i>Plessy v. Ferguson</i> Jim Crow laws literacy tests, poll taxes, grandfather clauses white primaries, white juries</p> <p>lynch mobs economic discrimination African American migration Ida B. Wells Booker T. Washington economic cooperation</p> <p>Farm Protests Movements (POL)</p> <p>markets and farmers crop price deflation railroads and middlemen National Grange Movement cooperatives Granger laws <i>Munn v. Illinois</i> <i>Wabash v. Illinois</i> Interstate Commerce Commission Ocala Platform of 1890</p> <p>Frontier Closing (CUL)</p> <p>census of 1890 Frederick Jackson Turner, "The Significance of the Frontier in American History" role of cities, "nature's metropolis"</p>
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MULTIPLE-CHOICE QUESTIONS

Questions 1–3 refer to the excerpt below.

“I attended a funeral once in Pickens County in my State. . . . They buried him in the heart of a pine forest, and yet the pine coffin was imported from Cincinnati. They buried him within touch of an iron mine, and yet the nails in his coffin and the iron in the shovel that dug his grave were imported from Pittsburgh . . . The South didn’t furnish a thing on earth for that funeral but the corpse and the hole in the ground. There they put him away and the clods rattled down on his coffin, and they buried him in a New York coat and a Boston pair of shoes and a pair of breeches from Chicago and a shirt from Cincinnati, leaving him nothing to carry into the next world with him to remind him of the country in which he lived, and for which he fought for four years, but the chill of blood in his veins and the marrow in his bones.”

—Henry Grady, Editor of the *Atlanta Constitution*, 1889

1. The key idea in the excerpt is that Grady believes
 - (A) the Civil War damaged the southern economy
 - (B) former Confederate soldiers deserved better treatment
 - (C) the secession of the Confederacy was justified
 - (D) the South needed to industrialize
2. Which of the following best demonstrates Henry Grady’s vision for the South?
 - (A) Birmingham, Alabama, became one of the nation’s leading steel producers
 - (B) Former slaves achieved semi-independence as tenant farmers
 - (C) Northern investors controlled three-quarters of southern railroads
 - (D) The southern economy remained mainly tied to agriculture
3. Henry Grady’s comments best express the viewpoint of which group of people?
 - (A) Advocates of a New South
 - (B) Progressives
 - (C) Redeemers
 - (D) Supporters of Congressional Reconstruction

Questions 4–6 refer to the excerpt below from a statement by the National Alliance.

1. We demand the abolition of national banks.
2. We demand that the government shall establish sub-treasuries or depositories in the several states, which shall loan money direct to the people at a low rate of interest, not to exceed two per cent per annum, on non-perishable farm products, and also upon real estate
3. We demand that the amount of the circulating medium be speedily increased to not less than \$50 per capita.
5. We condemn the silver bill recently passed by Congress, and demand in lieu thereof the free and unlimited coinage of silver.
9. We further demand a removal of the existing heavy tariff tax from the necessities of life, that the poor of our land must have.
10. We further demand a just and equitable system of graduated tax on incomes.
13. We demand that the Congress of the United States submit an amendment to the Constitution providing for the election of United States Senators by direct vote of the people of each state.

—Ocala Platform, December 1890

4. The Ocala Platform resulted from a protest movement that primarily involved
 - (A) labor unions
 - (B) liberal reformers
 - (C) northeastern conservatives
 - (D) small farmers
5. The economic reasoning behind the Ocala Platform assumes that
 - (A) federal income taxes fell mainly on average working Americans
 - (B) large banks had formed a monopoly to lower interest rates
 - (C) high tariffs had caused the rise in land prices
 - (D) increasing the money supply would increase prices and incomes
6. The Ocala Platform proved an important link between which of the following groups?
 - (A) Radical Republicans and Reconstruction
 - (B) Farmer organizations and the Populist movement
 - (C) Harrison Republicans and Cleveland Democrats
 - (D) Rural and urban Progressive reformers

Questions 7–8 refer to the excerpt below.

“The white race deems itself to be the dominant race in this country. And so it is, in prestige, in achievements, in education, in wealth, and in power. . . . But in the view of the Constitution, in the eye of the law, there is in this country no superior, no dominant, ruling class of citizens. Our Constitution is color-blind and neither knows nor tolerates classes among citizens.

