

GROWTH OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE

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Middle and the Southern colonies the settlers were scattered over a wider area and there were comparatively few towns and villages. They lived on plantations and farms, often several miles distant from one another. Before 1763 probably more than ninety per cent of the people were engaged in agriculture or in closely related occupations.

The causes of immigration, the types and problems of immigrants, and their influence on colonial life. A great change took place in the racial character of the population of the colonies from about 1689 to 1763. At the former date more than ninety per cent of the people were English; at the latter this ratio had fallen to about sixty per cent. This change was caused by the immigration of Germans, "Scotch-Irish," Irish, and other non-English races, and by the importation of a large number of African Negroes.

Immigration was caused partly by conditions in the Old World. Lack of economic opportunity induced most immigrants to set out for America, the land of promise, where they believed there was a chance to acquire wealth quickly. "Land hunger" induced all classes of Europeans to sail westward across the Atlantic. Even very poor people, who had never owned a foot of land, hoped to satisfy their desire to own a home. Some persons wished to escape arbitrary government, religious persecution, and the sufferings caused by wars. Most of the colonies, on the other hand, offered to deserving immigrants practically free land and religious toleration, except in New England.

Most immigrants came in small overcrowded ships. The voyage across the Atlantic Ocean took from two to four months. Food was scarce and poor; in fact, occasionally the passengers had to eat rats. The lack of medical aid was a problem. In some cases half of the immigrants on a single ship died during the voyage, especially when contagious diseases broke out. Many of the immigrants came as indentured servants [p. 86]. Free settlers were obliged to make a hard and dangerous journey to the frontier and at first lived in rough log cabins. Immigrants sometimes remained as aliens for a long time,

from choice or because of harsh naturalization laws. Catholics were usually denied the privilege of citizenship.

Important Immigrant Groups: The Germans. Conditions in Germany were intolerable in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, because of bad political, economic, and religious conditions which followed numerous and devastating wars. A large portion of the fertile regions of southern Germany, in the Palatinate, had been laid waste in the Thirty Years' War (1618-1648). Thousands lost their homes, crops, and cattle. These conditions, together with religious persecution, caused a large emigration from Germany to the colonies, particularly to Pennsylvania. By 1750 about 70,000 Germans, later called the "Pennsylvania Dutch" lived in Pennsylvania. After 1730 many Germans moved from Pennsylvania to the western portions of the Southern colonies, attracted there by better and cheaper lands. By 1763 perhaps 125,000 Germans were living in all the colonies. They were a religious-minded group; a tolerant, peaceful, thrifty, homeloving, and industrious people with unusual skill in agriculture. Among their leaders were Francis Daniel Pastorius, a highly-educated man, a leader of the Germantown settlement; Christopher Sauer, who established the first German newspaper in Philadelphia; Jacob Leisler, who courageously led the rebellion which gave New York a permanent popular assembly; and John Peter Zenger of New York, the hero of the fight for liberty of speech and press.

Scotch and Irish. In northern Ireland there lived a sturdy people of Scotch origin, whose ancestors came there about 1610 upon the invitation of James I of England. The Scotch were given, unjustly, lands taken from the Irish, because King James I thought that they would be more loyal to England. The "Scotch-Irish" were not a mixture of Scotch and Irish, in spite of the name. On the contrary, they remained Scotch and retained Scotch habits, customs, religion, and ideals. Because England hampered their political, economic, and religious life, many emigrated to America, particularly to western Pennsylvania. Later, like the Germans, a large number moved

from this colony to western Maryland, Virginia, North and South Carolina, and Georgia. By 1763 perhaps 150,000 were living in the colonies. They fought bravely in the colonial wars and helped to resist the attacks of the French and the Indians. In the words of Theodore Roosevelt, "They were as tough as the handles on their hickory axes." They loved religious and political liberty and produced numerous fighting political leaders during the revolution. Patrick Henry was one of these.

The Irish migrated to the colonies from central and southern Ireland, particularly to Pennsylvania and to Boston. The number of immigrants was greater than was formerly believed, because many have been erroneously classified as "Scotch-Irish." The Irish disliked the English because of political, economic, and religious persecution. Most of the Irish who fought in the War for Independence joined the patriot side [p. 67].

French Huguenots, Jews, and other racial groups. Many French Huguenots emigrated to the colonies, particularly after Louis XIV revoked the Edict of Nantes (1685), which deprived this sect of the religious toleration they had enjoyed. They settled in New York, Virginia, South Carolina, and Massachusetts. Though comparatively few in number, the Huguenots were influential in colonial life. They formed in each settlement a group which was noted for its religious fervor and good citizenship. Paul Revere and Peter Faneuil of Massachusetts and Henry Laurens of South Carolina were of Huguenot extraction. The Jews settled in the larger towns and engaged in trade and commerce: in New York City, where they organized a synagogue, the first in America (1682); in Charleston, South Carolina; and in Newport, Rhode Island. The commercial importance of this town was, in part, due to the business ability of the Jews. Still other smaller racial groups lived in various colonies, such as the Scotch, the Welsh, and the Swiss in Pennsylvania, and a few representatives of nearly every racial stock of Europe.

Negroes. Negro slaves were introduced into Virginia in 1619, but it was not until after 1700 that they were brought

into the Southern colonies in large numbers. All children of slaves were by law slaves. There were about 400,000 Negro slaves in the American colonies by 1763. Next to the English, the largest racial group was the African Negroes. They performed most of the labor in the South and made interesting cultural contributions, such as their folklore and music.

America had a mixed population by 1763. If we count the Negro slaves, at least forty per cent were non-English. Even the so-called English stock was not pure, because there had been intermarriage of the English with other races. Important unifying influences existed, such as the common use of the English language, laws, literature, forms of government, and political and social ideals.

