

American History: From Foundations to 1900



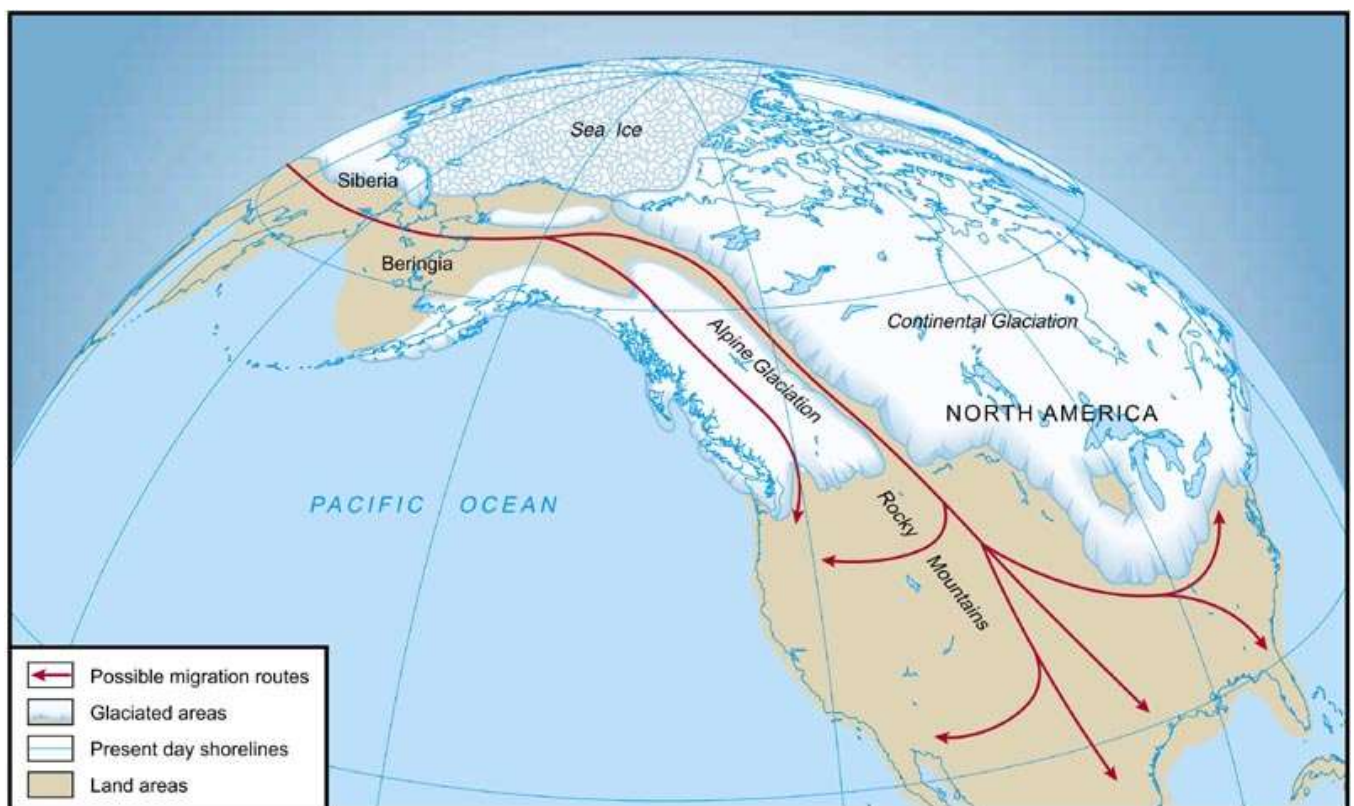
Donald M Wagner

Chapter One:

Discovery and Colonization of America



The most widely accepted theory, though not the only theory, of the origins of the First Americans (also known as Native Americans, Amerindians, or American Indians) states that they first arrived in the middle of the last Ice Age. At that time, the world's oceans were lower than they are today and much of the Earth's water was contained in enormous continental glaciers or in the polar ice caps. Because of this, there was a land bridge called the Bering Strait connecting Asia and North America. Between 25,000 and 12,000 years ago (though possibly earlier), humans migrated across from what is today Siberia and then spread throughout much of the Western Hemisphere.



ROUTES OF THE FIRST AMERICANS

Image credit: jlb-hdnp.org

Physical and linguistic evidence indicates that the migration into the Americas did not take place all at the same time. There were likely at least three distinct waves, with the Inuit (Eskimos) and the natives of the Aleutian Islands arriving much more recently than the people who came to live in the Pacific Northwest coast or other portions of North and South America.

These early peoples began as migratory hunter-gatherers, hunting large mammals such as bison, caribou, oxen, and mammoths using stone-tipped

spears and spear and dart throwers known as atlatls. Between 6,000 and 12,000 years ago many of the large animal species which once roamed North America became extinct. Archaeologists do not agree why these animals died out. Some argue that it was the result of over killing; while others attribute it to climatic changes such as rising temperatures. This may have led to the need for some of these early American Indians to later adopted agriculture and settle into villages. Over time, a number of civilizations began to arise, especially in Central and South America.

THE MAYANS

One of the earliest of these Indian civilizations settled in the Yucatán Peninsula in present-day Mexico. The agricultural *Maya* society developed a complex culture involving political and religious institutions in a hierarchical society centered around a King, nobles and a priestly class.

A polytheistic (*many-god*) religion developed along with the custom of human sacrifice. These sacrifices were carried out in a number of ways, including decapitation, slicing into the body and removing the still-beating heart, or simply by shooting the victim full of arrows. The Mayans also developed. For example, a 365-day calendar was created and they developed a system of writing known as *hieroglyphics*. The Maya civilization remained prosperous until the early Ninth Century AD when it began to slowly disintegrate and finally collapsed in about a hundred years later. The reason for this is one of the great historical mysteries, but civil war, rebellion, a foreign invasion, and natural disasters are all viable theories. After the Classic Period, which is considered to have ended in 900 CE, Mayans continued to live in some parts of the Yucatán Peninsula. However, the civilization would never again rise to the heights that it once held.



The AZTECS

Later, in the power vacuum that followed the collapse of the Mayan and other civilizations, the Aztecs (or 'Mexico') migrated from the north and through political maneuvers and ferocious fighting skills managed to become the rulers of Mexico around the year 1400.

As seen with the Maya before, human sacrifice was practiced throughout Mesoamerica, but the Aztecs, according to their own accounts, brought this practice to an unprecedented level. For example, at a ceremony for the Great Pyramid of Tenochtitlan in 1487, the Aztecs reported that they sacrificed 84,400 prisoners over the course of four days.



Human sacrifice was recorded in the Aztec religious text known as the Codex Magliabechiano in the mid-16th Century.

THE INCA

At the same time the Aztec Empire dominated Central America, the Inca Empire dominated South America. During the Thirteenth Century AD, the Inca inhabited land near Lake Titicaca in present-day Peru. Incan power spread along the Andes Mountains and the Pacific Coast of South America, to include parts of Peru, Chile, Argentina, Bolivia, and Ecuador, with the capital at Cuzco, in Peru, religion was a significant part of the life of the people. The royal family was believed to be descendants of the Inca Sun God. As divine, the emperor had absolute authority, checked only by the ambitions of other members of the royal family. The Inca had a complex political system, with the Emperor, regional and village leaders, and others participating as part of an enormous bureaucracy. On average, for every ten people, there was one government official. Roads crisscrossed the empire in a complex web throughout the mountainous realm, speeding along trade and

communication. In order to deliver royal messages across the vast empire, runners ran relays by foot from village to village, as there were no horses to ride.

The Spanish conquered the Inca just as they had conquered the Aztec. However, millions of descendants of the Aztec and Inca live in Mexico, Peru and other parts of their former empires.

NORTH AMERICA

Though never quite reaching the heights of their southern neighbors, the Indians of North America nevertheless left their mark on the landscape and place names on what would someday become the United States. With centers around the lakes and rivers of the Midwest and the Southeast, American Indians developed agricultural communities with extensive trade networks. Trade items included flint, copper, seashells and other goods. The oddly named Poverty Point arose on the banks of the lower Mississippi River near present-day Vicksburg, Mississippi in approximately 1400 B.C. The village, though thousands of miles away from central Mexico showed many signs of influence from that region, including a conical burial mound and two large bird-shaped (effigy) mounds, and other large earthworks. Networks of trade apparently connected Poverty Point with settlements along the Mississippi, Ohio, Missouri, and Arkansas rivers.



Poverty Point, 1500 BC. Image Credit:

Around 700 B.C., another group, known today as the Adena (though we don't know what they called themselves), began to build large mounds in southern Ohio. The Adena lived in small villages and subsisted on hunting,

fishing, gathering wild plants, modest farming, and some trading. The Adena built conical mounds as burial places. The Adena honored some of their dead by placing their bodies in log tombs with valuable items before covering them with dirt piled into large mounds.

From about 100 B.C., a new mound-building culture flourished in the Midwest, known as the Hopewell (once again, it is unknown what they called themselves). The Hopewell lived in thousands of villages across what is now Ohio, Indiana, Michigan, Illinois, Wisconsin, Iowa, and Missouri. The Hopewell supported themselves by hunting, fishing, and gathering, and also cultivated a variety of crops, including corn. The Hopewell also were part of an extensive trading network. Archaeological digs have turned up shells and shark teeth from Florida, pipestone from Minnesota, volcanic glass from Wyoming, and silver from Ontario. The burial practices of the Hopewell indicate that they lived in a hierarchical society since only a select few were honored with burial in earthen mounds. These mounds were filled with artworks made of materials imported from areas more than a thousand miles away. The Hopewell were a larger civilization than the Adena, and they built many more mounds. We are not sure what led to a decline in the Hopewell civilization, though likely global cooling, beginning around 450 AD, played a part.

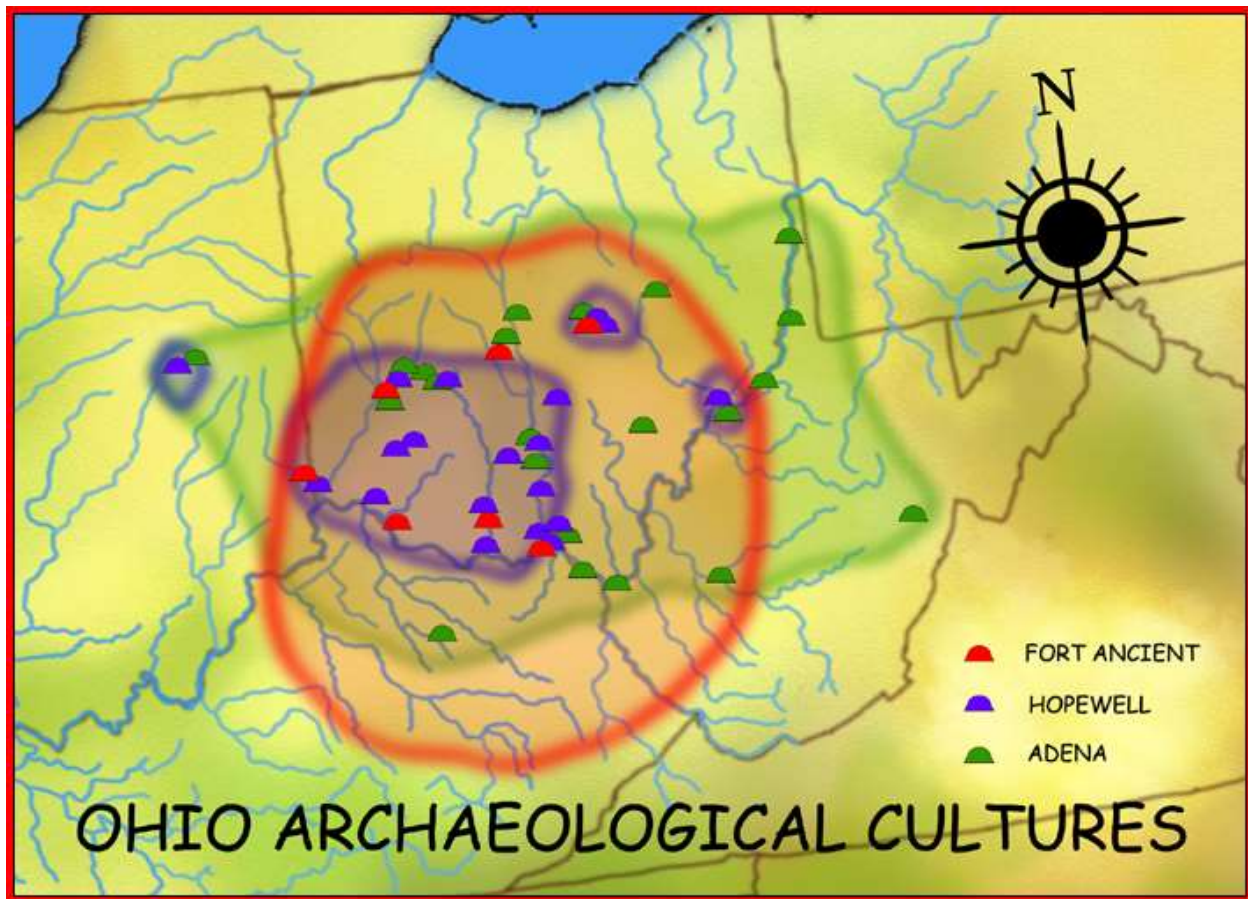


Image Credit: commons.wikimedia.org

After 750 A.D., another mound-building civilization, known as the Mississippians (in Ohio, they are known as the Fort Ancient culture), emerged in the Mississippi Valley and the Gulf Coast. By practicing a form of more advanced stone age agriculture, using sharp flint hoes instead of simple digging sticks, the Mississippians grew a surplus amount of corn, allowing them to build the largest towns and cities in the prehistoric New World, north of Mexico. The largest that we know about was Cahokia, across from present-day St. Louis, which had a population of up to 40,000. To protect the population from raiding neighboring peoples, many of these cities were protected by stockades. The Mississippians built flat-topped earthen mounds in the center of their cities where the chiefs lived and the bones of deceased leaders were kept.

The Mississippian cultures grew until the early 1500s, when it abruptly declined, probably due to diseases introduced by European explorers, who almost none of them ever met. The Mississippian populations died off, leaving only one group, the Natchez, who survived into the 1700s, long enough to be described by Europeans.

EUROPEAN DISCOVERY

The first known Europeans to arrive in the New World were the Vikings. They landed, and settled (for a short time) in what is now Canada. However, faced with hostile tribes and long distances connecting them to the rest of their civilization, after about 40 years, they withdrew from the continent, never to return.

Of course, Christopher Columbus is most commonly known as the discoverer of America. More than five hundred years after the first Europeans arrived in the Caribbean (in 1492 AD), historians, politicians, activists and the general public still debate Columbus's legacy. In the past, he was remembered as a great discoverer who brought European culture to a previously unknown world. However, beginning sometime in the mid-20th Century, he was often condemned (unfairly) as the man responsible for an "American Holocaust" who brought devastating European, African and Asian diseases to unprotected native peoples, and who initiated the Atlantic slave trade. All the triumphs and tragedies that came from his voyage 500 years ago still stir up contention across the Americas.

However, it is obvious that the encounter that began in 1492 among the peoples of the Eastern and Western Hemispheres was one of the truly epochal events in world history. The clash of cultures not only produced an extraordinary transformation of the natural environment and peoples in the New World, it also brought about changes in the Old World that will be seen throughout history.

This interaction between the Old and New Worlds was called the Columbian Exchange. New foods reshaped the diets of people in both hemispheres, even in places like Siam. Tomatoes, potatoes, corn, peanuts, pineapples, green beans, turkeys, and most deliciously, chocolate and vanilla, transformed the European diet. From the Old World came sugar, cloves, ginger, cardamom, almonds and all types of livestock such as cattle, pigs, and horses. Global patterns of trade were completely changed, as crops grown in the New World--including tobacco and rice, fed growing consumer markets in Europe.