“In respect of civil rights, all citizens are equal before the law. The humblest is the peer of the most powerful. The laws regard man as man and take no account of his surroundings or his color when his civil rights as guaranteed by the supreme law of the land are involved. It is therefore to be regretted that this high tribunal, the final expositor of the fundamental law of the land, has reached the conclusion that it is competent for a state to regulate the enjoyment by citizens of their civil right solely upon the basis of race.”

—Supreme Court Justice John Marshall Harlan, dissenting opinion in *Plessy v. Ferguson*, 1896

7. Harlan’s opinion goes against the majority opinion on the Supreme Court that
 - (A) the 1st Amendment did not protect racist propaganda by the Ku Klux Klan and similar groups
 - (B) African Americans were not citizens and could not vote or hold office
 - (C) Jim Crow laws were a violation of the Constitution
 - (D) facilities could be segregated by race if they were “separate but equal”
8. Harlan’s opinion was consistent with the beliefs expressed by the
 - (A) Supreme Court in the civil rights cases of 1883
 - (B) writer W. E. B. Du Bois
 - (C) supporters of Jim Crow laws
 - (D) supporters of poll taxes

SHORT-ANSWER QUESTIONS

Use complete sentences; an outline or bulleted list alone is not acceptable.

Question 1 is based on the following excerpt.

“The farmers of the United States are up in arms. They are the bone and sinew of the nation; they produce the largest share of its wealth; but they are getting, they say, the smallest share for themselves. The American farmer is steadily losing ground. His burdens are heavier every year and his gains are more meager; he is beginning to fear that he may be sinking into a servile condition. He has waited long for the redress of his grievances; he purposed to wait no longer.”

—Washington Gladden, minister, *Forum*, November 1890

1. Using the excerpt, answer a, b, and c.
 - a) Briefly explain ONE specific example that supports the statement that farmers were “losing ground” during the period from 1865 to 1900.
 - b) Briefly explain ONE specific example that supports the statement that “the farmers are up in arms” during the period from 1865 to 1900.
 - c) Briefly explain ONE change in national or international markets that affected American farmers during the period from 1865 to 1900.

Question 2 is based on the following excerpt.

“[Frederick Jackson] Turner insisted that the presence of regional difference was no cause for concern. The varied regions complemented one another and together composed a varied, but nonetheless functional and united, nation . . . He began his best known essay on the topic, ‘The Significance of the Section in American History’ with the claim that the post-frontier United states was now ‘more like Europe, and our sections more and more becoming the American version of the European nation.’ He closed the essay with the powerful assertion that ‘we must shape our national action to the fact of a vast and varied union of unlike sections.’”

—David M. Wrobel, historian, 2010

2. Using the excerpt, answer a, b, and c.
 - a) Briefly explain ONE significant regional difference in the South that supports the writer’s view of “a vast and varied union of unlike sections” during the period from 1865 to 1900.
 - b) Briefly explain ONE significant way that the West and North regions “complemented one another” during the period from 1865 to 1900.
 - c) Briefly explain ONE reason why Turner was concerned about the closing of the frontier that is not described by Wrobel in the excerpt.

Question 3. Answer a, b, and c.

- a) Briefly explain ONE change in the South between 1877 and 1900 that reflected the policies of the New South agenda.
- b) Briefly explain ONE way the Southern economy did not change during this era.
- c) Briefly explain ONE factor that kept the South from making more progress during this period.

Question 4 is based on the following excerpt.

“The wisest among my race understand that the agitation of questions of social equality is the extremist of folly, and that progress in the enjoyment of all privileges that will come to us must be the result of severe and constant struggle rather than of artificial forcing. No race that has anything to contribute to the markets of the world is long in any degree ostracized. It is important and right that all privileges of the law be ours, but it is vastly more important that we be prepared for the exercises of these privileges. The opportunity to earn a dollar in a factory just now is worth infinitely more than the opportunity to spend a dollar in an opera house.”

—Booker T. Washington, Speech at Cotton States and International Exposition, Atlanta, September 18, 1895

4. Using the excerpt, answer a, b, and c.

- a) Briefly explain ONE form of discrimination that African Americans experienced in the South that Booker T. Washington was trying to address in this excerpt.
- b) Briefly explain ONE educational idea or practice of Booker T. Washington’s that would support the point of view in the excerpt.
- c) Briefly explain ONE way that Booker T. Washington’s thinking was compatible with the “New South” movement.