THE WESTWARD MOVEMENT, FRONTIER SOCIETY, DEMOCRACY, AND SECTIONALISM

Some causes of the first westward movement, geographic influences, routes to the "Old West" and the conditions of settlement. About 1720 began the settlement of the back-country and frontier regions, the westward movement of the population. The colonial assemblies wished: (1) to protect the people on the seaboard from the attacks of the French and the Indians; (2) to develop the natural resources (land and forests) of this region. A large population would help to accomplish both of these purposes. The assemblies also wished to give wealthy men the opportunity to speculate in western lands. William Byrd and George Washington of Virginia benefited by this policy. Several classes of people moved to the West. Indentured servants, after the completion of their service, were granted fifty acres of free land, a part of their "freedom dues," located usually in the frontier region. Since the tidewater lands decreased rapidly in fertility, because of lack of fertilization, good land became scarce and high in price. Poor people and immigrants were therefore forced to settle on the frontier where land was plentiful and cheap. Some people from the tidewater area moved to the frontier region because of a desire for more political and religious freedom.

Squatters (those who settle on land without paying for it) were many in western Pennsylvania and in the back country of the Southern colonies. They were in continual trouble with the Indians, the great proprietors, like William Penn and Lord

Baltimore, the king, and others who held title to land. Governor James Logan of Pennsylvania referred to such settlers as "bold and indigent strangers who possess themselves of land in an audacious manner."

In 1727 he complained that many thousands of foreigners were already in the country; that 1500, from different parts of Europe, came that summer; that they settled "on any spot of vacant land they can find without asking questions." Such settlers often thought of land as a "natural right" [p. 121]. Many

Germans and Scotch-Irish, who migrated



From S. E. Forman's *The American Republic*.
D. Appleton-Century Company

from Pennsylvania to the Shenandoah Valley, held no legal title to the land they occupied. Between 1732 and 1740 out of 670,000 acres, about 400,000 were illegally settled. It has been estimated (1760) that 100,000 settlers had squatted in Pennsylvania.

Where frontier settlements were located and why the frontier was the home of democratic ideals. Frontier settlements were located mainly in the western and northern parts of New England, in the upper Hudson and Mohawk valleys

men who tried to bribe the Americans and referred to them as "Messieurs X. Y. Z." Consequently many Americans now cooled in their sympathy for France and Adams became more popular. Congress prepared for, but did not actually declare, war. It decided that the French Treaty of 1778 was null and void, permitted naval and merchant vessels to capture French ships on the high seas, and enlarged the army. In the "Naval War of 1798" the American navy captured nearly a hundred French ships. Neither Adams



JOHN ADAMS

nor Talleyrand actually desired war. The latter wished to "bluff" the United States and was himself financially interested in privateering, which flourished during this little war. Moreover, he knew that war with the United States would mean a new ally for England. He therefore explained that the Directory had nothing to do with the attempted bribe of America's representatives and even ordered French commanders and priva-

teers to respect the rights of American shippers. President Adams now decided to send a special commission to France and the Senate dared not, in the face of Republican opposition, refuse to ratify the appointments. The commission was received by Napoleon who had made himself First Consul of France. A treaty was agreed to but the question of damages due Americans on account of destruction of American commerce was not settled.

Why the Federalists passed the Alien and Sedition Acts and were soon sorry for their mistake. Soon after the French Revolution and the outbreak of the European War, thousands of revolutionary-minded Frenchmen came to America, most of whom joined Jefferson's party. A few became editors of Republican newspapers and bitterly criticized the Federalists. Hoping to silence their enemies and prevent the

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increase of Republican voters, the Federalists forced several acts through Congress (1798). The Naturalization Act compelled an alien to wait fourteen years, instead of five years, before becoming an American citizen. The Alien Act, limited two years, permitted the president to order the deportation of aliens, considered dangerous to the peace and safety of the United States. The Alien Enemies Act allowed the president, in time of War, to deport subjects of any country with which the United States was at war.

The Sedition Act provided for a penalty not exceeding two years in prison and a fine not exceeding \$2000, on any one, for writing, printing, uttering, or publishing "false, scandalous, and malicious" writing or writings "against the government of the United States, or either house of the Congress of the United States, or the President of the United States, with intent to bring them—into contempt or disrepute." A score of persons were arrested for violating the Sedition law and ten were convicted, mainly Republican newspaper editors. One man, who declared that Adams had an "unbounded thirst for ridiculous pomp," was jailed for four months and fined a thousand dollars. However, a comparison of the working of these laws and their wording with the Sedition and Espionage laws of 1917-1918 will show that the Federalists passed comparatively mild laws of this nature.

Why Thomas Jefferson and James Madison wrote the Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions. The Republicans immediately declared that the Alien and Sedition Acts were unconstitutional; that the Constitution was a compact. The Kentucky Resolutions were written by Jefferson and adopted November 16, 1798. They were similar to the Virginia Resolutions, written by Madison which appeared December 24, 1798, and read: "That this assembly doth explicitly . . . declare, that it views the powers of the Federal Government as resulting from the compact to which the States are parties, as limited by the plain sense and intention of the instrument constituting that compact." They further declared: "That the General Assembly doth particularly protest against the palpable and alarming infractions of the Constitution, in the two late

cases of the 'Alien and Sedition Acts' passed at the last session of Congress." Madison said that the States had a right to interpose for arresting the progress of the evil (seizure of their powers by the central government) and for "maintaining unimpaired . . . the authorities, rights, and liberties, reserved to the State respectively, or to the people." He called attention to the first amendment to the Constitution which forbade Congress to make any law interfering with "liberty of conscience and of the press."

In the second Kentucky Resolutions of November 22, 1799, Jefferson declared: "That the several states who formed that instrument [the Constitution], being sovereign and independent, have the unquestionable right to judge of the infraction: and, *That a Nullification, by those sovereignties, of all unauthorized acts done under color of that instrument is the rightful remedy.*" Other Southern States refused to support these resolutions.