After Columbus, the landscape of the Americas would never be the same. Europeans cut down vast tracts of forested land and inadvertently introduced Old World weeds. The introduction of cattle, goats, horses, sheep, and swine also transformed the ecology as grazing animals ate up many native plants. An ancient species of horse had once existed in the New World, but it had

gone extinct more than 10,000 years before. Run-aways horses escaped from Spanish held lands into the interior of North America where they were recaptured by the American Indians who then adapted their entire way of life around their new equine partners. The introduction of the horse encouraged many of the tribes which once relied on farming to become hunters and herders. Hunters mounted on horses were also much more adept at killing game.

Death and disease - these too were consequences of contact. Diseases from the Old World against which Indian peoples had no natural immunities caused a massive depopulation, the extent of which is still not agreed upon. Most historians believe that within a century of contact, smallpox, mumps, measles, and whooping cough spread across the Americas, reducing indigenous populations by between 50 and 90 percent. From Peru to Canada, disease decreased the resistance that Indians were able to offer to the European conquerors and settlers.

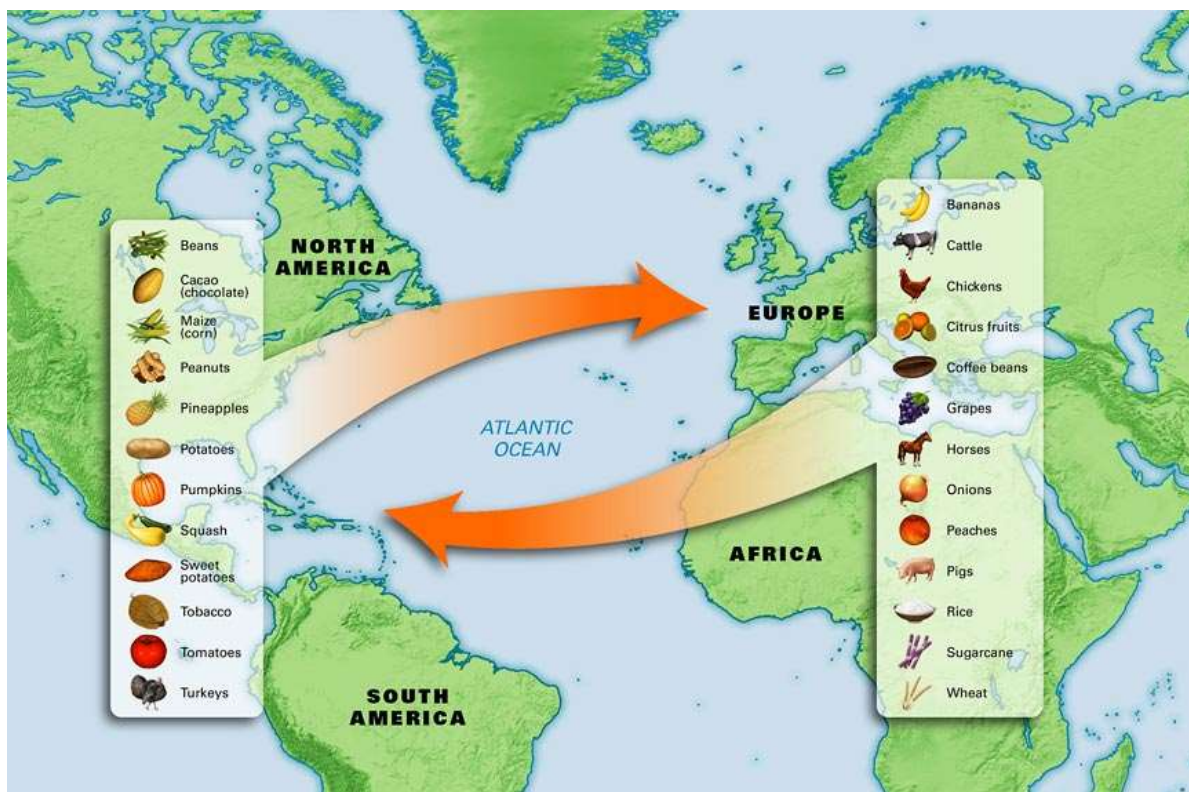


Image Credit: <http://epicworldhistory.blogspot.com>

The Spanish initially tried to make many of the Indian peoples into their slaves, but too many of them had died off or had body types that were not conducive to the hard life of a plantation slave. So, the Europeans turned to

the slave markets in Africa, which had been dominated by the Muslim world for a thousand years, and now started importing slave across the Atlantic. Between 1502 and 1870, when the Atlantic slave trade was finally ended, between ten and fifteen million Africans were brought to the Americas to work on sugar, tobacco and later cotton plantations.

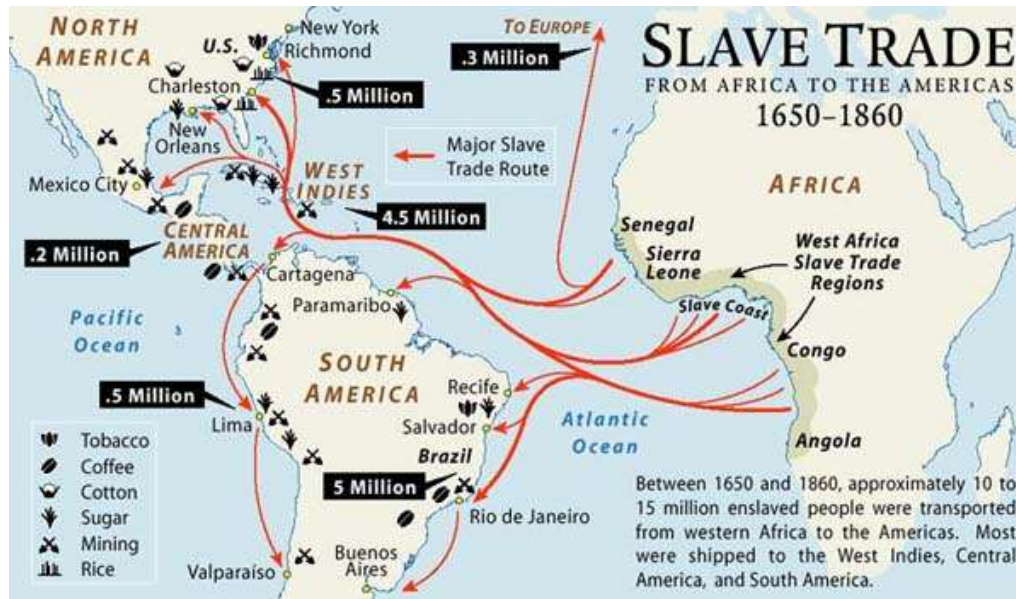


Image Credit: blog.richmond.edu

Christopher Columbus's voyages were part of the Age of Exploration which had started in the mid-1400s with Portuguese expeditions off the coast of Africa. Portugal began to build small sturdy ships, known as caravel and carrack, which were capable of sailing against the wind, thus allowing the Europeans to cross the oceans. The Portuguese also refined navigational instruments such as the astrolabe and quadrants, allowing sailors to accurately chart their latitude, while mapmakers and geographers greatly improved the quality of maps. This would lead to massive commercial and financial expansion during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. In less than forty years, European countries revolutionized sea travel. In just a decade, from 1488 to 1498, European sailors mapped and mastered the winds and currents of the Atlantic, making it possible for the first time to sail from Western Europe to West Africa and then the Indian Ocean, and finally on 20 May 1498, Vasco da Gama reached Calicut in India.

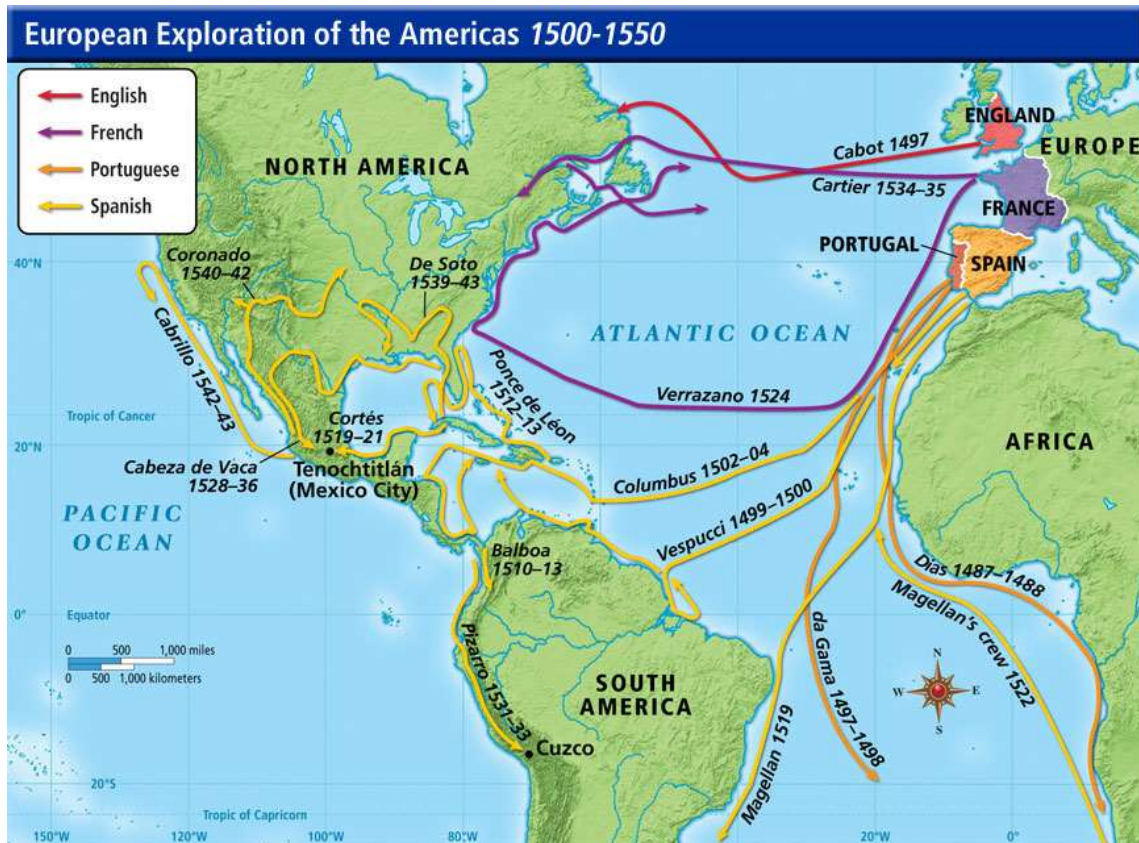
With the financial support of a network of bankers and merchants throughout Europe, Portugal was able to expand upon these discoveries and build a long-distance trade and commerce system based on sugar and slavery. In 1443, Portugal began to establish a string of trading posts along the West African coast. This would become the basis of slave labor for the

Iberian Peninsula and the sugar plantations of the Atlantic and Caribbean islands.

Christopher Columbus was born in Genoa in 1451. He was the son of a middle-class Italian wool weaver, and as a young man, Columbus was pushed by his father into trade. In 1476 he relocated to the Genoese trading community in Portugal. There, he married a woman whose father was the Portuguese governor of Porto Santo, an island off Africa's Atlantic coast near Madeira. For ten years Columbus lived in Madeira and made voyages to the Azores, the Canary Islands, and western Africa, as well as England and perhaps even Iceland. His obsession



Christopher Columbus. Image Credit: nndb.com



credit: jb-hdnp.org

EUROPEAN SETTLEMENT OF THE NEW WORLD

European attempts to settle in what is today the United States (and Canada), with the exception of a Spanish fortress at St. Augustine in Florida and a small Spanish settlement in New Mexico, never took hold during the 1500s. Colonizing attempts failed for many reasons. Often the Europeans were unprepared for the harsh and demanding environment and could not withstand attacks from the hostile indigenous peoples. Lack of communication and slow transport led to inadequate support and supplies from home countries. Sixteenth-century French and English efforts to establish permanent North American settlements in Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, the St. Lawrence Valley, Florida, and Roanoke Island off the coast of North Carolina were all ended in disaster. Roanoke, the sole English attempt, resulted in the complete and mysterious disappearance of the whole colony and its entire people around 1588.

During the early 1600s, however, various factors including the defeat of the Spanish Armada and other national and religious rivalries along with the growth of a merchant class eager to invest in overseas expansion and commerce encouraged renewed efforts at colonization. England constructed its first permanent settlement at Jamestown in 1607. The French founded

Quebec in 1608. This was followed by the Dutch who started what would become Albany, New York, in 1614; and the Swedes began a colony to gather and trade fur in the lower Delaware Valley in 1638. By 1625, 10,000 Europeans had come to settle along the eastern coast of North America. However, only about 1,800 had managed to survive, with the vast majority succumbing to deaths from disease and starvation during the initial stages of settlement.



Image credit: jb-hdnp.org

As British control over what became Thirteen Original Colonies solidified, most settlers who came to America throughout the 1600s were English. However, Dutch, Swedes, and Germans continued to come and settle in the British middle colonies. French Protestants, called Huguenots, came to South Carolina and Maryland; slaves from Africa, primarily were sent to southern colonies, and a scattering of Spaniards, Italians, and Portuguese also settled throughout the colonies. By 1680, England had ceased to be the chief source of immigration, supplanted by Scots and "Scots-Irish" (Protestants from Scotland and England previously settled in Northern Ireland by the British Crown in order lessen Irish rebellions). Tens of thousands of mainly German refugees fled northwestern Europe to escape

war, religious and political oppression, and economic hardship. By 1690 the American population had risen to a quarter of a million. After that, it doubled every 25 years. In 1775, at the beginning of the American Revolution, the population numbered more than 2.5 million. Distinctions between individual colonies had become firmly established, each with its own particular character. These differences were even more pronounced among the three regional groupings of colonies, New England; The Middle Colonies; and, The Southern Colonies.



Image credit: jb-hdnp.org

Religious persecution was a particularly powerful *push factor* for English colonization. England allowed religious dissidents to migrate to the New World. Some 30,000 English Puritans, known to history as The Pilgrims, migrated to New England, while Maryland became a refuge for Roman Catholics and Pennsylvania, southern New Jersey, and Rhode Island, havens for Quakers. The refugees from religious persecution included Baptists, Congregationalists, Presbyterians, and a small number of Catholics, to say nothing of religious minorities from continental Europe, including Huguenots and members of the Dutch and German Reformed churches.

COLONY NAME	YEAR FOUNDED	FOUNDED BY	BECAME ROYAL COLONY
Virginia	1607	London Company	1624
Massachusetts	1620	Puritans	1691
New Hampshire	1623	John Wheelwright	1679
Maryland	1634	Lord Baltimore	N/A
Connecticut	c. 1635	Thomas Hooker	N/A
Rhode Island	1636	Roger Williams	N/A
Delaware	1638	Peter Minuit and New Sweden Company	N/A
North Carolina	1653	Virginians	1729
South Carolina	1663	Eight Nobles with a Royal Charter from Charles II	1729
New Jersey	1664	Lord Berkeley and Sir George Carteret	1702
New York	1664	Duke of York	1685
Pennsylvania	1682	William Penn	N/A
Georgia	1732	James Edward Oglethorpe	1752

<http://americanhistory.about.com>

NEW ENGLAND

The northeastern New England colonies had generally thin, stony soil and long winters, making it difficult to make a living from large-scale agriculture. Turning to other pursuits, the New Englanders early on looked towards industrialization and harnessed waterpower and established grain mills and sawmills. Ample supply of timber encouraged shipbuilding. Excellent natural

harbors promoted trade, and the sea became a source of great wealth. In Massachusetts, plentiful fish in the area quickly furnished a basis for prosperity.