THINKING AS A HISTORIAN: STATEMENTS ABOUT EVIDENCE

Which TWO of the following statements most clearly include evidence to support the claim it makes?

1. The Chinese Exclusion Act indicates the prejudice felt by many people in the United States in the late 19th century.
2. George Washington Carver and Ida B. Wells demonstrated different methods of combatting racial prejudice.
3. Granges and cooperatives demonstrated the strong sense of community many Americans felt in the 19th century.

THE GROWTH OF CITIES AND AMERICAN CULTURE, 1865–1900

*Give me your tired, your poor,
Your huddled masses yearning to breathe free,
The wretched refuse of your teeming shore,
Send these, the homeless, tempest-tossed, to me:
I lift my lamp beside the golden door.*

Emma Lazarus, “The New Colossus,” 1883
(Inscription on the base of the Statue of Liberty)

In 1893, Chicago hosted a world’s fair known as the World’s Columbian Exposition. More than 12 million people traveled to the White City, as Chicago’s fairgrounds and gleaming white buildings were known. Visitors saw the progress of American civilization as represented by new industrial technologies and by the architects’ grand visions of an ideal urban environment. In just six decades, Chicago’s population had grown to more than one million. Its central business district was a marvel of modern urban structures: steel-framed skyscrapers, department stores, and theaters. Around this central hub lay a sprawling gridiron of workers’ housing near the city’s factories and warehouses, and a few miles beyond were tree-lined suburban retreats for the wealthy. The entire urban complex was connected by hundreds of miles of streetcars and railroads.

Visitors to Chicago also experienced a “gray city” of pollution, poverty, crime, and vice. Some complained of the confusion of tongues, “worse than the tower of Babel,” for in 1893 Chicago was a city of immigrants. More than three-fourths of its population were either foreign-born or the children of the foreign-born. Both the real Chicago and the idealized “White City” represented the complex ways in which three great forces of change—industrialization, immigration, and urbanization—were transforming the nature of American society in the late 19th century. A previous chapter covered industrialization. This chapter focuses on immigration and urbanization.

A Nation of Immigrants

In the last half of the 19th century, the U.S. population more than tripled, from about 23.2 million in 1850 to 76.2 million in 1900. The arrival of 16.2 million immigrants fueled the growth. An additional 8.8 million more arrived during the peak years of immigration, 1901–1910.

Growth of Immigration

The growing connections between the United States and the world are evident during this period, especially in the area of immigration. A increased combination of “pushes” (negative factors from which people are fleeing) and “pulls” (positive attractions of the adopted country) increased migrations around the world. The negative forces driving Europeans to emigrate included (1) the poverty of displaced farmworkers driven from the land by political turmoil and the mechanization of farmwork, (2) overcrowding and joblessness in cities as a result of a population boom, and (3) religious persecution, particularly of Jews in eastern Europe. Positive reasons for moving to the United States included this country’s reputation for political and religious freedom and the economic opportunities afforded by the settling of the West and the abundance of industrial jobs in U.S. cities. Furthermore, the introduction of large steamships and the relatively inexpensive one-way passage in the ships’ “steerage” made it possible for millions of poor people to emigrate.

“Old” Immigrants and “New” Immigrants

Through the 1880s, the vast majority of immigrants came from northern and western Europe: the British Isles, Germany, and Scandinavia. Most of these “old” immigrants were Protestants, although many were Irish or German Catholics. Their language (mostly English-speaking) and high level of literacy and occupational skills made it relatively easy for these immigrants to blend into a mostly rural American society in the early decades of the 19th century.

New Immigrants Beginning in the 1890s and continuing to the outbreak of World War I in 1914, the national origins of most immigrants changed. The “new” immigrants came from southern and eastern Europe. They were Italians, Greeks, Croats, Slovaks, Poles, and Russians. Many were poor and illiterate peasants who had left autocratic countries and therefore were unaccustomed to democratic traditions. Unlike the earlier groups of Protestant immigrants, the newcomers were largely Roman Catholic, Greek Orthodox, Russian Orthodox, and Jewish. On arrival, most new immigrants crowded into poor ethnic neighborhoods in New York, Chicago, and other major U.S. cities.

An estimated 25 percent of them were “birds of passage,” young men contracted for unskilled factory, mining, and construction jobs, who would return to their native lands once they had saved a fair sum of money to bring back to their families.