States like Massachusetts and Illinois, as well as Virginia, appealed to the States' rights doctrine, when their interests were endangered by Congress. Federalist State legislatures claimed that the Supreme Court, not the State legislatures, should decide on the constitutionality of acts of Congress.

Why opposition to Federalist policies increased. Jefferson's party gained strength among the common people because it championed States' rights, opposed the increase in the power of the national government and control by the "well-born." Several events hastened the "revolution of 1800" when the Republicans defeated the Federalists. The X. Y. Z. Affair, and the preparation for war with France caused heavy taxes for military and naval expenditures and reduced revenues from imports, so that Congress was forced to borrow \$3,000,000 at eight per cent interest. Business was poor and large losses were caused by the war. Because of the Alien and Sedition laws the Federalists became very unpopular.

The personality of President John Adams was also a factor. A member of his cabinet spoke of him as one "who whether sportful, playful, witty, drunk, sober, angry, easy, stiff, jealous, careless, cautious, confident, close, or open, is almost always in the wrong place." John Adams, however, was a man of great ability, of independent judgment, patriotic and generally accu-

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rate in his judgments. The death of Washington was a great loss to the Federalists because he was universally loved by nearly all Americans regardless of political views. His influence could no longer be a source of strength to the Federalists.

How Thomas Jefferson was elected third President of the United States: the "revolution of 1800." The election of 1800 brought before the people two opposing theories of governmental control—rule by the "well-born" and rule by the people. The conservative Federalists believed that men of ability, education, and wealth, whose chief purpose was to protect property rights, should control the government. They abhorred violence and the passions of the mob. The Federalist Party had served the country well by helping to frame, launch, organize, and strengthen the new government. But now important problems faced the country—the settlement of the great West, for instance. The ideals of the Federalists were not in harmony with the democratic environment of America.

In the election of 1800 Thomas Jefferson and Aaron Burr were the Republican candidates and John Adams and Charles C.

Pinckney were the standard-bearers of the Federalists. When the vote was taken in the Electoral College Jefferson and Burr tied for first place, each having 73 electoral votes, while John Adams received 65 and Pinckney 64. Under the Constitution the election was thrown into the House of Representatives, where each State had one vote and must elect either Burr or Jefferson as President. Both men were enemies of Hamilton but, choosing the lesser of the two evils, he induced three Federalist electors to cast blank ballots. As a result Jefferson was elected. In the Congressional elections the Republicans won a majority in both the Senate and the House of Repre-

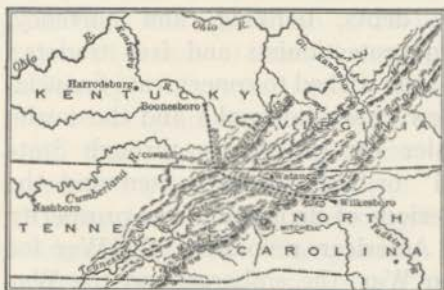


THOMAS JEFFERSON

though the people as a whole were more enlightened in 1815 than were they in 1763, many persons could neither read nor write, and ignorance and superstition were common.

POPULATION, IMMIGRATION, AND RACIAL ELEMENTS

How the increase and distribution of population, particularly west of the Alleghenies, influenced national and sectional problems. Population increased from 1,500,000 in 1763 [p. 65] to 3,000,000 (of whom 500,000 were Negro slaves) in 1776. When Washington became President there were about 4,000,000, not so many people as now live in New York City alone, and in 1810, 7,239,881. Thus in about fifty years the population increased almost five times, mainly from



BOONE'S TRAIL TO THE WEST

natural causes—large families of six to ten children—rather than from immigration. An important change occurred in the distribution of population. From 1763, and for some time before, many persons migrated from Pennsylvania south to the frontiers of Virginia, the Carolinas, and

Georgia. Similarly, from eastern Massachusetts and southern Connecticut, and from eastern New York and Pennsylvania people moved west to the frontiers of these States and northward into Maine, New Hampshire, and Vermont.

After the close of the War of Independence, people moved west across the Alleghenies into the Kentucky, the Tennessee, and the Ohio regions; and in large numbers between 1790 and 1815. The result of these movements was a shifting and redistribution of population. By 1815, more than half the people were living under frontier conditions in the regions called the "Old West" and the "New West." In 1790, the center of population was near Baltimore, but moved west at the rate of about fifty miles every ten years. By 1810 the million people who

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lived west of the Alleghenies began to influence our political, economic, and social ideals. This new distribution of population spread the people over a larger area, shifted the population farther inland, in frontier regions containing only a few people to the square mile, where almost everybody was engaged in agricultural rather than in industrial pursuits.

Some important political, economic, and social changes caused by some shifts in the population. In the Northeast occurred the growth of towns and cities and a variety of industries, caused by the scarcity of good land and by the industrial revolution. Wealth increased more rapidly in this section than in the South and the West.