Most of the early settlers clung to the coastal villages and towns around the natural harbors, which allowed many New Englanders to have a trade or business. Common pastureland and woodlots served the needs of townspeople, who worked small farms nearby. This compactness made possible close-knit communities centered around the village school, the village church, and the village or town hall, where citizens met to discuss all important matters.

Commerce in the Massachusetts Bay Colony continued to flourish and from the middle of the 17th century onward, Boston became of America's busiest port.

The bounty of timber nearby provided oak for ships' hulls, tall pines became masts, and pitch, or tar, from the natural resins found in the forests were used to seal the ships and make them water-tight. Merchants from Massachusetts sailed their vessels to ports all over the world, joining the British and global trade network. By the end time of the Revolution, one-third of all vessels British ships were built in New England. Unfortunately, part of this legacy of global exchange includes participation in the "triangular trade." Traders would purchase slaves off the coast of Africa for rum or other manufactured goods, and then sell the slaves in the Caribbean (or the Southern Colonies) where they would buy raw materials such as molasses to bring to Europe for sale to factories.

THE MIDDLE COLONIES

Society in the middle colonies differed from New England. It was far more varied, and often more cosmopolitan and tolerant than elsewhere in the Thirteen Colonies. Under William Penn, Pennsylvania grew rapidly by adopting the most open policy of freedom of religion in all the colonies. First Chartered in 1681 by King Charles II, within five years its population was almost 9,000. The economic and cultural center of the colony was Philadelphia. A city created under the guidance of the Penn. It was built with broad, tree-lined streets, stylish brick and stone houses, and busy docks. By the Revolution, nearly a century later, it was home to more than 30,000 people. The founding principle of tolerance led to a diverse populous representing many languages, creeds, and national origins. Their knack for business enterprise made the city one of the thriving economic centers within the British Empire.

Though the Quakers dominated in Philadelphia, elsewhere in Pennsylvania others were well represented. Germans became the colony's most productive farmers. There were cottage industries such as weaving, shoemaking, cabinetmaking, and other crafts. Pennsylvania was also the principal gateway to the New World for the Scots-Irish, who moved into the colony in the early 18th century. "Bold and indigent strangers," as one Pennsylvania official called them, they were not particularly fond of the English and were suspicious of all government and they developed a tradition of guarding their liberty. The Scots-Irish often settled in the backcountry, outside the reach of colonial government, where they cleared land and farmed as well as hunted.

New York, as always, best illustrated the melting-pot nature of America. Originally, the city occupying the island of Manhattan was had been built by the Dutch in 1626 and named New Amsterdam. However, in 1664, though England and The Netherlands were at peace, the English sent three warships into the city's harbor and demanded its surrender. Rather than face the destruction of their city, the inhabitants complied and were allowed to keep their property, though they were not part of the English colony of New York. By 1646 the founding Dutch population was joined by a host of other nations. French, Danes, Norwegians, Swedes, English, Scots, Irish, Germans, Poles, Bohemians, Portuguese, and Italians as well as Jews from many nations. Old Dutch families remained among the social and economic leaders in the New York region long after the fall of New Netherland and its integration into the British colonial system. Dutch merchants gave Manhattan much of its original bustling, commercial atmosphere.



Image Credit: <http://etc.usf.edu>

A Quaker in Early Colonial America.

THE SOUTHERN COLONIES

In contrast to New England and the middle colonies, the economies of the Southern colonies were based almost exclusively on agriculture.

By the late 17th Century, plantations had become the center of Virginia's and Maryland's economic and social structures with smaller scale family farms (yeoman farmers) encompassing most of the population. However, the planters of the Tidewater region, supported by slave labor, and initially held almost all of the political power as well as the best land. They built great manor homes and adopted an aristocratic way of life mimicking as best they could the European cultures of the Old World.

The yeoman farmers, who worked smaller tracts, sat in popular assemblies eventually found their way into political office. Their long developed and

outspoken tradition of independence kept the oligarchy of planters at bay, ensuring the rights of free men.

The settlers of the Carolinas were able to combine agriculture and commerce and developed some prosperous ports such as Charleston, South Carolina. Dense forests also brought revenue: Lumber, tar, and resin from the longleaf pine provided some of the best shipbuilding materials in the world. Whereas Virginia relied almost exclusively on the tobacco crops, North and South Carolina also produced and exported a greater variety of produce such as rice and indigo, a blue dye obtained from native plants that were used in coloring fabric, and eventually cotton. By 1750 more than 100,000 people lived in the two colonies of North and South Carolina.

As everywhere else, population growth in the backcountry had special significance. Scottish and Scots-Irish, unwilling to live in the original Tidewater settlements where English influence was strong, pushed further inland, in some cases beyond the western mountains. Those who could not secure fertile land along the coast, or who had exhausted the lands they held, or whose families had grown too large for adequate inheritance often moved on to the hill country further west. Despite the hardships, settlers kept continued pouring in, and soon the interior was dotted with farms.

Frontier families built cabins, cleared the wilderness, and cultivated corn and wheat on the edge of Indian controlled territory. The men wore leather made from the deerskin known as buckskin; while women and children wore garments of homespun cloth. Their diets were more varied than their eastern neighbors and consisted of venison, wild turkey, and fish. They developed a vibrant subculture which often involved great barbecues, dances, housewarmings for newly married couples, shooting matches, and contests for making quilted blankets. All of these live on in one form or another in the American South today.



Image credit: socialstudiesforkids.com

SOCIETY, SCHOOLS, AND CULTURE

While the American Colonies were by no means completely classless, a significant factor in stopping the emergence of an all-powerful aristocratic or gentry class in the colonies was the ability of anyone in an established colony to find land and establish a new home on the frontier. Often, men of the old and established Tidewater families were obliged to liberalize political policies, land-grant requirements, and religious practices in order to stop a mass exodus to the frontier.

In the northern half of the Colonies, the foundations of American education and culture were being established during this early colonial period. Harvard College, in 1636 in Cambridge, Massachusetts. In 179s, the College of William and Mary, named in honor of the King and Queen of England after the Glorious Revolution, was established in Virginia. The Collegiate School of Connecticut, later known as Yale University, was chartered in 1701.

In many cases, the establishment and upkeep of these schools were maintained by governmental authority. Early on, the Puritan emphasis on

reading directly from the Scriptures caused them to seek ways of promoting universal literacy. In 1647 the Massachusetts Bay Colony enacted the "ye olde deluder Satan" Act (so-called because the legislators figured if the people could read the Bible, they wouldn't be fooled by the Devil), requiring every town having more than 50 families to establish a grammar school (a Latin school to prepare students for college). Soon, all the other New England colonies, except for Rhode Island, had done the same.

The Pilgrims and Puritans had brought their own collections of books and continued to import more from London. By the 1680s, Boston booksellers were selling a variety of works in such fields as history, classical literature, politics, philosophy, science, theology. The first printing press in the colonies was installed at Harvard in 1638.



Harvard College est.
1636.

Photo credit: etc.usf.edu

The first school in Pennsylvania was established in 1683. It taught reading, writing, and keeping of accounts. Eventually, every Quaker community provided for the elementary teaching of its children. More advanced training in classical languages, history, and literature was offered at the Friends Public School, which still operates in Philadelphia as the William Penn Charter School. The school was free to the impoverished, but parents of more affluent families were required to pay tuition if they were able.

In Philadelphia, there were many private schools that had no religious affiliation taught languages, mathematics, and natural science; there were even night schools for adults. Women and girls' educational opportunities were usually limited to homemaking skills, such sewing and housekeeping. Private teachers instructed the daughters of prosperous Philadelphians in more academic pursuits such as language and grammar, dancing and singing, music and painting, and sometimes bookkeeping.

James Logan and Benjamin Franklin were the shapers of the intellectual and cultural world of 18th Century Philadelphia. Logan was a high ranking official in the colony, and it was in his extensive library that a young Franklin read the latest scientific works. In 1745 Logan built a building for his collection and bequeathed it to the city.

Franklin made even more contributions to the intellectual growth in Philadelphia. He formed a debating club that would evolve into the American Philosophical Society. He helped to found a public academy that later developed into the University of Pennsylvania. He was a prime mover in the establishment of a subscription library, which he called "the mother of all North American subscription libraries."

In 1704 Cambridge, Massachusetts launched the colonies' first successful newspaper. By 1745 there were 22 newspapers in British North America.

The principle of freedom of the press in the colonies was established in New York in 1733 by Peter Zenger with his newspaper, the *New York Weekly Journal*. The paper represented the opposition to the government, and in 1735 the colonial governor decided to throw Zenger in jail on a charge of seditious libel because of his satirical attacks. Zenger continued to edit his paper from his cell during his nine-month trial, which attracted interest throughout the colonies. Zenger went free when his lawyer, Andrew Hamilton, convinced the jury that the charges printed by Zenger were true and thus not libelous.

In the Southern colonies, the idea of universal education was not nearly so well established. Wealthy planters and merchants were able to import private tutors from Ireland or Scotland to teach their children and some sent their children to school in England. Since the ruling elite had these opportunities, the upper classes in the Tidewater were not at all interested in supporting public education. In addition, the diffusion of farms and plantations made the formation of community schools difficult. Thus, there were only a few free schools in Virginia and nearly none in the rest of the South.

The desire for learning did not stop just because the Government failed to provide schooling, however. On the frontier, the Scots-Irish, though often living in log cabins, believed deeply in scholarship, and they brought in learned ministers to their communities.

For the most part, literary production in the colonies was largely confined to New England and attention concentrated mainly on religious subjects. Sermons were often printed and distributed to a wider audience. A famous

Puritan minister, the Reverend Cotton Mather, wrote around 400 works. His book, *Magnalia Christi Americana*, presented the story of New England's history and is considered the first masterpiece of American literature. The most popular single work of the day was the Reverend Michael Wigglesworth's long poem, "The Day of Doom," which described the Last Judgment in terrifying terms. Publications such as these, along with traveling preachers would eventually lead to an enormous revival throughout the colonies.

With the ever-growing affluence of the towns came fears that the devil was luring society into the pursuit of worldly gain and ignoring the will of God. This sentiment soon led to the religious reaction of the 1730s, known as the First Great Awakening. The two most prominent preachers of this movement were George Whitefield, a Wesleyan revivalist who came from England in 1739; and Jonathan Edwards, who was the minister at the Congregational Church in Northampton, Massachusetts.

The movement encompassed all of the colonies, with Whitefield beginning a religious revival in Philadelphia and then moving on to New England. He enthralled crowds of up to 20,000 people at a time with ecstatic displays, gestures, and emotional oratory.

Edwards was the most famous of those inspired by Whitefield and the Great Awakening. His most well-known sermon given in 1741 and later printed and reprinted was entitled, "*Sinners in the Hands of an Angry God*." He delivered his message differently than Whitefield, rejecting theatrics, he spoke in a thoughtful manner, making the case that the established churches sought to deprive Christianity of its function of redemption from sin.

The Great Awakening changed the religious demographics of the colonies and gave rise to evangelical denominations (those Christian churches that believe in personal conversion and the perfection of the Bible) and the spirit of revivalism that is still part of religious life in America today. It weakened the status of the established clergy of the Anglican Church and caused believers to rely on their own conscience. Perhaps most important, it led to the growth many different sects and denominations. With so many different interpretations of Christianity with a community, many people started to accept the principle of religious toleration.

EMERGENCE OF COLONIAL (SELF) GOVERNMENT

Self-government became a defining American characteristic early on in the Colonial Period due to a lack of controlling influence by the English Parliament and Crown. All colonies except Georgia emerged as companies of shareholders (to make money), or as feudal proprietorships with charters granted by the Crown. However, though the king had transferred his immediate sovereignty over the New World settlements to stock companies and proprietors, the colonists in America were not completely free of outside control. For example, under the terms of the Virginia Company charter, full governmental authority was vested in the company itself. However, the crown expected that the company would be headquartered in England. This essentially tied the leadership of the Colony to England in a similar way as it would have been if it were ruled directly by the king himself.

Still, the colonies considered themselves chiefly as commonwealths, having only a loose association with the authorities in London. Over time, in various ways, exclusive rule from the outside withered away. The colonists, inheritors of the long English tradition of the struggle for political liberty, incorporated concepts of freedom into Virginia's first charter. It said that English colonists were to have all the liberties, franchises, and protections "as if they had been abiding and born within this our Realm of England." This meant that they inherited the rights and benefits of the Magna Carta and later the English Bill of Rights as well as the common law, the English system of law based on legal precedents or tradition. In 1618 the Virginia Company issued instructions to its appointed governor providing that free inhabitants of the plantations should elect representatives to join with the governor and an appointive council in passing ordinances for the welfare of the colony. Thus self-representation was born with the House of Burgesses.

These measures were some of the most far-reaching in the entire colonial period. It was soon generally accepted that the colonists had a right to participate in their own government. This understanding usually only extended to free white men, though there are exceptions found to this rule in the histories of many of the colonies. The king even acknowledged the right to self-government when he granted new charters which provided that the free men of the colony should have a say in legislation affecting them. Thus, charters awarded to the Calverts in Maryland, William Penn in Pennsylvania, the proprietors in North and South Carolina, and the proprietors in New Jersey specified that legislation should be enacted with "the consent of the freemen."

For a large part of colonial history in New England, there was an even more complete form of self-government than in the other colonies. During the

journey accross the Atlantic, the Pilgrim's ship, the Mayflower was blown off course, causing them to land outside of the area they had been assigned by charter. Realizing their contract had been invalidated by this, the Pilgrims wrote their own new temporary charter called, The Mayflower Compact." In it, they wrote that they would, "combine ourselves together into a civil body politic for our better ordering and preservation ... and by virtue hereof [to] enact, constitute, and frame such just and equal laws, ordinances, acts, constitutions, and offices ... as shall be thought most meet and convenient for the general good of the colony. ..." Though they also swore allegiance to the king, this is considered the first self-governing document in American History.

The Pilgrims had no legal basis to establish a system of self-government. However, the action was not contested by the English Government nor the Virginia Company. Thus, for many years the Pilgrims lived under the compact and were able to conduct their own affairs without outside interference.

In the Massachusetts Bay Company, the members of the company back in England also

yielded control of the government to elected representatives in the colony. Other New England colonies, such as Connecticut and Rhode Island, also became self-governing simply by asserting that they were too far away from any governmental authority, and then set up their own political systems modeled after that of the Pilgrims at Plymouth.

In the mid-17th century, England was too distracted first by the Civil War (1642-1649) and then by Oliver Cromwell's Puritan Commonwealth to pursue any coherent colonial policy. Then came the restoration of Charles II and the Stuart dynasty in 1660, but the colonies remained low on the list of priorities for England. The turbulence in the mother country continued in 1688-1689 with the Glorious Revolution and the establishment of William of Orange and his wife Mary as the King and Queen of England, so that the colonies were left mostly to their own devices for more than half a century.

Even if the political situation in England had been more stable, the fact that North America is separated from Europe by the Atlantic Ocean would have made control of the colonies difficult. In addition to geopolitics, the character of life itself in early America made strict control of the colonies completely impractical. America was a vast land, of seemingly empty of population when compared to cramped Europe. Natural conditions and isolated towns and small farming communities led to the development of a tough individualism, and people became used to making their own decisions.

Colonial Government spread to the backcountry only very slowly, and conditions of near anarchy often prevailed on the frontier.

However, this tradition of self-government in the colonies was not always accepted by England. In the 1670s, a royal committee established to enforce mercantilism, the Lords of Trade and Plantations, moved to annul the Massachusetts Bay charter because the colonists were resisting the government's economic policies. In 1685, James II approved a proposal to create a Dominion of New England and place colonies from Massachusetts (today's Maine) to New Jersey under its jurisdiction, in an attempt to tighten the Crown's control over the region. The royal governor of this new Dominion, Sir Edmund Andros, levied taxes by executive order, used a number of other harsh measures including jailing those who resisted.