Restricting Immigration

In the 1870s, when the French sculptor Frédéric-Auguste Bartholdi began work on the Statue of Liberty, there were few legal restrictions on immigration to the United States. By 1886, however—the year that the great welcoming-statue was placed on its pedestal in New York Harbor—Congress had passed a number of new laws restricting immigration. First came the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882, placing a ban on all new immigrants from China. As already noted in the last chapter, this hostility to the Chinese mainly came from the western states. Restrictions also came in 1882 on the immigration of “undesirable” persons, such as paupers, criminals, convicts, and those diagnosed as mentally incompetent. The Contract Labor Law of 1885 restricted temporary workers to protect American workers. A literacy test for immigrants was vetoed by President Cleveland, but passed in 1917. Soon after the opening of Ellis Island as an immigration center in 1892, new arrivals had to pass more rigorous medical examinations and pay a tax before entering the United States.

Efforts to restrict immigration were supported by diverse groups such as (1) labor unions, which feared that employers would use immigrants to depress wages and break strikes, (2) a nativist society, the American Protective Association, which was openly prejudiced against Roman Catholics, and (3) social Darwinists, who viewed the new immigrants as biologically inferior to English and Germanic stocks. During a severe depression in the 1890s, foreigners became a convenient scapegoat for jobless workers as well as for employers who blamed strikes and the labor movement on foreign agitators.

However, anti-immigrant feelings and early restrictions did not stop the flow of newcomers. At the turn of the century, almost 15 percent of the U.S. population were immigrants. The Statue of Liberty remained a beacon of hope for the poor and the oppressed of southern and eastern Europe until the 1920s, when the Quota Acts almost closed Liberty’s golden door (see Chapter 23).

Urbanization

Urbanization and industrialization developed simultaneously. Cities provided both laborers for factories and a market for factory-made goods. The shift in population from rural to urban became more obvious with each passing decade. By 1900 almost 40 percent of Americans lived in towns or cities. By 1920, for the first time, more Americans lived in urban areas than in rural areas.

Those moving into the cities were both immigrants and internal migrants born in the rural United States. In the late 19th century, millions of young Americans from rural areas decided to seek new economic opportunities in the cities. They left the farms for industrial and commercial jobs, and few of them returned. Among those who joined the movement from farms to cities were African Americans from the South. Between 1897 and 1930, nearly 1 million southern blacks settled in northern and western cities.

Changes in the Nature of Cities

Cities of the late 19th century underwent significant changes not only in their size but also in their internal structure and design.

Streetcar Cities Improvements in urban transportation made the growth of cities possible. In the walking cities of the pre-Civil War era, people had little choice but to live within walking distance of their shops or jobs. Such cities gave way to streetcar cities, in which people lived in residences many miles from their jobs and commuted to work on horse-drawn streetcars. By the 1890s, both horse-drawn cars and cable cars were being replaced by electric trolleys, elevated railroads, and subways, which could transport people to urban residences even farther from the city's commercial center. The building of massive steel suspension bridges such as New York's Brooklyn Bridge (completed in 1883) also made possible longer commutes between residential areas and the center city.

Mass transportation had the effect of segregating urban workers by income. The upper and middle classes moved to streetcar suburbs to escape the pollution, poverty, and crime of the city. The exodus of higher-income residents left older sections of the city to the working poor, many of whom were immigrants. The residential areas of the cities and suburbs both reflected and contributed to the class, race, ethnic, and cultural divisions in American society.

Skyscrapers As cities expanded outward, they also soared upward, since increasing land values in the central business district dictated the construction of taller and taller buildings. In 1885, William Le Baron Jenny built the ten-story Home Insurance Company Building in Chicago—the first true skyscraper with a steel skeleton. Structures of this size were made possible by such innovations as the Otis elevator and the central steam-heating system with radiators in every room. By 1900 steel-framed skyscrapers for offices of industry had replaced church spires as the dominant feature of American urban skylines.

Ethnic Neighborhoods As affluent citizens moved out of residences near the business district, the poor moved into them. To increase their profits, landlords divided up inner-city housing into small, windowless rooms. The resulting slums and tenement apartments could cram more than 4,000 people into one city block. In an attempt to correct unlivable conditions, New York City passed a law in 1879 that required each bedroom to have a window. The cheapest way for landlords to respond to the law was to build the so-called dumbbell tenements, with ventilation shafts in the center of the building to provide windows for each room. However, overcrowding and filth in new tenements continued to promote the spread of deadly diseases, such as cholera, typhoid, and tuberculosis.