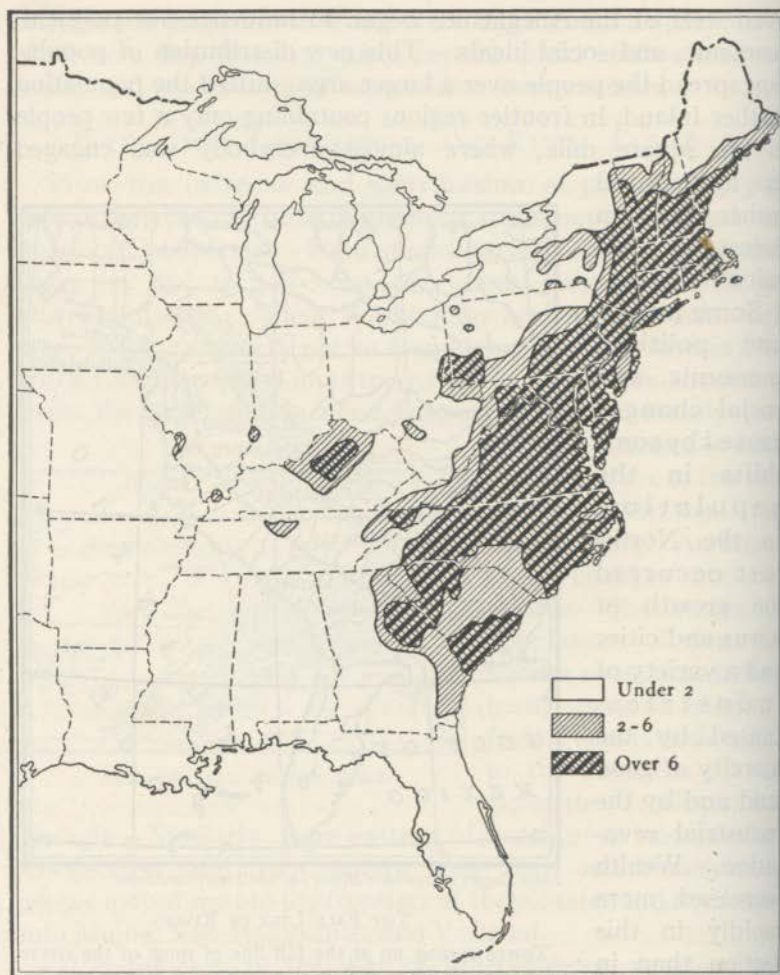
Wealth breeds political conservatism. Hence it was no accident that the Federalists were strong in this section. They were mainly responsible for the conservative character of the Constitution. Jeffersonian Republicans, on the other hand, occupied the back country, the rural areas of the South and the West, where the people were poor. The shift of population to the West



From Bogart's *Economic History of the American People*.

THE FALL LINE OF RIVERS

Towns sprang up at the fall line of most of the rivers, because of the presence there of water power and because of the interruption to navigation at that point.



From Bogart's *Economic History of the American People*. Longmans

POPULATION PER SQUARE MILE, 1790

hastened the negotiation of treaties with England and with Spain [pp. 205-207], the purchase of Louisiana and the formation of new western States, Kentucky, Tennessee, and Ohio. It explains the growth of the idea of western expansion and the influence of the expansionists on the War of 1812 [p.

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235]. It hastened the beginnings of the sectional conflict — East and West ; particularly the dispute over the method of selling the public lands. The conflict between the supporters of a national bank and those who favored State banks was also hastened by this new distribution of the population. It was also a cause of the great conflict between the agricultural and the manufacturing interests for the control of the government.

Some causes of decreased immigration ; the types and problems of immigrants and how they influenced American life. Many immigrants came to America in the period 1720-1763 [p. 66], but immigration was retarded by the revolution, the War for Independence, the European wars, the War of 1812 and Old World restrictions. During the wars, European nations wanted to keep every man eligible for military service. War also made emigration dangerous and expensive. Unfavorable accounts were written by Englishmen for the purpose of discouraging emigration to the United States and inducing people to emigrate to Canada. Not more than 150,000 immigrants came to America in this period.

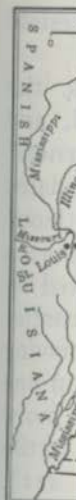
During the Federalist era foreigners met opposition (Alien and Sedition Acts) and some of the Federalist leaders feared that many aliens could not be Americanized. In the early national period some immigrants of non-English stock made notable contributions to American life. Thus the two great Secretaries of the Treasury were not native Americans : Alexander Hamilton was born in the West Indies, half-Scotch and half-French, while Gallatin was a Swiss by birth. Reduced immigration, intermarriage between racial stocks, the influence of environment, education, language, and the nationalizing influence of the American revolution, the Constitution, and the War of 1812 —all these factors tended to unify the American people in blood and in ideals in 1815 as they had not been unified in 1763.

THE WESTWARD MOVEMENT, FRONTIER SOCIETY, DEMOCRACY, AND SECTIONALISM

Some causes of the second westward movement ; geographic influences, routes to the "New West," numbers and the conditions of settlement. The chief causes of the

second westward movement were the rapid increase of population, the growing scarcity of good land and its high prices, and the abundance of low-priced lands in Kentucky, Tennessee, and Ohio. Many poor people emigrated to the West because as squatters they could occupy land without cost. Rich men also moved West, because of the opportunity to increase their wealth by speculating in western lands. The national government sold to the Ohio Company (1787), and to other companies, millions of acres of land at a very low price. Virginia and North Carolina made extensive land grants in their western possessions; the areas which later became the States of Kentucky (1792) and Tennessee (1796). Then, too, an act of Congress (1804) made it possible to purchase as small a tract as 160 acres and the government did not strictly enforce its laws against squatting. Many soldiers of the Revolutionary War were paid for their services in land bounties in the West. The admission of Kentucky, Tennessee, and Ohio as States (1792-1802) gave the western settlers self-government similar to that in the older States.