When news of the Glorious Revolution reached Boston, the population rebelled and imprisoned the deeply unpopular Andros. Under a new charter issued by William and Mary, Massachusetts and Plymouth were united in 1691 as the royal colony of Massachusetts Bay, and the other New England colonies reestablished their previous governments.

Limits to the power of the king as well as freedom of worship for Christians in England and the colonies was affirmed in The English Bill of Rights and the Toleration Act of 1689. An equally important development took place at this time in the realm of philosophy. John Locke's *Second Treatise on Government* (1690), set forth a theory of government based not on divine right but on a Social Contract. It stated that the people have inherent natural rights of life, liberty, and property, and that it is the place of government to protect these rights. If the government fails to do this, or if it violates the natural rights

of its citizens, then they had the right to rebel and set up a new government which fulfilled its end of the Social Contract.

In 1707, the Acts of Union brought Scotland and England under one crown, forming the Kingdom of Great Britain. Within a few decades, almost all the colonies had ceased to be administered under the founding companies and were brought under the direct jurisdiction of the British Crown under the rules established by the Glorious Revolution. In many cases, Colonial governors sought to exercise powers that the king himself had lost in England, but the **colonial assemblies** would always attempt to resist measures they saw as counter to their "rights" and "liberties." As with the English Parliament, the colonial assemblies' leverage was based on two significant powers: the right to vote on taxes, and the right to originate legislation rather than merely react to proposals of the governor.

The legislatures used these rights to check the power of royal governors and to pass other measures to expand their power and influence. The recurring clashes between governor and assembly made colonial politics tumultuous and worked increasingly to awaken the colonists to the divergence between American and English interests. In many cases, the royal authorities did not understand the importance of what the colonial assemblies were doing and simply ignored them. However, the precedents and principles established in the struggles between assemblies and governors eventually became part of what the colonists expected out of government. In this way, the colonial legislatures asserted the right of self-government.

THE FRENCH AND INDIAN WAR



North America in

1754. Image Credit: tes.com

During the first half of the 18th Century, France and Britain fought a number of wars in Europe, the Caribbean, and North America. Britain was able to seize some territory in the sugar-rich islands of the Caribbean. However, France was able to maintain its positions in North America. By 1754, France had developed good relations with a number of American Indian tribes in Canada and around the Great Lakes. It controlled the vital artery of trade, the Mississippi River, and it built a string of forts and trading posts stretching from Quebec to New Orleans. British settlement remained confined to the narrow strip of land east of the Appalachian Mountains. It became a growing concern with the British Empire, especially among the American colonists themselves, that by holding the Ohio and Mississippi River Valleys, France would limit westward expansion.

The British government sent a delegation to meet with the French in the wilderness of the disputed territory, but instead an armed clash took place in 1754 at Fort Duquesne, the site where Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, is now located, between a band of French regulars and Virginia militiamen and their Indian allies, under the command of 22-year-old George Washington. The British were soon routed and young Major Washington was sent back to the royal authorities with a document from the French which pinned the unfortunate events on him, as well as demanding retribution for the incursion. Instead, the British decided on war.

Britain's superior strategic position eventually brought victory in the conflict with France, known as the French and Indian War in America and the Seven Years' War in Europe. The war would spread around the world to Asia, Africa, and Europe and with its conclusion; the maps of all the world would be out of date.

In the Peace of Paris (1763), France relinquished all of Canada, the Great Lakes, and the territory east of the Mississippi to the British. The dream of a French empire in North America was over.

After defeating France, Britain was now had to deal with administering its new possessions and governing its empire. More importantly, it had to find a way to pay the costs for this administration, as well as the 9-year global war it had just fought.

In North America alone, British territories had more than doubled. The 13 Colonies had been mostly Protestant and English (with small minorities of others), but British North America now included French-speaking Catholics from Quebec and large numbers American Indians. Defense and administration of this vast empire would require large sums of money and more officials and soldiers. The old colonial system was not going to be

enough. Measures to establish a new administrative system, however, would cause the colonists to increasingly see the King and Parliament not as the protectors of their rights, but rather the greatest danger to them.

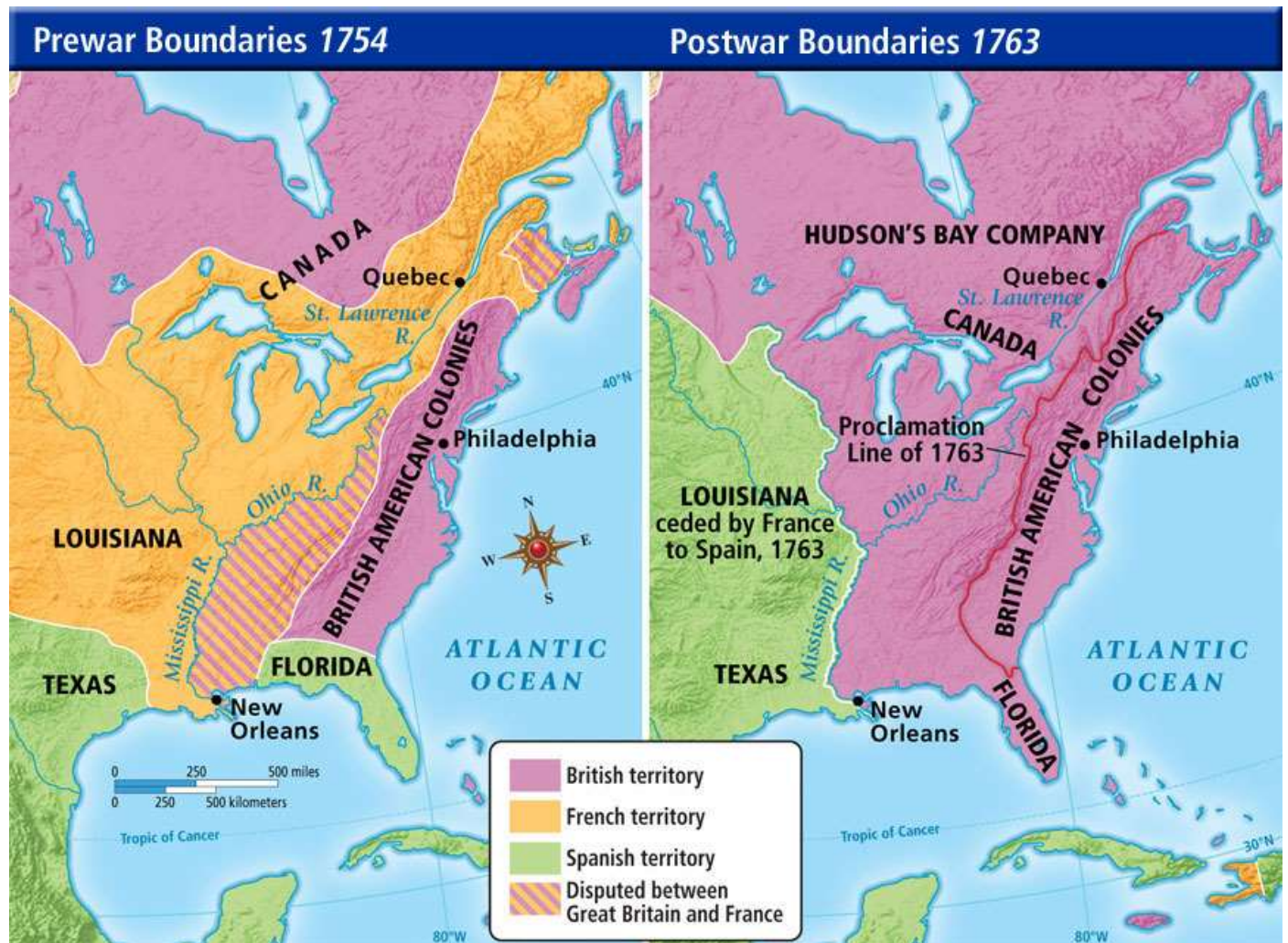


Image credit: tes.com

Chapter Two:

Revolution and Aftermath



The Spirit of '76.

A NEW COLONIAL SYSTEM

After the French and Indian War, London saw a need for a new imperial design that would involve more centralized control over the North American colonies while looking after the interests of both French Canadians and North American Indians. The colonies, however, after becoming accustomed to a large degree of independence, as well as believing themselves to have been equal partners in the war against the French, expected more, not less, freedom. With the threat of French aggression eliminated, they felt less of a need for the strong British presence. The King's first act after the conclusion of the war would be an indication of the collision course the British government in London and the American colonists were now on.

The British government, fearing renewed conflict with the Indians, decided to halt western colonial expansion, even if only temporarily. Restricting movement ensured Britain's dominance in the existing settlements before allowing new one to be formed. The **Proclamation of 1763** prohibited settlement in all the western territory between the Allegheny Mountains, Florida, the Mississippi River, and Quebec, reserving it for use by American Indians. In effect, the Crown attempted to sweep away every western land claim of the 13 colonies and stop all new settlers from crossing the Appalachian Mountains.



Image Credit: wikipedia.org

Even wider-ranging in repercussions were the new British revenue policies. The government needed more money to support its growing empire and especially its accumulated war debt while at the same time it faced growing taxpayer discontent at home. It seemed reasonable enough that the colonies should pay for the French and Indian war since it was waged, at least partially, in their defense. Furthermore, the British reasoned, the colonists reaped the benefits of His Majesty's forces within the colonies, and thus the colonists should pay their share of those expenses as well. That would involve new taxes, levied by Parliament – at the expense of colonial self-government.

Throughout the 1760s, the British Parliament passed a series of Acts which restricted colonial rights to self-government as well levying various taxes.

1763: As we saw above, in order to prevent the colonists from rushing into territories vacated by the French and provoking conflict with the Indians, the King and Parliament adopted the **Proclamation of 1763**, which forbade colonists from settling land west of the Appalachians. To enforce the Proclamation, the royal government stationed 10,000 troops in the colonies. This was the first time a standing army had been stationed in the colonies during peacetime.

Britain also ordered western settlers to vacate Indian land and in some cases physically evicted families from their homes. Parliament also restricted the trade with the Indians to traders licensed by the British government. For the first time, westward expansion was placed in the hands of royal officials.

1764: To pay for this army and repay war debts, Parliament decided to impose charges on colonial trade. The first of these taxes was the **Sugar Act**, which imposed duties on foreign wines, coffee, textiles, and indigo imported into the colonies, as well as *expanding the customs service*. Some colonists began to protest "taxation without representation," a slogan that rang true to Americans of all classes and led them to the view that they were being oppressed by the mother country.

Britain required colonial vessels to fill out papers detailing their cargo and destination. The royal navy patrolled the coast to search for smugglers. Those charged with suspected smuggling were *tried in special courts without a jury*.

1764: The **Currency Act** prohibited colonial governments from issuing paper money and required all taxes and debts to British merchants to be paid in British currency. This put a serious limit on the amount of currency

available in the colonies, 3000 miles away from Britain, and injured local businesses.

1765: Parliament approved the first **Quartering Act**, which required colonial governments to house British soldiers in unoccupied buildings and to provide them with necessities such as bedding, candles, and beverages. When the New York Assembly resisted, the British governor suspended the assembly for six months.

1765: In order to pay the cost of militarily defending the colonies, Parliament passed the **Stamp Act**, which required a tax stamp on legal documents, almanacs, newspapers, pamphlets, and playing cards and anything else that was printed and sold. It was the first time Parliament ever levied a direct tax on the colonies. Many colonists saw it as a violation of the principle that only the colonies' legislative assemblies could impose taxes. *Suspected violators were tried in admiralty courts without juries.*

Colonists, led by the Sons of Liberty, almost immediately began to boycott British goods and intimidated stamp distributors into resigning. They protested the Stamp Act on two grounds: that it deprived colonists of the right to trial by jury and that it was an example of taxation without representation. In the view of the colonists, they could not be represented in Parliament unless they actually elected members to the House of Commons. The British, however, had a principle called "*virtual representation*." This meant each Member of Parliament represented the interests of the whole country and the empire, regardless of the fact that his district might only consist of a tiny minority of property owners. This theory assumed that all British subjects shared the same interests as the property owners who elected members of Parliament.

The Stamp Act was incredibly unsuccessful- outside of Georgia, no stamps were ever sold. British merchants, feeling the effects of the American boycott, threw their weight behind a repeal movement. In 1766 Parliament yielded, repealing the Stamp Act and modifying the Sugar Act. The Stamp Act had brought home to colonists the fact that the British Government could and did act for its own benefit, even when it hurt the colonial subjects.



a "Liberty Tree."

The sons of Liberty harassing a British Customs Official under

1766: At the same time as they repealed the Stamp Act, Parliament unanimously passed the **Declaratory Act**, which asserted its right to make any laws it wanted to in order to govern the colonists. Thus basically saying, "ok, we'll get rid of the Stamp Act, but we can still do whatever we want, whenever we want in all issues concerning the colonies." (This is not a direct quote)

1767: British finances were not improving, and so the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Charles Townshend, imposed new tariffs on imports of lead, paper, paint, glass, and tea to the colonies. The **Townshend Acts** also expanded the power and size of the customs service. Revenue from the acts was used to pay the salaries of colonial governors and judges and thus prevented colonial legislatures from exercising the power of the purse over these officials.

The enactment of the Townshend duties evoked less agitation in most of the colonies than the Stamp Act, but the reaction was nevertheless strong. In cities on the Eastern seaboard, merchants once again resorted to non-importation agreements. People in these colonies reinstituted boycotts and used locally made products instead. They dressed in homespun clothing and used substitute herbs for tea. They left their houses unpainted rather than importing paint and used homemade paper for business. In Boston, the

British enforcement of the new regulations provoked strong reactions. When customs officials sought to collect duties, they were sometimes attacked by the populace. In response to the attack on customs officials, two British regiments were dispatched as protection.

1770. Bringing this many soldiers into a city full of restless civilians was a recipe for disaster. On March 5, antagonism between citizens and British soldiers again flared into violence. A group of colonists began following a British custom official who made his way to a small detachment of soldiers patrolling the city. The colonists then began to pelt the British soldiers with snowballs, but this simulated violence quickly degenerated into a mob attack. Someone opened fire, and when the smoke had cleared, three Bostonians lay dead in the snow; two more later died of their wounds. Dubbed the "**Boston Massacre**," the incident was dramatically pictured as proof of British heartlessness and tyranny.



This famous engraving of the event, above, was created by Paul Revere, and was distributed throughout the colonies. This was a clear example of early political propaganda. Faced with such opposition, Parliament in 1770 decided to repeal all the Townshend duties except the one on tea.

Over the next three years, patriots continued to keep the issue alive, maintaining that payment of the tax was an acceptance of the principle of parliamentary rule, which could be applied with ever growing devastating effect on all colonial liberties.

The leader of these radicals was a man named Samuel Adams. Adams's goal was to free people from their awe of British power and make them aware of their own potential and importance and thus arouse them to action. Toward these objectives, he published articles in newspapers and made speeches in town meetings, instigating resolutions that appealed to the colonists' democratic impulses.

1773. Britain provided Adams and his allies with an incendiary issue. The powerful East India Company was facing serious financial difficulties and it appealed to the British government, which then passed the **Tea Act** and *granted it a monopoly on all tea exported to the colonies*. The government also allowed the East India Company to supply retailers directly, bypassing colonial wholesalers. By then, most of the tea consumed in America was imported illegally, duty-free from the Dutch. By using its own agents and selling its tea at well under the customary, and even black market price, the East India Company made smuggling unprofitable and threatened to drive independent colonial merchants out of business. This loss of the tea trade and government sanctioned monopoly spurred many colonial traders into joining the radicals agitating for independence.

All along the Atlantic coast, boycotts caused new shipments of tea to be either returned to England or warehoused. However, in Boston, the East India Company agents defied the colonists; with the support of the royal governor, they made preparations to land incoming cargoes regardless of opposition. Then, on the night of 16 December 1773, a band of men from the Sons of Liberty, disguised as Mohawk Indians, most likely led by Samuel Adams, boarded three British ships lying at anchor. They dumped their cargoes of tea into Boston harbor, in an event later known as The Boston Tea Party.