In their crowded tenement quarters, different immigrant groups created distinct ethnic neighborhoods where each group could maintain its own language, culture, church or temple, and social club. Many groups even supported their own newspapers and schools. While often crowded, unhealthy, and crime-ridden, these neighborhoods (sometimes called "ghettos") often served as springboards for ambitious and hardworking immigrants and their children to achieve their version of the American dream.

Residential Suburbs The residential pattern in the United States contrasted with that of Europe, where wealthy people remained near the business districts of modern cities and lower-income people live in the outlying areas. Five factors prompted Americans who could afford to move to the suburbs: (1) abundant land available at low cost, (2) inexpensive transportation by rail, (3) low-cost construction methods such as the wooden, balloon-frame house, (4) ethnic and racial prejudice, and (5) an American fondness for grass, privacy, and detached individual houses.

Landscape architect Frederick Law Olmsted, who designed New York's Central Park in the 1860s, went on to design suburban communities with graceful curved roads and open spaces—"a village in the park." By 1900, suburbs had grown up around every major U.S. city, and a single-family dwelling surrounded by an ornamental lawn soon became the American ideal of comfortable living. Thus began the world's first suburban nation.

Private City Versus Public City At first, city residents tried to carry on life in large cities much as they had in small villages. Private enterprise shaped the development of American cities, and provided services such as streetcars and utilities for a profit. In time, increasing disease, crime, waste, water pollution, and air pollution slowly convinced reform-minded citizens and city governments of the need for municipal water purification, sewerage systems, waste disposal, street lighting, police departments, and zoning laws to regulate urban development. In the 1890s, the "City Beautiful" movement advanced grand plans to remake American cities with tree-lined boulevards, public parks and public cultural attractions. The debate between the private good and the public good in urban growth and development has continued as an open issue.

Boss and Machine Politics

The consolidation of power in business had its parallel in urban politics. Political parties in major cities came under the control of tightly organized groups of politicians, known as political machines. Each machine had its boss, the top politician who gave orders to the rank and file and doled out government jobs to loyal supporters. Several political machines, such as Tammany Hall in New York City, started as social clubs and later developed into power centers to coordinate the needs of businesses, immigrants, and the underprivileged. In return, machines asked for people's votes on election day.

Successful party bosses knew how to manage the competing social, ethnic, and economic groups in the city. Political machines often brought modern services to the city, including a crude form of welfare for urban newcomers. The political organization would find jobs and apartments for recently arrived immigrants and show up at a poor family's door with baskets of food during hard times. But the political machine could be greedy as well as generous and often stole millions from the taxpayers in the form of graft and fraud. In New York City in the 1860s, for example, an estimated 65 percent of public building funds ended up in the pockets of Boss Tweed and his cronies.

Awakening of Reform

Urban problems, including the desperate poverty of working-class families, inspired a new social consciousness among the middle class. Reform movements begun in earlier decades increased strength in the 1880s and 1890s.

Books of Social Criticism A San Francisco journalist, Henry George, published a provocative book in 1879 that became an instant best-seller and jolted readers to look more critically at the effects of laissez-faire economics. George called attention to the alarming inequalities in wealth caused by industrialization. In his book *Progress and Poverty*, George proposed one innovative solution to poverty: replacing all taxes with a single tax on land. Another popular book of social criticism, *Looking Backward, 2000–1887*, was written by Edward Bellamy in 1888. It envisioned a future era in which a cooperative society had eliminated poverty, greed, and crime. So enthusiastic were many of the readers of George's and Bellamy's books that they joined various reform movements and organizations to try to implement the authors' ideas. Both books encouraged a shift in American public opinion away from pure laissez-faire and toward greater government regulation.

Settlement Houses Concerned about the lives of the poor, a number of young, well-educated women and men of the middle class settled into immigrant neighborhoods to learn about the problems of immigrant families first-hand. Living and working in places called settlement houses, the young reformers hoped to relieve the effects of poverty by providing social services for people in the neighborhood. The most famous such experiment was Hull House in Chicago, which was started by Jane Addams and a college classmate in 1889. Settlement houses taught English to immigrants, pioneered early-childhood education, taught industrial arts, and established neighborhood theaters and music schools. By 1910 there were more than 400 settlement houses in America's largest cities.