Several routes led to the West. The early pioneers walked over the mountains or rode horseback along Boone's trail—only an Indian trail—to Kentucky and Tennessee. Another route was across Pennsylvania over the Forbes wagon road to Pittsburgh and then by flatboat down the Ohio to the Mississippi; thence up the rivers flowing into the Mississippi and the Ohio. Some settlers followed the old Braddock road, that used by Washington and Braddock in 1754-1755. Another route was by way of New Orleans and up the Mississippi, a very slow and laborious journey until the introduction of the steamboat on the western rivers (1812). Emigrants from northern New York and New England moved west by way of Albany and the Mohawk Valley, thence over the Genesee road and on to Lake Erie and Ohio. Roads were so extremely poor that it was likely to take twenty-four hours to travel a few miles. Wagons were sometimes "mired" in mud up to the hubs. There were few bridges and it was often dangerous to ford rivers, particularly in the spring. Emigrants after 1815 could



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the urbanization ("city-izing") of this first home of the industrial revolution. The East and the West had opposing economic interests. The leaders disagreed on such questions as the tariff, public lands, and banking. The North and the South were also in conflict on the questions of territorial expansion (Texas) and extension of slavery into the territories. Thus the increase and the distribution of population sharpened sectional antagonism, North and South, and East and West. New problems arose between classes: agricultural and manufacturing, capital and labor, groups.

The causes of immigration, classes and problems of the immigrants. We have noted some of the early causes and effects of immigration [pp. 66, 251]. In this period the outstanding fact is the coming of an enormous number of immigrants, over 5,000,000. Some of the causes were: (1) the close of the Napoleonic Wars and the War of 1812; (2) the European revolutions of 1830 and 1848, particularly in Germany; (3) the potato famine in Ireland, 1845-1846. In America, there was a demand for laborers for work on roads, canals, and railroads, and for factory labor. After 1820 the low price of Western land, \$1.25 per acre, induced many poor people to leave their old homes in order to better their economic condition; to escape the high rents and unfair demands of landlords, so common in the Old World. From Great Britain came about one-half and from Germany about one-third of our immigrants. The latter country sent 2,300,000 (1840 to 1860) and Ireland over 1,000,000. Most of the German immigrants became farmers, half of them settling in the West. Eighty per cent of the Irish located in the East, largely in the cities.

How the immigrant influenced American life. The immigrant influenced political, economic, and social conditions. He was usually a Democrat, particularly the Irishman, patriotic and nationalistic. Because of the European revolutions of 1848, some political "radicals" came to America; a German, who later became a noted political leader, was Carl Schurz. Antagonism between native Americans and foreigners arose, for both economic and religious reasons. Many immigrants were willing to work for low wages. Employers, with an eye to the



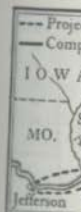
From Bogart. After Bidwell and Falconer

largest profits possible, welcomed such laborers. But cheap labor forced Americans to adopt a lower standard of living. Many very poor immigrants from England and Ireland were aided to emigrate, or were deported, in order to lessen the cost of their support. Some of them became a burden in America. One investigation showed that the almshouses of New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Boston sheltered 4700 native Americans and 5300 foreigners. Congress was requested to prevent the "dumping on our shores" of "paupers." Religious antagonism arose between natives and some foreigners. This stimulated some anti-foreign sentiment, "nativism," and caused the formation of the *American or Know Nothing party* [p. 391]. The platform of this party demanded that only native citizens should vote or hold office, and that no foreigner should become a citizen unless he had resided in America for twenty-one years.

The Census of 1860 showed about 4,000,000 foreign-born in the country. Besides the Irish and the Germans there were Scandinavians (mainly Norwegians and Swedes), French-Canadians, Dutch, Swiss, Austrians, Poles, Italians, and other races. The percentage of native whites, however, was high, 72.7; that of the Negro was next, 14.4, and the foreign-born whites, 12.9. The latter varied in the different sections; the North and Northwest having about 17 per cent while the South and the Southwest had only 5 per cent. Since nearly all immigrants were opposed to slavery, many were favorable to the abolition movement.

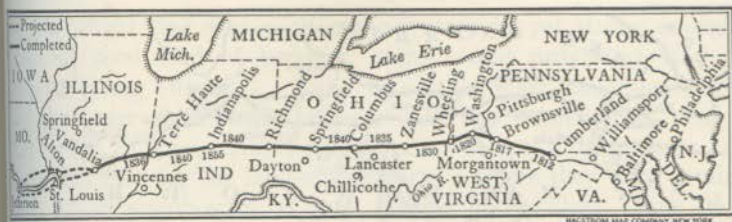
THE WESTWARD MOVEMENT, FRONTIER SOCIETY, DEMOCRACY, AND SECTIONALISM

Some causes of the third westward movement; geographical influences. The westward movement began in the colonial period and was marked by the filling up of the back-country regions of the original thirteen colonies. Immigrants, freed servants, and poor people, often squatters, moved West because of the scarcity or the high price of good land [p. 69]. After the revolution, pressure of population and the desire for rich, cheap land caused a second westward movement to the



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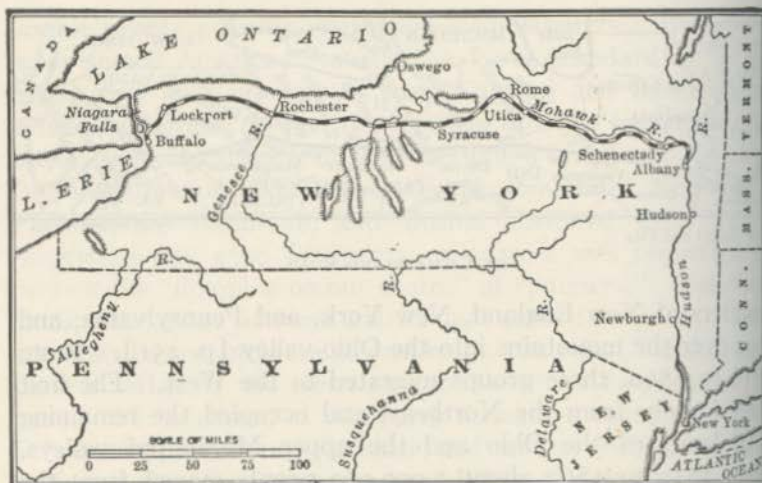
THE CUMBERLAND ROAD

frontiers of New England, New York, and Pennsylvania, and then over the mountains into the Ohio valley [p. 251]. From 1816 to 1860, three groups migrated to the West. The first came largely from the Northeast and occupied the remaining good lands of the Ohio and the upper Mississippi valleys. From 1810 to 1860 about 5,000,000 people moved from the Atlantic seaboard to the West and perhaps 3,000,000 immigrants did likewise.