A crisis now confronted Britain. If the destruction of the tea went unpunished, the British would in a sense be saying to the world that it control its colonies. The Tea Party was condemned by **all parties** in Britain, even by people who were otherwise sympathetic to the colonist's cause. Parliament felt they must respond strongly. They had to save face.

THE COERCIVE ACTS

Parliament's response came in the form of a new set of laws that they called the "Coercive Acts," but the colonists called the "Intolerable Acts." The first, the **Boston Port Bill (1774)**, closed the port of Boston until all the tea that had been thrown into the harbor was paid for. Since the port of Boston was the city's lifeblood, this threatened the very existence of the city, for to prevent Boston from having access to the sea meant economic disaster.

Other enactments restricted local authority and banned most town meetings held without the governor's consent. These were the **Administration of Justice Act** and the **Massachusetts Government Act**, both in May of 1774. All of these acts would have long-term consequences, not only for Boston and the coming revolution, but for the nation as a whole. A **Quartering Act (1774)** required local authorities to find suitable quarters for British troops, often in private homes, the owners of which would also be required to give the soldiers sustenance. Instead of subduing and isolating Massachusetts, as Parliament intended, these acts began to bring an outpouring of support from the other colonies. The people throughout the eastern seaboard asked themselves, "if Parliament can do this in Boston, what's to keep them from doing it here?" Virginia especially opposed British policies. Local committees were formed and called for the support of Boston and further boycotts, even to the point of the elimination of all trade with Britain.

The **Quebec Act** passed at the same time as the other Coercive Acts, extended the boundaries of the province of Quebec all the way south to the Ohio River. This border shift had many far-ranging effects. In accordance with French traditional government of the territory, it provided for trials without a jury, gave the Catholic Church semi-established status and did not establish a representative assembly, and . By disregarding old charter claims which extended into western lands, the Quebec Act to blocked colonial expansion to the North and Northwest. The official recognition of the Roman Catholic Church caused particular alarm to the Protestant sects that dominated the Thirteen Colonies. Though the Quebec Act had not been meant to be one of the Coercive Acts, Americans associated it with the Intolerable Acts because of the abridgments of freedom it imposed.

Colonial representatives met in Philadelphia on September 5, 1774, "to consult upon the present unhappy state of the Colonies." Delegates to this meeting, known as the **First Continental Congress**, were chosen by provincial congresses or popular conventions. Only Georgia failed to send a delegate because it was hoping for British assistance with Indian problems on its frontier. With 55 delegates, the body was large enough for diversity of opinion, but still small enough for genuine debate and decisive action. The diverse opinions in the colonies posed a problem for the delegates. They would have to appear firmly unified to induce the British government to make concessions; yet they had to avoid seeming too radical, which would alarm more moderate Americans.



The First Continental Congress met from 5 September 1774 to 10 September 1775 in Carpenter's Hall in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

A measure that no obedience was due the Coercive Acts was passed, followed by further resolutions affirming the colonists' rights to "life, liberty, and property," a phrase taken from the Enlightenment philosopher John Locke. Because of the members' belief that there should be "no taxation without representation," they passed a resolution affirming provincial legislatures had the right to set "all cases of taxation and internal polity." The formation of a "Continental Association," which reestablished the trade boycott against British goods, was probably the most potent measure taken by the First Continental Congress. In order to enforce the boycott, they set up a system of committees which inspected customs entries, published the names of merchants who violated the agreements, confiscated their imports, and encourage the colonists to adopt frugality, economy, and industry.

The Continental Association immediately assumed the leadership in the colonies, spurring new local organizations to end what remained of royal authority. The leaders were typically pro-independence were supported by all classes, including many members of the professional classes such as doctors and lawyers, as well as most of the planters from the Southern colonies, and many merchants from New England and the Middle Colonies. They began to collect military supplies, instructing towns to stockpile weapons and ammunition and stepped up the enrollment and training of local militias. All these measures served to fan public opinion into revolutionary ardor.

The pro-independence movement was by no means a majority in the 13 colonies- nor even in those opposed to recent British actions. Many of those who were against the British encroachment on American rights favored discussion and compromise as the proper solution, not war and independence. This more conciliatory group included Quakers and members of other religious sects who opposed the use of violence, Crown-appointed officers, some merchants as well as frontiersmen and discontented farmers in the Southern colonies.

The king perhaps could have made an alliance with these moderates forces, and with a few concessions, might have strengthened their political position making it more difficult for the revolutionaries to proceed with hostilities. But George III insisted on taking a hard line, and all attempts at reconciliation were rejected. In September 1774, scorning a petition by Philadelphia Quakers, he wrote, "The die is now cast, the Colonies must either submit or triumph." This action isolated Loyalists who were apprehensive by the course of events following the Coercive Acts.

THE REVOLUTION BEGINS

General Thomas Gage, a likable English gentleman with an American-born wife, was the highest ranking British officer in the colonies and was in command of the British troops in Boston, where political activism had almost completely replaced trade. Gage's mission had been to enforce the Coercive Acts. When news reached him that the Massachusetts colonists, at the behest of the First Continental Congress, were collecting ammunition and weapons at the town of Concord, 32 kilometers away, Gage sent a large detachment of soldiers to confiscate these munitions.

After a night of marching, the British troops reached the village of Lexington on April 19, 1775, and found a 77 Minutemen (so named because they were said to be ready to fight in a minute) assembled on the village green. The Minutemen, armed though they were, may not have expected to actually have to fight the British Regulars, but they were determined to make a statement by facing off against the British authority. When Marine Major John Pitcairn, the leader of the British troops, yelled, "Disperse, you damned rebels! You dogs, run!" The leader of the Minutemen, Captain John Parker, told his troops back down slowly and not to fire unless fired upon. The Americans were withdrawing when someone fired a shot, which led the British troops to fire at the Minutemen. The British then charged with bayonets, panicking the untrained militiamen and, leaving eight dead and 10 wounded. In the often-quoted phrase of 19th-century poet Ralph Waldo Emerson, this was "the shot heard round the world."



Minutemen at the Battle of Lexington, 1775.

Image Credit: sonofthesouth.net

Having found no munitions in Lexington, the British pushed on to Concord. The Americans had once again taken away most of the munitions, but the British burned a couple of empty buildings, just to make a point. Meanwhile, American forces from all over the surrounding countryside had mobilized to harass the British on their long return to Boston. Throughout this journey, from behind stone walls, hillocks, trees, fences and houses, militiamen from "every Middlesex village and farm" targeted the bright red coats of the British soldiers. By the time the detachment made its way back to Boston, it had suffered more than 250 killed and wounded, while the Americans lost just 93 men.

The Second Continental Congress met in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, on May 10. After some intense debate, Congress voted to go to war and began to turn the colonial militias into the Continental Army. Colonel George Washington of Virginia, after being nominated by John Adams was made commander-in-chief of this new army on June 15. Two days later, at the first major battle of the war, the Americans were able to inflict very high casualties on the British at the Battle of Bunker Hill just outside Boston. George Washington was not present at this battle, and though the Americans lost the battle by withdrawing from the field, their strong performance was an indication of the resolve the British could expect to face.

Congress then ordered American expeditions to march northward into Canada by fall. Though the Americans managed to capture Montreal, they failed in a winter assault on Quebec, and eventually retreated in failure back to New York.

Despite the outbreak of war, the idea of complete separation from England was still seen as a last resort, if not unthinkable, to many members of the Continental Congress. In July, it adopted the **Olive Branch Petition**, entreating the king to prevent further hostile actions until some sort of compromise could be agreed upon. King George soundly rejected this letter, calling the patriots "traitors." Instead, on August 23, 1775, the King published a proclamation declaring that the colonies in America were now in a state of full-scale rebellion. The proclamation also required that all British subjects anywhere were to assist in putting down the rebellion. This made it an act of treason for any British subject to defend the American cause in any way.

Britain had expected the Southern colonies to remain loyal, in part because of their reliance on slavery. Many in the Southern colonies feared that a rebellion against the mother country, with all its talk of "Liberty" and "Freedom" would also trigger a slave uprising by blacks who somehow missed the memo on what "all men created equal" *really* meant. In November 1775, Lord Dunmore, the governor of Virginia, tried to harness that fear by offering freedom to any slaves who would come and fight for the British. His proclamation backfired, however, and it ended up driving to the rebel side many Virginians who would otherwise have remained Loyalist.

The governor of North Carolina, Josiah Martin, also urged called upon North Carolinians to remain loyal to the Crown. When 1,500 men answered Martin's call, they were defeated by the revolutionary patriots before British troops could arrive to help.

British warships sailed down the coast to Charleston, South Carolina, and opened fire on the Fort Moultrie, which guarded the city in early June 1776. However, South Carolinians had time to prepare, and British cannon balls simply bounced off the fort's walls which were created out of spongy Palmetto tree trunks. Repulsed, the British sailed away and they would not return South for more than two years.

COMMON SENSE AND INDEPENDENCE

In January 1776, Thomas Paine, a recent immigrant from England as well as a radical political theorist and writer, published a 50-page pamphlet called ***Common Sense***. It was an instant bestseller and within three months, had sold 100,000 copies. Paine attacking the idea of a hereditary monarchy, declared that one honest man was more valuable to a nation than "all the crowned ruffians that ever lived." He wrote in a manner which the common reader could understand. After laying out what he viewed as the current situation, he gave the alternatives: the colonists could choose continued submission to a tyrannical king and an outdated government, or liberty and happiness as a self-sufficient, independent republic. Circulated throughout the colonies, *Common Sense* catalyzed the independence movement. Many colonists who had previously been sitting on the fence now felt they had to choose a side.



Image Credit: angelfire.com

By May of 1776, the representatives to Congress from the southern colonies and the New England colonies had mostly decided that an absolute break with Britain was justified and necessary. The Middle Colonies were not as unified in this decision. Some of the people there still wanted to try to reconcile with Britain using diplomatic channels. Others believed that a break with Great Britain was inevitable, but also thought that the colonies were not yet strong enough to make such a declaration to the world. However, most of the leaders of the rebellion in Congress thought the populations of the middle colonies would soon be persuaded that independence was necessary. On 7 June 1776, Virginia representative, Richard Henry Lee introduced a resolution in the Second Continental Congress which declared, "That these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent states. ..." A committee of five, including Thomas Jefferson, John Adams and Benjamin Franklin, was appointed to draft a document for a vote.

Jefferson was the main writer of the Declaration of Independence, which was adopted July 4, 1776. It was to proclaim the birth of a new nation and set forth a philosophy of human freedom that would emulated and aspired to throughout the world, down to the present day. The Declaration drew upon French and English Enlightenment political philosophy, but one influence in particular stands out: John Locke's *Second Treatise on Government*. Locke took the ideals of the traditional rights of Englishmen as developed through the centuries and stated that they were universal and natural rights of all humankind. The Declaration's familiar opening passage echoes Locke's social-contract theory of government:

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. – That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed, – That whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new Government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness.

Jefferson tied Locke's principles directly to the situation in the colonies by listing a litany of grievances committed against the colonies by the King. The Declaration showed that the fight for American independence was the fight for a government based on popular consent instead of a government by a king who had "combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitution, and unacknowledged by our laws. ..." Thus, only a government based on popular consent could secure natural rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. The Declaration made the fight for

American independence into a fight on behalf of one's own natural rights, and set an example which would be followed in around the world for centuries.

THE EARLY WAR

Although the Americans suffered severe setbacks for months after independence was declared, George Washington was able, through the strength of his personality to hold the Continental Army together. During August 1776, in the Battle of Long Island in New York, Washington's position became untenable, and he executed an orderly withdraw in small boats from Brooklyn to the Manhattan shore. British General William Howe twice hesitated and allowed the Americans to escape. By November, however, Howe had captured Fort Mifflin on the Delaware River and the city soon fell into British hands. New York City would remain under British control until the end of the war.

After the fall of New York, it appeared that the American cause was doomed. Washington's forces were near collapse, as supplies and promised aid from the Continental Congress failed to materialize. To make matters worse, the enlistments of the majority of Washington's soldiers would end on December 31. Washington faced the very real possibility of losing his entire army on January 1, 1777. Howe, safe and warm in the arms of his mistress back in New York City decided to let the rebellion die on its own. However, this choice meant that he would miss his chance to crush the Americans when their morale was low and logistics were almost non-existent.

Washington knew that he needed a spectacular victory before the end of the year if he was to be able to persuade his men to re-enlist. So, on Christmas Day, December 25, 1776, Washington crossed the nearly frozen Delaware River, north of Trenton, New Jersey. His troops surprised the Hessian garrison (German mercenaries in the service of the British) there in the early-morning hours of December 26, killing and wounding nearly 100 enemies and taking around 900 prisoners. A week later, on January 3, 1777, Washington attacked the British at Princeton, regaining most of the territory formerly occupied by the British. The victories at Trenton and Princeton revived flagging American spirits.

The British were reinvigorated by these defeats and Howe redoubled his efforts to stop the patriots in 1777. In September 1777, Howe defeated the American army at Brandywine in Pennsylvania and proceeded to occupy Philadelphia, forcing the Continental Congress to flee. Washington and his army then endured a bitterly cold winter in 1777-1778 at Valley Forge, Pennsylvania. The army suffered lack of provisions throughout the war, and

at Valley Forge, the inadequate food, clothing, and supplies nearly destroyed American's dream of independence. Farmers and merchants exchanged their goods for British gold and silver rather than for "Continental," the paper money issued by the Continental Congress and the states. The Continental Army had reached its nadir.

However, elsewhere 1777 proved to be a pivotal year in the war. British General John Burgoyne, moving south from Canada, attempted to invade New York and New England via Lake Champlain and the Hudson River. Burgoyne was a dandy, and wanted his army to march in style. He had too much heavy equipment to maneuver the wooded and marshy terrain. His column stretched over a mile long and it took his army weeks to hack its way through a dozen miles of wilderness. On 6 August 1777, at Oriskany, New York, a detachment of Loyalists and American Indians under Burgoyne's command ran into an American force of frontiersmen that managed to halt their advance. A few days later at Bennington, Vermont, another group of Burgoyne's forces, looking for much-needed supplies, were met by American militia forces and decisively defeated.

Burgoyne's army then advanced on Albany, the future capital of the state of New York. The Americans were waiting for him. General Horatio Gates, the leader of the Americans failed to act quickly, and it was under the leadership of one of his subordinate generals, Benedict Arnold, that the Colonials twice repulsed the British. Having by this time incurred heavy losses, Burgoyne fell back to Saratoga, New York, where a vastly superior American force under Gates surrounded the British troops. On October 17, 1777, Burgoyne surrendered his entire army – six generals, 300 other officers, and 5,500 enlisted personnel. It was a disaster for the British which would have political implications far outweighing the military losses.

FRANCO-AMERICAN ALLIANCE

After Saratoga, in France, enthusiasm for the American cause was high. The French intellectual world already had long supported the cause as they themselves were stirring against domestic feudalism and privilege. The King, however, lent its support to the colonies for geopolitical rather than ideological reasons. The French government wanted payback against Britain ever since France's defeat in 1763. Benjamin Franklin was sent to Paris in 1776 in order serve as America's unofficial ambassador. His wit, guile, and intellect soon charmed the French capital, and played a major role in gaining French assistance.

In May 1776, France sent 14 ships with war supplies to America. Throughout the war, most of the gunpowder used by the colonists came from France.

After Britain's defeat at Saratoga, France saw an opportunity to weaken its perennial rival and to restore the balance of power that had been disrupted by the Seven Years' War (called the French and Indian War in America). On February 6, 1778, the colonies and France signed a Treaty of Amity and Commerce, in which France recognized the United States and offered trade concessions. However it was the Treaty of Alliance, which stated that if France entered the war, neither country would make peace until the colonies had won their independence, that neither would conclude a separate peace with Britain without the consent of the other, and that each guaranteed the other's possessions in America. *This was the only bilateral defense treaty signed by the United States or its predecessors until 1949.* The treaty made France the United States's oldest ally.