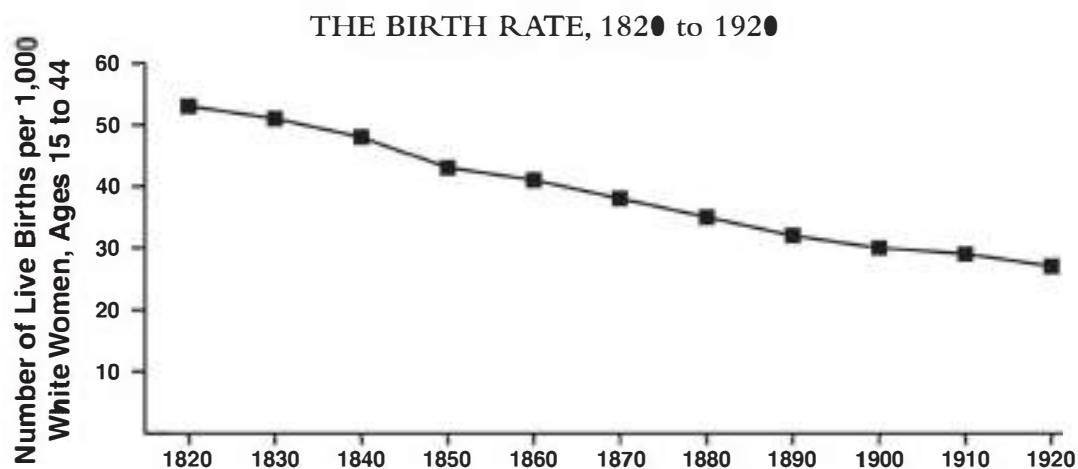
Settlement workers were civic-minded volunteers who created the foundation for the later job of social worker. They were also political activists who crusaded for child-labor laws, housing reform, and women's rights. Two settlement workers, Frances Perkins and Harry Hopkins, went on to leadership roles in President Franklin Roosevelt's reform program, the New Deal, in the 1930s.

Social Gospel In the 1880s and 1890s, a number of Protestant clergy espoused the cause of social justice for the poor—especially the urban poor. They preached what they called the Social Gospel, or the importance of applying Christian principles to social problems. Leading the Social Gospel movement in the late 19th and early 20th centuries was a Baptist minister from New York, Walter Rauschenbusch, who worked in the poverty-stricken neighborhood of New York City called Hell's Kitchen, wrote several books urging organized religions to take up the cause of social justice. His Social Gospel preaching linked Christianity with the Progressive reform movement (see Chapter 21) and encouraged many middle-class Protestants to attack urban problems.

Religion and Society All religions adapted to the stresses and challenges of modern urban living. Roman Catholicism grew rapidly from the influx of new immigrants. Catholic leaders such as Cardinal James Gibbons of Baltimore inspired the devoted support of old and new immigrants by defending the Knights of Labor and the cause of organized labor. Among Protestants, Dwight Moody, who founded the Moody Bible Institute in Chicago in 1889, would help generations of urban evangelists to adapt traditional Christianity to city life. The Salvation Army, imported from England in 1879, provided basic necessities to the homeless and the poor while preaching the Christian gospel.

Members of the urban middle class were attracted to the religious message of Mary Baker Eddy, who taught that good health was the result of correct thinking about “Father Mother God.” By the time of her death in 1910, hundreds of thousands had joined the church she had founded, the Church of Christ, Scientist—popularly known as Christian Science.

Families in Urban Society Urban life placed severe strains on parents and their children by isolating them from the extended family (relatives beyond the family nucleus of parents and children) and village support. Divorce rates increased to one in 12 marriages by 1900, partly because a number of state legislatures had expanded the grounds for divorce to include cruelty and desertion. Another consequence of the shift from rural to urban living was a reduction in family size. Children were an economic asset on the farm, where their labor was needed at an early age. In the city, however, they were more of an economic liability. Therefore, in the last decades of the 19th century, the national average for birthrates and family size continued to drop.



Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census. *Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1970*

Voting Rights for Women The cause of women’s suffrage, launched at Seneca Falls in 1848, was vigorously carried forward by a number of middle-class women. In 1890, two of the pioneer feminists of the 1840s, Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony of New York, helped found the National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA) to secure the vote for women.