The principal reasons for this migration were similar to those previously mentioned, pressure of population and the attraction of rich, low-priced land. Improved means of transportation—roads, canals, and finally railroads—cheapened the cost of moving West and of sending farm products East. Immigrants moved from the Old South to the rich lands of Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Missouri, Texas, and to the territory acquired from Mexico. Many new cotton and sugar plantations were established, and so the slavery system was extended. A third group journeyed to the extreme Northwest, to Minnesota, the Dakotas, the Oregon country and to California, where gold was discovered in 1848.

New and improved routes to the West speeded up immigration. Many pioneers still used the old Forbes Road from Philadelphia to Pittsburgh, going by flatboat down the Ohio. A graphic description of migration by this route is given by McMaster:

If the traveller were a settler coming from the East with his family and his goods, he would repair to Pittsburgh, lay in a stock of powder and ball, purchase provisions for a month, and secure two or three structures which passed by the name of boats. In the long



ROUTE OF THE ERIE CANAL

keel-boat he would place his wife, his children, and such strangers as had been waiting at Fort Pitt for a chance to travel in company. In the flat-boat or the ark, would be the cattle and the stores. The keel-boat was hastily and clumsily made. The hold was shallow, the cabin was low. Over the stern projected a huge oar which, mounted on a swivel, was called a sweep, and performed all the duties of a rudder. The ark was of rough plank intended to be used for building at some settlement where saw-mills were scarce. . . In these crafts, if the water were high and swift, if they did not become entangled in the branches of overhanging trees, if the current did not drive them on an island or dash them against the bank, in a bend, if the sawyers and planters were skilfully avoided, and if no fog compelled the boatmen to lie to and make fast to a tree, it was possible to drift from Pittsburgh to Wheeling in twelve hours.*

Routes and conditions of settlement. The "National Pike" or Cumberland Road was another way of reaching the West [p. 446]. An early account of travel over this road through Pennsylvania reads as follows :

We are seldom out of sight, as we travel on this grand track towards Ohio, of family groups, behind and before us. . . A small

* From McMaster's *History of the United States*, Vol. II, p. 144. By permission of D. Appleton-Century Company.

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in Congress. The gold rush of 1897 fastened the attention of Congress upon this rich possession. From 1896 to 1903 the territory received favorable legislation on homesteads, transportation, and a code of law (criminal and civil).

Chinese immigration restricted. President Hayes vetoed a bill restricting Chinese immigration because he said it conflicted with the Burlingame Treaty. President Arthur, in 1882, vetoed another bill which proposed to keep out for a period of twenty years such immigrants (mostly laborers). Finally, in this same year a law was passed which restricted the immigration of Chinese laborers for a period of ten years, but permitted those already in the country the right to re-enter after leaving.

In this period the foreign policy of the United States indicated a willingness to annex territory beyond its continental area. On the other hand, it gave support to the plan of arbitration in the settlement of international disputes.

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and hence we demand that all State and national revenues shall be limited to the necessary expenses of the government, economically and honestly administered. We demand that postal savings-banks be established by the government for the safe deposit of the earnings of the people and to facilitate exchange. Transportation being a means of exchange and a public necessity, the government should own and operate the railroads in the interest of the people. The telegraph and the telephone, like the post-office system being a necessity for the transmission of news, should be owned and operated by the government in the interest of the people. The land, including all natural sources of wealth, is the heritage of the people, and should not be monopolized for speculative purposes, and alien ownership of land should be prohibited. All land now held by railroads and other corporations in excess of their actual needs, and all lands now owned by aliens, should be reclaimed by the government and held for actual settlers only.

The Populists hoped to strengthen the power of the people by introducing into the States the Australian ballot, the initiative and the referendum, and the direct election of the United States senators. Some of these suggestions have been carried out by amendments to the Constitution and by laws passed by Congress and by State legislatures.

Attitude of Big Business towards cheap immigrant labor. The general attitude of Big Business toward immigration [pp. 709-713] was that of obtaining a large supply of labor at low wages. This policy however would tend to lower the standard of living of Americans. Still, following the Civil War, the working class did not make serious complaints against immigration. Now however it became the practice of manufacturers, steamship, mining, and railroad companies to employ agents in Europe who advertised for laborers. After their arrival many were employed under a contract usually at low wages. Congress had passed an act (1864) to encourage immigration. It had allowed the engagement, under contract, of immigrant laborers. That is, their passage was paid for in advance by pledging their wages, for a term not exceeding twelve months.

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Big Business, almost every large employer of labor, was in favor of this bill. The American Emigrant Company was formed. Its business was the importation of laborers, upon orders from employers. The latter paid the company a commission and advanced money to pay for the expenses of the passage of immigrants. As labor organizations became stronger they endeavored especially to prevent the importation of contract laborers.