The Franco-American alliance soon broadened the conflict. In June 1778 British ships fired on French vessels, and the two countries went to war. In 1779 Spain, hoping to reacquire territories taken by Britain in the Seven Years' War, also joined the conflict on the side of France, but not as an ally of the Americans. In 1780 Britain declared war on the Dutch, who had defied British blockades and continued to trade with the Americans. The combination of these European powers, with France in the lead, was a far greater threat to Britain than the American colonies standing alone.

Ironically, while the American cause was becoming more secure, one of the heroes of the Revolution lost faith in the cause. Justifiably feeling that he was not being treated properly by the American leadership in Congress, Benedict Arnold became frustrated and bitter. Arnold decided to switch sides in 1779, and opened secret negotiations with the British. In July 1780, he was offered, continued to pursue and was awarded command of West Point. Arnold's plan to surrender the fort to the British was exposed when American forces captured the British secret agent (and hanged him). Arnold was able to escape to the British, and though West Point remained in American hands, Arnold's name would forever be synonymous with "traitor."

THE BRITISH MOVE SOUTH

With the French now involved, the British decided they needed to adjust their strategy. Still believing that most Southerners were Loyalists, the British stepped up their efforts in the Southern colonies, employing their 'southern strategy.' In late 1778, a campaign began with the capture of Savannah, Georgia. Over a year later, British troops and naval forces moved on Charleston, South Carolina, the principal Southern port, for the second time in the war. This time they managed to bottle up American forces on the

Charleston peninsula and on May 12, 1780, General Benjamin Lincoln surrendered the city and its 5,000 troops, in the greatest American defeat of the war. The American patriots in the south, however, continued to fight a series of guerilla battles and employing delaying tactics until the Regular army could be reorganized.

South Carolinians began roaming the countryside, attacking British supply lines. However, in July, American General Horatio Gates, who had assembled a replacement force of untrained militiamen, rushed to Camden, South Carolina, to confront British forces led by General Charles Cornwallis. Gates's green army panicked and ran when confronted by the British veterans. Cornwallis's troops met the Americans several more times, and while the Americans continued to lose most of the engagements, each battle brought the British further from their supply line and whittled down their numbers. In early 1781 Americans finally defeated the British at Cowpens, South Carolina, capturing or killing nearly 1000 enemies. After an exhausting but unproductive chase through North Carolina, Cornwallis decided to move on to Virginia.

VICTORY AND INDEPENDENCE

In July 1780 France's King Louis XVI had sent an expeditionary force of 6,000 men under the **Comte Jean de Rochambeau** to America. In addition, the French fleet harassed British shipping and blocked reinforcement and resupply of British forces in Virginia. Combined French and American armies and navies, now totaled 18,000 men, were able to keep Cornwallis in check all through the summer and into the fall. Finally, on October 19, 1781, after being trapped at Yorktown, Virginia, near the mouth of Chesapeake Bay, Cornwallis surrendered his army of 8,000 British soldiers.

Cornwallis's surrender did not immediately end the war, which would drag on inconclusively for almost two more years, it caused the British government led by Lord North to fall. The new British government was controlled by Whigs, and they decided to pursue peace negotiations in Paris in early 1782. The American delegates to the peace conference were Benjamin Franklin, John Adams, and John Jay. On April 15, 1783, Congress approved the final treaty. Signed on September 3, the Treaty of Paris acknowledged the independence, freedom, and sovereignty of the 13 former colonies, now states. The new United States stretched west to the Mississippi River, north to Canada, and south to Florida, which was returned to Spain as part of a separate treaty. The fledgling colonies that Richard Henry Lee had spoken of more than seven years before had finally become "free and independent states."

STATE CONSTITUTIONS

Victory in the Revolution gave Americans the chance, in the words of Thomas Paine, "to begin the world anew." At this time however, the job of living up to the principles laid out in the Declaration of Independence was not being attempted by a central federal government, but by the individual state governments instead. As early as May 10, 1776, Congress had passed a resolution encouraging the colonies to form new governments "such as shall best conduce to the happiness and safety of their constituents." A few of the colonies had already undertaken this endeavor without congressional prompting, and a year after the Declaration of Independence was signed, all but three had drawn up state constitutions.

The new constitutions showed the impact of democratic ideas. None made any radical break with the past, and all were built on what had been seen as traditional rights of Englishmen, and had now through the enlightenment, begun to be seen as natural rights for "all men." Each state constitution was animated by the spirit of republicanism, an ideal that had long been espoused by many Enlightenment philosophers.

The first goal of the framers of the state constitutions was to secure those "unalienable rights" which had been violated under British rule. Each state constitution began with a declaration or bill of rights, with Virginia's, written by George Mason, serving as a model for all the others (and thus eventually a model for the federal constitution). The Virginia bill of rights included a declaration of principles of popular sovereignty and freedom of elections, as well as an enumeration of fundamental liberties: humane punishment and reasonable bail, a speedy trial by jury, freedom of conscience and of the press, and the right of the majority to reform or alter the government.

Other states further enshrined on this list of liberties the freedom of petition, assembly, and speech. Most of the constitutions included provisions to the right to bear arms, to a writ of habeas corpus, to inviolability of domicile (a man's home is his castle), and to equal protection under the law. Moreover, all prescribed a three-branch structure of government – executive, legislative, and judiciary – each checked and balanced by the others. Pennsylvania's constitution was the most extreme. In that state, the masses, or at least the middle-class of Scots-Irish frontiersmen, Philadelphia artisans, and German-speaking farmers had taken control. The provincial congress adopted a constitution that set up a single-chamber legislature, permitted every male taxpayer and his sons to vote and required rotation in office (meaning no one could serve legislature for more than four years out of seven).

The state constitutions, however, would not seem particularly revolutionary to the average modern citizen. Constitutions established to guarantee people their natural rights did not establish true equality by any stretch of the imagination. The colonies south of Pennsylvania excluded their slave populations from their inalienable rights as human beings, and little was done to rectify this situation. Women mostly had no political rights. There were no states where universal white male suffrage applied, and even in those states that permitted all taxpayers to vote (Delaware, North Carolina, and Georgia, in addition to Pennsylvania), office-holders were still required to own a certain amount of property.

THE ARTICLES OF CONFEDERATION

The struggle with England had done much to unify the disparate states. Local assemblies came to realize there was strength in unity. During the Revolution, mutual aid between states had been essential, and the fear of relinquishing individual authority had lessened to some degree.

In 1776, John Dickinson produced the "Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union." The Continental Congress adopted them in November 1777, and they went into effect in 1781, having been ratified by all the states. The Articles can be seen as the United State's first constitution. Reflecting the fragility of the young nation, the Articles provided for a very loose union. The national government lacked the authority to regulate commerce, set up tariffs, or to levy taxes. It even possessed only limited control of international relations. Some states had begun their own treaty negotiations with foreign countries. Nine states had their own armies and several had their own navies. Without a sound common currency, the new nation conducted commerce with an eclectic mix of coins, both domestically and foreign produced and a bewildering variety of state and national paper bills, all fast depreciating in value.

Economic difficulties after the war would be at the root of the calls for change. The end of the war had a severe effect on merchants who



John Trumbull famous painting of the Declaration of Independence process

had supplied the armies of both colonists and the British, and were now deprived of the protections provided from participation in the British mercantile system. The states gave preference to American goods in their tariff policies, but these were inconsistent and some sectors of the economy benefited more, and thus some regions as well. This soon led to the demand for a stronger central government to implement a uniform economic policy.

Farmers suffered even more than merchants from economic difficulties following the Revolution. The supply of farm produce, which had increased during the war, now exceeded demand. This led to unrest centered chiefly among farmer-debtors who wanted strong remedies to avoid foreclosure on their property and imprisonment for debt. Courts were back-logged with suits for payment filed by creditors. In the summer of 1786, popular conventions and informal gatherings in several states began to demand reform in the state administrations.

Former Continental Army captain, Daniel Shays was a typical example of the cycle of debt and economic woes which affected many former soldiers after the war. Shays had been wounded during the war and resigned from the military, unpaid, in 1780. Upon returning home, he discovered he was summoned to court for unpaid debts, which he still could not pay because he

had not been paid for his military service. Shays had be presented with a sword in 1780, by General Lafayette in honor of his military service. However, after the war, Shays sold the sword for only a few dollars to help pay off his ever-increasing debts. In the fall of 1786, a mob of farmers in Massachusetts under the leadership of Shays, began picketing local courts in order to forcibly prevent the county courts from sitting and passing further judgments for debt, pending the next state election.

In January 1787 this ragtag army of 1,200 farmers moved toward the federal arsenal at Springfield. The rebels, armed chiefly with staves and pitchforks, were repulsed by a small privately raised militia force. General Benjamin Lincoln then arrived with reinforcements from Boston and forced the surrender of the remaining Shaysites, though Shays himself escaped to Vermont. The government sentenced 18 of the rebels to death, but ultimately only two were hanged the rest were pardoned or let off with short prison terms. Shays himself was pardoned in 1788. After the defeat of the rebellion, the newly elected legislature in Massachusetts, who largely sympathized with the rebels, voted to meet some of their demands for debt relief.

CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION

The events of Shays' Rebellion convinced many that a new and stronger constitution was needed to replace the Articles of Confederation. A convention was called for with representatives from each of the colonies. Their goal initially was to merely strengthen the existing Articles, but it soon became clear to the Convention that stronger measures were needed. Their presiding officer, George Washington, had written accurately that the states were united only by a "rope of sand." There were simply too many issues plaguing the young nation that the Articles could not address, as shown from earlier attempts to solve problems arising among two or more states. Maryland and Virginia had a long-standing dispute over navigation on the Potomac River which led to a conference to settle the issue with representatives from five states in 1786. Alexander Hamilton of New York, one of the delegates, convinced the others that commerce was tied to large political and economic questions. What was needed in order to find answers, was a fundamental rethinking of the Confederation.

A Federal Convention to address the crisis in government began in May 1787. State legislatures chose delegates with experience in Congress, or colonial and state governments, judges, and soldiers. George Washington, a unifying and deeply represented individual, stemming from his integrity and his military leadership during the Revolution, was made the presiding officer of the convention.

Prominent among the more active members were two Pennsylvanians: Gouverneur Morris, who clearly saw the need for national government, and James Wilson, who labored tirelessly for the national idea. Also elected by Pennsylvania was Benjamin Franklin, who at 81 years of age was nearing the end of a long and successful career of public service. From Virginia came James Madison, a young and well-educated statesman, well versed in history and politics, and, according to a colleague, "from a spirit of industry and application ... the best-informed man on any point in debate." Though only 32 years old at the time, he would come to be recognized as the "Father of the Constitution."

From Massachusetts came Rufus King and Elbridge Gerry, young men of ability and experience. From Connecticut came Roger Sherman, a shoemaker who eventually became a judge. New York sent Alexander Hamilton, who had been the driving force behind the meeting. Notably absent from the Convention were Thomas Jefferson, who was serving at the time as minister to France; and John Adams, was in Great Britain in the same capacity. The 55 delegates were overall rather young, with the average age being just 42.

The Convention had been authorized by Congress merely to draft amendments to the Articles of Confederation. However, as Madison later wrote, the delegates, "with a manly confidence in their country," decided to throw out the Articles completely and set up a new form of government.

They recognized that the most important need was to reconcile two different powers: the power of a central, federal government and the local power, which was already being exercised by the 13 semi-independent states. They adopted the principle that the task and powers of the national government must be carefully defined and explicitly stated, while all other powers and functions were to belong to the states. However, realizing that the central government had to have real power, unlike the Articles of Confederation, the delegates eventually accepted the fact that the government should be authorized, among other things, to regulate commerce, coin money, declare war, and make peace.

DEBATE AND COMPROMISE

The Constitutional Convention, 1787

The 18th-century statesmen who met in Philadelphia were adherents of Montesquieu's concept of the balance of power in politics. This principle was supported by English tradition and colonial experience and buttressed by the writings of John Locke. These influences led to the decision that three equal

and separate branches of government should be established. Legislative, executive, and judicial powers were designed to be so balanced that no one could ever gain tyrannical control. Like colonial legislatures and the British Parliament, delegates decided that the legislative branch should consist of two houses.

On these points there was almost unanimity within the assembly. However, sharp differences also arose with concerns about specifics. Representatives of the small states, New Jersey, for instance, objected to a framework that would lessen their influence in the national government by basing representation solely upon population rather than upon statehood. Under the Articles of Confederation, each state had one vote, regardless of size.

Representatives of large states, like Virginia and Pennsylvania argued for proportionate representation, based on population. This debate went back and forth until Roger Sherman came forward with arguments (which may seem obvious to us today) for proportional representation in one house of Congress, the House of Representatives, and equal representation (two Senators each) in the Senate.

With this compromise, the alignment of large against small states then dissolved. But almost every succeeding question raised new divisions, mostly among the different regions, which would be resolved only by more compromises. Northerners wanted slave populations counted when determining each state's tax requirements, but not in determining the number of seats in the House of Representatives; the Southerners wanted the opposite. A compromise was reached in which tax levies and House membership would be apportioned by adding the free population plus $\frac{3}{5}$ of the slave population.

Certain members, such as Sherman and Elbridge Gerry, with a memory of Shays' Rebellion, worried that the masses were no wise enough nor educated enough to govern themselves without safeguards in place. They didn't want any branch of the federal government to be elected directly by the people. Another group of delegates believed the national government should be given as broad a popular base as possible. Some delegates wished to exclude the growing West from the opportunity of equal statehood; others championed the equality principle established in the Northwest Ordinance of 1787, which gave each new state the same rights as the original thirteen.

Other issues that were dealt with were the need for balancing sectional economic interests; for settling arguments between the three branches of government; the term and selection of the chief executive; and the kind of courts to be established as well as the tenure of judges.

After sitting through the hot Philadelphia summer, the convention finally completed the writing of the constitution. The government that was described in the constitution was one of popular sovereignty, tempered by a system of checks and balances. Its stated role seems very small to the modern reader. The new government would have full power to tax, borrow money, establish tariffs, regulate interstate commerce, grant patents, and copyrights, coin money, fix weights and measures, set up post offices, and build post roads. The central government could now raise and maintain an army and navy, manage American Indian affairs, wage war and conduct foreign policy. It could pass laws for controlling public lands and naturalizing foreigners; it could admit new states on the basis of absolute equality with the older states. Congress was granted the power to pass all necessary and proper laws for executing these clearly defined mandates. This, in addition to the amendment process, allowed the Constitution of the United States of America to be an enduring document which could serve the needs of citizens for generations to come.

The principle of separation of powers was implemented in most state constitutions and had proved worthy of emulation on a national level. Thus, the convention set up a governmental system with separate legislative, executive, and judiciary branches, each checked by the others. Congressional bills would not become law until approved by the president. The president had to submit the most important of his appointments (judges, ambassadors, cabinet department secretaries) and all treaties to the Senate for confirmation. The president could be impeached by the House of Representatives and then removed from office by the Senate. The judiciary was to hear cases arising from the Constitution and federal laws. Eventually, the courts were empowered to interpret both the fundamental and the statute law (though this role would not be clearly defined for a couple decades). Members of the judiciary, appointed by the president and confirmed by the Senate, could also be impeached by Congress.

To protect the Constitution from easily being changed at the whim of Congress, the President, or even the public, Article V stipulated that amendments to the Constitution be proposed either by 2/3 of both houses of Congress or by 2/3 of the states, meeting in convention. The proposals were then to be ratified by one of two methods; the legislatures of 3/4 of the states, or by conventions in 3/4 of the states, with the Congress proposing the method to be used.

Under the Articles of Confederation, the central government had possessed, on paper, significant powers, which did not really work in practice as the states paid no attention to them. The framers of the Constitution knew they must devise a system where this sorry state would not be repeated.

RATIFICATION AND THE BILL OF RIGHTS

After 16 weeks of deliberation, on September 17, 1787, the Constitution was signed by 39 of the 42 delegates present. Franklin, pointing to the golden half-sun painted on the back of Washington's chair, said:

"I have often in the course of the session ... looked at that [chair] behind the president, without being able to tell whether it was rising or setting; but now, at length, I have the happiness to know that it is a rising, and not a setting, sun."

With the convention over, it was time for a drink! The members "adjourned to the City Tavern, dined together, and took a cordial leave of each other." Yet the debate among the citizens of the United States over this new document was only beginning. The consent of popularly elected state conventions was still required before the document would become the law of the land.

Under the rules laid out by the convention, the Constitution would take effect when 9 of the 13 state legislatures had ratified it. On 21 June 1788, New Hampshire became the ninth state to ratify the Constitution. However, two of the largest states, Virginia and New York had not. Most people believed that without the support of these populous states, the Constitution would never be honored. To many, the document seemed full of dangers: Many felt that the strong central government that it established could tyrannize them or oppress them with heavy taxes, or drag them into endless wars.

Differing views on these questions brought into existence two factions, the Federalists, who favored a strong central government, and the Anti-Federalists, who preferred a weak central government and a loose association of separate states. Throughout the year following the Constitutional Convention, arguments raged on both sides in the press, the legislatures, and the state conventions. Support for the new constitution was led by Alexander Hamilton, John Jay, and James Madison who advocated for ratification in a series of essays known as The Federalist Papers. The essays, published in New York newspapers, provided an argument to the citizens for a central federal government, with separate executive, legislative, and judicial branches that checked and balanced one another.

In Virginia, the Anti-Federalists were led by Patrick Henry, who became their chief spokesman and who feared the powers granted to the new central government. Anti-Federalists attacked the proposed new government by challenging the opening phrase of the Constitution: "We the People of the United States." Without using the individual state names in the Constitution, the delegates argued, the states would not retain their separate rights or powers. Fear of the loss of individual and state's right caused many in the convention to agree with the proposal for a Bill of Rights. With this caveat, enough Anti-Federalists decided to ratify the Constitution on June 25. New York, voted to ratify the next day.

Anti-Federalists were also concerned that the Constitution did not protect individual freedoms and rights sufficiently. George Mason, the author of Virginia's Declaration of Rights of 1776, was one of three delegates who refused to sign the Constitution because it did not enumerate individual rights. Together with Patrick Henry, he campaigned against ratification of the Constitution by Virginia, only relenting when the Federalists agreed to a series of amendments which laid out the protection of certain rights. Indeed, five states joined Virginia and ratified the Constitution on the condition that such amendments be added immediately.

When the first Congress convened in New York City (then the Capital of the United States) in September 1789, it quickly adopted 12 such amendments. In December 1791, enough states had ratified the first 10 amendments to Constitution. These are known as the Bill of Rights and they include protections of freedom of speech, press, religion, and the right to assemble peacefully, protest and petition for changes in the First Amendment. The Second protects the people's right to bear arms and the Fourth protects against unreasonable searches, seizures of property, and arrest. The Fifth through Eighth Amendments covers due process of law in all criminal and civil cases with a right to a fair and speedy trial, and protection against cruel and unusual punishment. The Ninth and Tenth were explicitly stated at the insistence of the Anti-Federalists stating that the people retain additional rights not listed in the Constitution and that powers not limited by the Constitution are retained by the people and the states.

With the Constitution now firmly in place as the law of the land, the work of growing and nurturing the young country was only just beginning.

The Bill of Rights

Ratified December 15, 1791

Article I

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.

Article II

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.

Article III

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 to be prescribed by law.

Article IV

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.

Article V

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.

Article VI

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 defence.

Article VII

In Suits at 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 reexamined in any Court of the United States, than according to the rules of the common law.

Article VIII

Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishment inflicted.

Article IX

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

Article X

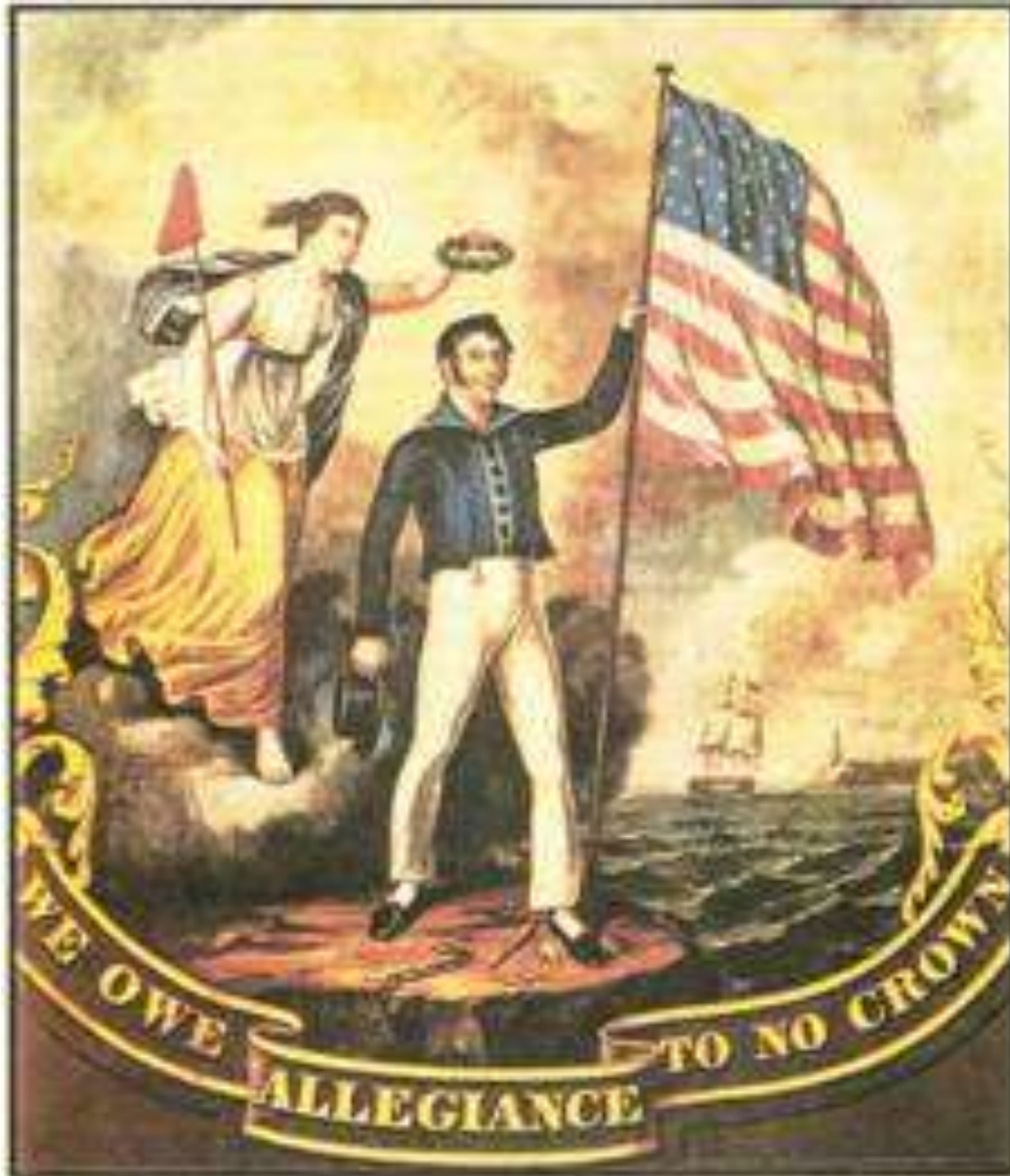
The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.

*A reminder to be ever vigilant in the protection of these rights
Presented in loving memory of Corliss Lamont 1902-1995*

National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee
New York, NY 10010

Chapter Three:

Struggles of a New Nation



Primary source document Reading:

WASHINGTON'S INAUGURAL ADDRESS

OF 1789

A Transcription

[April 30, 1789]

Fellow Citizens of the Senate and the House of Representatives. Among the vicissitudes incident to life, no event could have filled me with greater anxieties than that of which the notification was transmitted by your order, and received on the fourteenth day of the present month. On the one hand, I was summoned by my Country, whose voice I can never hear but with veneration and love, from a retreat which I had chosen with the fondest predilection, and, in my flattering hopes, with an immutable decision, as the asylum of my declining years: a retreat which was rendered every day more necessary as well as more dear to me, by the addition of habit to inclination, and of frequent interruptions in my health to the gradual waste committed on it by time. On the other hand, the magnitude and difficulty of the trust to which the voice of my Country called me, being sufficient to awaken in the wisest and most experienced of her citizens, a distrustful scrutiny into his qualifications, could not but overwhelm with despondence, one, who, inheriting inferior endowments from nature and unpracticed in the duties of civil administration, ought to be peculiarly conscious of his own deficiencies. In this conflict of emotions, all I dare aver, is, that it has been my faithful study to collect my duty from a just appreciation of every circumstance, by which it might be affected. All I dare hope, is, that, if in executing this task I have been too much swayed by a grateful remembrance of former instances, or by an affectionate sensibility to this transcendent proof, of the confidence of my fellow-citizens; and have thence too little consulted my incapacity as well as disinclination for the weighty and untried cares before me; my error will be palliated by the motives which misled me, and its consequences be judged by my Country, with some share of the partiality in which they originated.

Such being the impressions under which I have, in obedience to the public summons, repaired to the present station; it would be peculiarly improper to omit in this first official Act, my fervent supplications to that Almighty Being who rules over the Universe, who presides in the Councils of Nations, and whose providential aids can supply every human defect, that his benediction may consecrate to the liberties and

happiness of the People of the United States, a Government instituted by themselves for these essential purposes: and may enable every instrument employed in its administration to execute with success, the functions allotted to his charge. In tendering this homage to the Great Author of every public and private good I assure myself that it expresses your sentiments not less than my own; nor those of my fellow-citizens at large, less than either. No People can be bound to acknowledge and adore the invisible hand, which conducts the Affairs of men more than the People of the United States. Every step, by which they have advanced to the character of an independent nation, seems to have been distinguished by some token of providential agency. And in the important revolution just accomplished in the system of their United Government, the tranquil deliberations and voluntary consent of so many distinct communities, from which the event has resulted, cannot be compared with the means by which most Governments have been established, without some return of pious gratitude along with an humble anticipation of the future blessings which the past seem to presage. These reflections, arising out of the present crisis, have forced themselves too strongly on my mind to be suppressed. You will join with me I trust in thinking, that there are none under the influence of which, the proceedings of a new and free Government can more auspiciously commence.

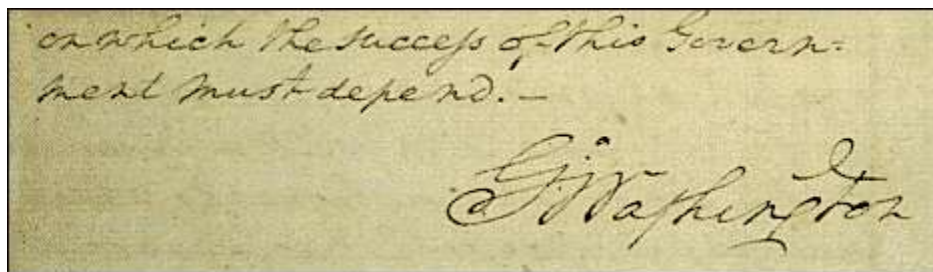
By the article establishing the Executive Department, it is made the duty of the President "to recommend to your consideration, such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient." The circumstances under which I now meet you, will acquit me from entering into that subject, farther than to refer to the Great Constitutional Charter under which you are assembled; and which, in defining your powers, designates the objects to which your attention is to be given. It will be more consistent with those circumstances, and far more congenial with the feelings which actuate me, to substitute, in place of a recommendation of particular measures, the tribute that is due to the talents, the rectitude, and the patriotism which adorn the characters selected to devise and adopt them. In these honorable qualifications, I behold the surest pledges, that as on one side, no local prejudices, or attachments; no separate views, nor party animosities, will misdirect the comprehensive and equal eye which ought to watch over this great assemblage of communities and interests: so, on another, that the foundations of our National policy will be laid in the pure and immutable principles of private morality; and the pre-eminence of a free Government, be exemplified by all the attributes which can win the affections of its Citizens, and command the respect of the world.

I dwell on this prospect with every satisfaction which an ardent love for my Country can inspire: since there is no truth more thoroughly established, than that there exists in the economy and course of nature, an indissoluble union between virtue and happiness, between duty and advantage, between the genuine maxims of an honest and magnanimous policy, and the solid rewards of public prosperity and felicity: Since we ought to be no less persuaded that the propitious smiles of Heaven, can never be expected on a nation that disregards the eternal rules of order and right, which Heaven itself has ordained: And since the preservation of the sacred fire of liberty, and the destiny of the Republican model of Government, are justly considered as deeply, perhaps as finally staked, on the experiment entrusted to the hands of the American people.

Besides the ordinary objects submitted to your care, it will remain with your judgment to decide, how far an exercise of the occasional power delegated by the Fifth article of the Constitution is rendered expedient at the present juncture by the nature of objections which have been urged against the System, or by the degree of inquietude which has given birth to them. Instead of undertaking particular recommendations on this subject, in which I could be guided by no lights derived from official opportunities, I shall again give way to my entire confidence in your discernment and pursuit of the public good: For I assure myself that whilst you carefully avoid every alteration which might endanger the benefits of an United and effective Government, or which ought to await the future lessons of experience; a reverence for the characteristic rights of freemen, and a regard for the public harmony, will sufficiently influence your deliberations on the question how far the former can be more impreguably fortified, or the latter be safely and advantageously promoted.

To the preceding observations I have one to add, which will be most properly addressed to the House of Representatives. It concerns myself, and will therefore be as brief as possible. When I was first honored with a call into the Service of my Country, then on the eve of an arduous struggle for its liberties, the light in which I contemplated my duty required that I should renounce every pecuniary compensation. From this resolution I have in no instance departed. And being still under the impressions which produced it, I must decline as inapplicable to myself, any share in the personal emoluments, which may be indispensably included in a permanent provision for the Executive Department; and must accordingly pray that the pecuniary estimates for the Station in which I am placed, may, during my continuance in it, be limited to such actual expenditures as the public good may be thought to require.

Having thus imported to you my sentiments, as they have been awakened by the occasion which brings us together, I shall take my present leave; but not without resorting once more to the benign parent of the human race, in humble supplication that since he has been pleased to favor the American people, with opportunities for deliberating in perfect tranquility, and dispositions for deciding with unparalleled unanimity on a form of Government, for the security of their Union, and the advancement of their happiness; so his divine blessing may be equally *conspicuous* in the enlarged views, the temperate consultations, and the wise measures on which the success of this Government must depend.

A rectangular image showing a close-up of a handwritten document. The text is written in cursive ink on aged, yellowish paper. The first line reads "on which the success of this Govern-" and the second line reads "ment must depend. -". Below this, there is a large, stylized signature that reads "G. Washington".

on which the success of this Govern-
ment must depend. -
G. Washington

Washington's signature

WASHINGTON AS PRESIDENT

Once the ratification of the Constitution was complete, the real business of governing, consolidating and expanding the young nation was next. One of the last acts of the Congress under the Articles of Confederation was to arrange for the first elections under the new Constitution. March 4, 1789, marked the beginning of the first Congress under the new Constitution. Next, the first president would be elected. George Washington towered over all other candidates, both physically, and metaphorically. He was elected by the electors unanimously, and John Adams became his Vice President. Washington took the oath of office at his inauguration on April 30, 1789, pledging to execute the duties of the office of president faithfully and, to "preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States."