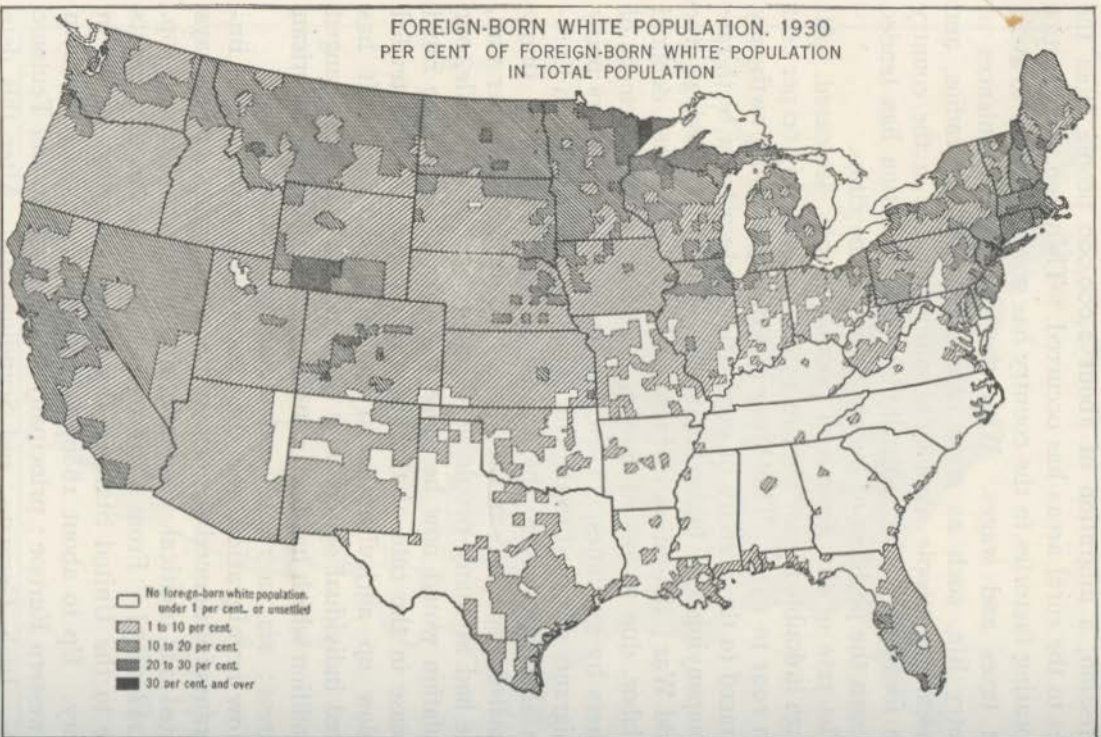
Congress finally passed an act (1885) which made it unlawful for anyone to prepay the transportation or in any way to assist or encourage the importation of foreigners under any kind of contract, except skilled workmen in a new industry when they could not otherwise be obtained. The act was amended two years later empowering the Secretary of the Treasury to deport contract laborers, and again to compel the ship owner to bear the expense of the return of a contract immigrant.

Chinese cheap labor. Similar to the problem of contract labor was that of Chinese cheap labor. The Chinese came to America in large numbers at the time of the discovery of gold in California (1848) where they were welcomed. Chinese coolies were imported by the Pacific railway companies to do the rough construction work. About 1877 anti-Chinese agitation increased on the ground that the Chinese were depriving the American workingman of employment. The California constitution, submitted to the people in 1879, contained provisions forbidding corporations from employing Chinese, debarring the latter from suffrage, forbidding their employment on public works and annulling all contracts for coolie labor. In Pennsylvania Chinese were imported to break strikes. The Burlingame treaty with China (1868) had allowed Chinese subjects to travel in the United States but had denied them the right of naturalization [p. 556]. Congress, however, abrogated this treaty. These illustrations show the conflict of interests between Big Business and its desire for cheap labor and the American workingman who wished to protect his job and raise his standard of living.

depression, a migration of about 2,000,000 people from the cities to the rural areas has occurred. Then, too, the practice of locating factories in the country has grown in order to avoid high taxes and wages. With the modern conveniences of country life, such as good roads, automobiles, radios, and amusements, people were more willing to live in the country than formerly. The redistribution of population has tended to lessen the problem of overcrowding in the cities.

The rate of the growth of population has decreased. Although it doubled from 1871 to 1900, it gained only 60 per cent from 1901 to 1930. This lower rate of population growth may be traced to the scarcity of good, free land; a lower birth rate accompanying the higher cost and standard of living; the World War; limitation of immigration; the lessened demand for labor, due to loss of foreign markets and displacement of laborers by machines. Then, too, in the last ten years many immigrants returned to the Old World. Compared with European states, however, the United States is still very thinly populated, especially in the West. To put it in another way, if we had as many people as Germany, per square mile, our population would now be more than *one billion*. The rapid decrease in the rate of the growth of population has tended to slow up agricultural and industrial expansion. It has limited individual opportunity for "success." It has changed a condition which has been considered as essential to American progress; *viz.*, a rapidly expanding population.

How immigration and the classes and problems of immigrants influenced American life. Immigration has always affected our political, economic, and social development [pp. 248, 413]. From 1861 to 1933, 33,000,000 immigrants came to the United States—the largest migration known in history. Up to about 1880, 75 per cent came from northern and western Europe; principally from the Celtic and Teutonic races—Irish, Germans, and Scandinavians. After this date "new immigration" took place; that largely from eastern and southern Europe; from Russia, Poland, Austria-Hungary, Italy, and the Balkan states. For example, in the period 1911-1915, only 17 per cent of our immigrants came from northern



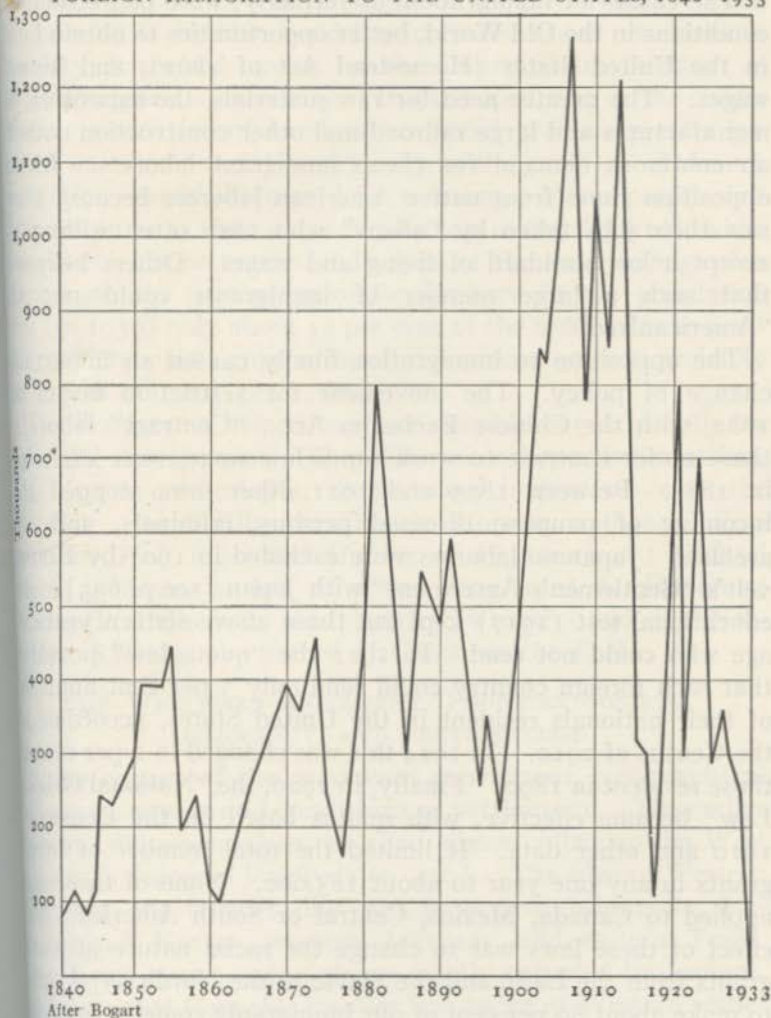
Reproduced from C. O. Paullin's *Atlas of the Historical Geography of the United States*. By permission of the Carnegie Institution of Washington and the American Geographical Society of New York

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FOREIGN IMMIGRATION TO THE UNITED STATES, 1840-1933



and western, while 67 per cent came from southern and eastern Europe. The severe immigration laws of 1921 to 1930 changed this proportion so that the racial origin of immigrants, after 1929, became about the same as in 1880 [p. 709].

The causes of immigration, as formerly, were bad economic conditions in the Old World, better opportunities to obtain land in the United States (Homestead Act of 1862), and higher wages. The greater need for raw materials, the expansion of manufactures and large railroad and other construction caused an enormous demand for cheap immigrant laborers. Bitter opposition came from native American laborers because they saw their jobs taken by "aliens" who were often willing to accept a low standard of living and wages. Others believed that such a large number of immigrants could not be "Americanized."

The opposition to immigration finally caused an important change of policy. The movement for restriction began in 1882, with the Chinese Exclusion Act. "Contract" laborers, those under contract to work for a low wage, were excluded in 1885. Between 1893 and 1921 other laws stopped the incoming of paupers, diseased persons, criminals, and anarchists. Japanese laborers were excluded in 1907 by Roosevelt's "Gentlemen's Agreement" with Japan [see p. 633]. An educational test (1917) kept out those above sixteen years of age who could not read. In 1921 the "quota law" provided that each foreign country could send only 3 per cent annually of their nationals resident in the United States, according to the Census of 1910. In 1924 this was changed to 2 per cent of those resident in 1890. Finally, in 1929, the "National Origins Law" became effective, with quotas based on the Census of 1920 and other data. It limited the total number of immigrants in any one year to about 165,000. None of these acts applied to Canada, Mexico, Central or South America. The effect of these laws was to change the racial nature of immigrants from the Latin and the Slavic to the Nordic type; *viz.*, to make about 80 per cent of our immigrants come from northern and western Europe. Another reason for restriction was the fear that alien radicals, such as anarchists, might try to overthrow the American form of government.

The general conditions of life in America have changed in the last generation. Formerly we welcomed an unlimited number of immigrants because of our abundance of good cheap

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land and the need of a large supply of low-priced labor. With the passing of free land and the increased use of machines in industry, it seemed unwise for the United States to admit so many foreigners as formerly. It was hoped that in the course of time restriction of immigration would produce greater political unity and racial purity. Thus the problem of Americanization would become less pressing. More people left America in 1931 than came in; 89,000 aliens departed, while only about 43,000 entered. In spite of the large immigration since 1900 the percentage of foreign-born in our population was (in 1930) only about 14 per cent of the total. If the present restrictive laws are continued, this percentage will probably decline in the next generation.

The immigrants helped to make possible our extraordinary industrial development. They also made important contributions to our cultural life. Some noted immigrants were the following: Jacob Riis, the Danish reformer, author of *How the Other Half Lives* and *Making of An American*; Michael Pupin, inventor, author of *From Immigrant to Inventor*; Charles P. Steinmetz, the electrical wizard; and the Norwegian, Rølvaag, the author of *Giants in the Earth*.

THE WESTWARD MOVEMENT, FRONTIER SOCIETY, DEMOCRACY, AND SECTIONALISM

Some causes of the westward movement, geographical influences, routes and conditions of settlement. The earlier westward movements had, by 1860, almost filled up the West to the 95th degree of longitude [p. 419]. The edge of Western settlement, the frontier line, was in eastern Minnesota, Nebraska, and Kansas, western Arkansas, and eastern Texas. Beyond was a vast region almost wholly occupied by Indians, which extended from this frontier line (edge of Western settlement) to the Rocky Mountains; roughly 1000 miles from east to west, reaching from the northern boundary of the United States to Mexico. The most important new influence affecting the westward movement was the famous Homestead Act of 1862, signed by Lincoln. For a hundred years or more settlers had demanded free land in the West. The squatters