When Washington took office, the new Constitution was not yet a universally revered document. The nascent government had to create its own machinery such as federal departments and legislate a system of taxation that would support it. Until a judiciary could be established, laws could not be enforced. The army was small and the navy nearly non-existent. Congress provided for a federal judiciary; a Supreme Court, with one chief justice and five associate justices and 13 district courts. Three circuit courts which initially consisted of two supreme court justices and one district judge (since changed due to court restructuring in the 1890s) would travel around the country to hear cases. Congress also created the Department State with Thomas Jefferson serving as the first secretary, and the Department of the Treasury, with Alexander Hamilton serving secretary. Two other departments, War (called the Defense Department since 1949) and Justice were also created. The American presidential Cabinet came into existence, consisting of the heads of all the departments. Washington valued the judgment of other people when making decisions. At this time, The Treasury Department ran just about everything not covered by the few other departments, such as the Post Office. It had 325 employees, which was more than half of the entire federal civil service workforce (in 2018, the Federal Government employs about 2.8 million civilian workers).

The very existence of the nation was threatened by the enormous debts of the various states left over from the Revolution, which left the United States on the verge of bankruptcy. Issues such as inflation and currency devaluation compounded the problems for the common people, and had to be dealt with immediately. The Secretary of the Treasury, Alexander Hamilton, was able to create a new currency, the United States Dollar backed by gold, and at the same time had the federal government assume the debts of all the states in order solve the crisis. To this end, Congress passed a tax on whiskey to raise money to pay off these newly acquired debts. Whiskey, made from corn, the most common crop on the frontier,

was the basis of the livelihoods of the majority of citizens living in the western areas of the United States. It was often used as currency in these rural areas, and they saw any tax on it as a potential disaster. In 1794, violence broke out when law officers in Pennsylvania attempted to arrest a number of tax evaders. The riot that ensued soon turned into a revolt referred to today as the Whiskey Rebellion. A number of people were killed in the ensuing fighting, and President Washington sent 15,000 militiamen from Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Maryland and Virginia to quash the uprising. This was quickly accomplished, and the ringleaders were tried and convicted of treason, however, Washington later pardoned them and they were spared from hanging. The episode demonstrated the new national government had the willingness and ability to suppress violent resistance to its laws, which the previous government under the Articles of Confederation had demonstrably been unable to do.



President Washington reviews the Militiamen before they are sent to combat the Whiskey Rebellion rebels.

Under the steady hand of Washington, the nation continued to expand and prosper. Although many items were still homemade, the Industrial Revolution was dawning in the United States. Massachusetts and Rhode Island were laying the foundation of important textile (clothing) industries; Connecticut was beginning to turn out clocks and tinwork; New Jersey, New York, and Pennsylvania were producing glass, paper, and iron. In the late 1700s, the United States was only second to Britain in shipping. Even before 1790, American ships were traveling to *China* to sell furs and bring back tea, spices, and silk.

With this expansion, it was critical that Washington set the United States on a path that would serve it for generations to come. Thus, he organized the national government, developed policies for settlement of territories previously held by Britain and Spain, stabilized the northwestern frontier, and oversaw the admission of three new states: Vermont (1791), Kentucky (1792), and Tennessee (1796). After serving two terms as President, he was eager to return home to his beloved Mt. Vernon and his wife Martha. In his Farewell Address, published in newspapers around the country, he cautioned the nation to "steer clear of permanent alliances with any portion of the foreign world." The advice would influence America's isolationist attitudes toward the rest of the world for the next 100 years.

HAMILTON VS. JEFFERSON



Alexander Hamilton represented on the Ten Dollar Bill and Thomas Jefferson represented on the Two Dollar Bill

During Washington's presidency, a conflict within his cabinet reflected the nation as a whole, and a growing divide between America's first political parties. The Federalists, led by Alexander Hamilton, and the Republicans (also called Democratic-Republicans), led by Thomas Jefferson each had clearly defined issues as well as competing demographic and regional interests.

The Federalists represented the interests of the growing manufacturing industry and trade, which they saw as a positive force in the country. They believed the modern economy could only be advanced by a strong central

government capable of establishing sound public credit and a stable currency. The Federalists feared the radicalism of the masses, which was being demonstrated across the ocean in France at the time of the French Revolution. Their political stronghold was in the New England states, with its strong manufacturing and middle-class base. The Federalists harbored few grudges against Britain, and instead saw it as an example the United States should try to emulate, and thus they favored good relations with their former mother country.

Alexander Hamilton was never able to gain enough popular appeal to stand successfully for elective office, (and as he was born outside the United States on Nevis, a Caribbean island, thus he was ineligible to be president), he remained the Federalists' idea man. He was worked towards efficiency, order, and organization. When the House of Representatives called for a plan for the "adequate support of public credit," he laid down and supported principles not only of the public economy, but of effective government. Hamilton maintained the United States must have credit for commercial activity, industrial development, and the operations of government must have the support of the people.

Hamilton insisted upon full payment of the Confederation's national debt as well as a plan for the federal government to take over the unpaid debts of the states incurred during the Revolution. He also secured congressional legislation for a Bank of the United States. Modeled after the Bank of England, it acted as the nation's central financial institution and operated branches in different parts of the country. Hamilton helped establish a national mint, and argued in favor of tariffs, saying that temporary protectionist policies could help foster the development of competitive domestic industries. By placing the credit of the federal government on a firm foundation and giving it all the revenues it needed, Hamilton's policies encouraged commerce and industry, and created greater support for the national government by the business and merchant classes.

The Republicans, led by Thomas Jefferson, had a very different vision for the new United States. Jefferson believed that the nation should remain an agrarian society of independent farmers. The Republicans distrusted bankers, cared little for commerce and manufacturing, and believed that freedom and democracy flourished best in a rural society composed of yeoman farmers. They favored a relatively weak central government, which they saw as a source of oppression. Therefore the Republicans favored states' rights and had their strongest constituency in the South.

While Hamilton's great aim was more efficient and robust government, Jefferson once said, "I am not a friend to a very energetic

government." Hamilton feared anarchy and focused on order; Jefferson feared tyranny and focused on freedom. Though Hamilton saw England as an example, Jefferson, who had been minister to France in the early stages of the French Revolution, saw the overthrow of the French monarchy as vindication of the liberal ideals of the Enlightenment, and thus as a sister revolution to that of the United States. Against Hamilton's instinctive conservatism, he displayed an idealistic democratic radicalism.

An early clash between them, which occurred while Jefferson served as Secretary of State and Hamilton served as Secretary of the Treasury, led to a new and profoundly important interpretation of the Constitution. When Hamilton's allies in Congress introduced his bill to establish the national bank, Jefferson objected, saying that the Constitution expressly enumerated all the powers belonging to the federal government and reserved all other powers to the states. Thus, nowhere was the federal government empowered to set up a bank.

Hamilton responded that because the Constitution was intentionally vague, many powers were implied by general clauses such as Article I, Section 8, which authorized Congress to "make all laws which shall be necessary and proper" for carrying out the powers specifically granted. The Constitution allowed the national government to pay debts, levy and collect taxes, and borrow money. A national bank, in Hamilton's view would be necessary in performing these functions efficiently. Congress, therefore, was entitled, under its implied powers, to create such a bank. Washington and the Congress accepted Hamilton's view, and set an important precedent for an expansive interpretation of the federal government's authority.

THE BEGINNINGS OF FOREIGN POLICY

With the loss of the protection of the British Empire, and especially its navy after the Revolution, the United States was in a precarious international situation, and the president could not ignore foreign affairs. Washington's foreign policy was to preserve peace, to give the country time to recover from its birth pangs, and to continue gradual national integration. Events in Europe, however, threatened these goals. Many Americans watched the French Revolution with keen interest and sympathy. In April 1793, news came that France had declared war on Great Britain and Spain, and that a new French envoy, Edmond Charles Genet, or Citizen Genet in the revolutionary parlance, was coming to the United States.

When the revolution in France led to the execution of King Louis XVI in January 1793, Britain, Spain, and Holland went to war with France. According to the Franco-American Treaty of Alliance of 1778, the United

States and France were perpetual allies, and thus the United States was obliged to help France in its war against Britain. However, the United States was a very weak country economically and militarily and was in no position to become involved in a war with major European powers. Washington also noted that the treaty as a deal between the United States and the French king, whom the current government had beheaded.

On April 22, 1793, Washington effectively ended the terms of the 1778 treaty with his Neutrality proclamation, saying the United States was be "friendly and impartial toward the belligerent powers." Genet, angered at the lack of official support, he violated a promise not to outfit a captured British ship as a privateer (privately owned warships commissioned to prey on ships of enemy nations). Genet then threatened to appeal his case directly to the American people, over the head of the government. Shortly afterward, the United States requested his recall by the French government. However, by that time this could be arranged, the government in France had changed once again, and Genet, fearing for his life, begged to be allowed to remain in the United States, which Washington grudgingly agreed to.

The Genet incident strained American relations with France at a time when those with Great Britain were also not notably cordial. British troops still occupied forts in the Old West in violation of the Treaty of Paris (1783), property damaged and stolen by British soldiers during the Revolution had not been returned or paid for, and the British Navy was seizing American ships bound for European ports. The two nations seemed to be drifting toward war. John Jay, first chief justice of the Supreme Court, was sent by Washington to London as a special envoy. Jay negotiated a treaty where the British agreed to pull their soldiers out from western forts but allowed the British to continue trading fur with the Indians in the Northwest. The British agreed to pay damages for American cargoes and ships seized in 1793 and 1794, but would not to commit seizing more in the future. The treaty also failed to deal with the issue of the Royal Navy's "impressment" of American sailors into service and placed severe limitations on American trade with the West Indies. It accepted the British view that food and naval stores, as well as war materiel, were contraband subject to seizure if bound for enemy ports on neutral ships.

The diplomat Charles Pinckney had more success dealing with Spain. In 1795, he negotiated a treaty placing the Florida border where the US had insisted and giving Americans access to New Orleans's port. The Jay Treaty with the British reflected a continuing American weakness compared to Britain. The treaty was extremely unpopular with most Americans and was vocally backed only by Federalists who valued economic and cultural ties

with Britain. Washington supported it as the best bargain America could get, and, after a heated debate, the Senate approved it.

The Citizen Genet affair and Jay's Treaty demonstrated both the difficulties faced by a small, new nation caught between two great powers and the wide disparity in worldviews between Federalists and Republicans. To the Federalists, Republican backers of the increasingly violent and radical French Revolution were dangerous radicals ("Jacobins"). To the Republicans, advocates of amity with England were monarchists who would subvert the natural rights of Americans. The politics of their conflicting positions, along with disagreements about domestic policy only grew stronger once the unifying force of Washington left the scene.

ADAMS AND JEFFERSON

Washington left office in 1797, setting the precedent (broken only by Franklin Roosevelt) to not serve for more than two terms as the nation's chief executive. Thomas Jefferson of Virginia (Republican) and John Adams (Federalist) challenged each other in order to succeed him. Adams won a narrow electoral victory, though the loyalties of the party throughout his term would be split between himself and his rival Alexander Hamilton.

Events in Europe would prove a challenge to Adams. France, who had been angered by the Jay Treaty with Britain, began to seize American ships headed for Britain as contraband. By 1797 France had taken 300 American ships and broken off diplomatic relations with the United States. Adams then sent three commissioners to Paris to negotiate with agents of Foreign Minister Charles Maurice de Talleyrand (the agents were called X, Y, and Z for secrecy in his report to Congress). These agents informed the Americans that negotiations would only take place if the United States loaned French treasury \$12 million as well as bribed officials of the French government (including the agents and Talleyrand himself). The Americans were furious and refused to pay the bribes, and were thus deported. When news of these events reach American news papers, the cry of "Millions for defense, but not one cent in tribute!" The XYZ Affair led the strengthening of the fledgling U.S. Navy with Congress authorizing more funds for the completion of six new frigates ordered several years before.

In the late 1790s, the French and Americans were on the brink of war. Indeed, after a series of sea battles in what is known as The Quasi-War with France, both sides (with opposition from Hamilton) agreed to re-open negotiations. Napoleon, who had just come to power, received the American embassy more equitably than the previous government. The danger of conflict subsided with the negotiation of the Convention of 1800, which

formally released the United States from its 1778 defense alliance with France. However, the Americans were not able to convince France to pay \$20 million in compensation for American ships taken by the French Navy, but the threat of war had subsided.

Hostility to France had led Congress, with the support of President Adams, to pass the Alien and Sedition Acts, which curtailed American civil liberties. The Naturalization Act, which changed the requirement for citizenship from five to 14 years, was targeted at Irish and French immigrants suspected of supporting the Republicans. The Alien Act, which was only in place for two years, gave the president the power to expel or imprison aliens (non-citizens) in time of war. The Sedition Act limited free expression by making it illegal to write, speak, or publish anything of "a false, scandalous, and malicious" nature against the president or Congress. The few convictions under the Act only created martyrs to the cause of civil liberties and aroused popular support for the Republicans.

By 1800 the American people were ready for a change. Under Washington and Adams, the Federalists had established a strong government, but sometimes at the cost of the principle that the American government must be responsive to the will of the people. The Federalists had adopted many policies that alienated too many people. In 1798 they enacted a tax on land, houses, and slaves, affecting every property owner in the country- and property owners were almost the only voters in the nation at this time.

Jefferson had steadily gathered behind him the masses of shopkeepers, small farmers, and other workers. His victory, however, was still a close one. The election was significant particularly as it was the first time in modern history that one government would turn the reigns of power over to their rivals without a struggle. Europe watched eagerly, to see if such a peaceful exchange would indeed occur. But there was not a struggle, and Jefferson became president in 1801. His inaugural address was the first such speech in the new capital of Washington, D.C. (Adams had moved to Washington, DC after his term of office began). Jefferson promised "a wise and frugal government" that would preserve order but leave the people "otherwise free to regulate their own pursuits of industry, and improvement."

Jefferson attempted to put his principles into action. He preached and practiced democratic simplicity, eschewing much of the pomp and ceremony of the presidency (Adams, following Washington's example, had worn a sword on ceremonial occasions, though Adams had no military background). In line with Republican ideology, he sharply cut military expenditures, reducing the army to a mere 2000 men. In an attempt to

encourage immigration, somewhat unsuccessfully, he secured a liberal naturalization law. His Secretary of the Treasury, Albert Gallatin, managed to reduce the national debt to less than \$560 million. Widely popular, Jefferson won reelection easily to a second term.

During Jefferson's first term, Alexander Hamilton and the former vice-president of the United States, Aaron Burr, became embroiled in a dispute over politics which soon turned personal. After a series of insults were exchanged, Burr challenged Hamilton to a duel. The two met on the morning of July 11, 1804, in what was to become the most famous duel in American history. Hamilton was outmatched, but he had no desire to kill Burr. It was customary for men who had second thoughts to simply shoot into the air, or not fire at all in expectation that by simply being at the duel would satisfy honor. Hamilton refused to fire at Burr, most likely shooting in the air above his head. Burr, however, had no such self-doubts and he took careful aim and shot Hamilton in the chest. A short time later, the former Secretary of the Treasury, and one of the greatest political thinkers in American history, died.



A 20th-century artistic rendering of the July 11, 1804 duel between Aaron Burr and Alexander Hamilton by J. Mund.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS DURING JEFFERSON'S PRESIDENCY

At the end of the Revolutionary War, the borders of the United States extended, somewhat vaguely, to the Mississippi River. When the Seven Years' War ended, France had all ceded its territory west of the Mississippi River to Spain. With the settlement of Tennessee and the Ohio Valley, access to the port of New Orleans, where the Mississippi met the Gulf of Mexico, was vital for the shipment of American products from these areas. Shortly after Jefferson became president, Napoleon forced a weak Spanish government to cede this great tract, the Louisiana Territory, back to France. Napoleon's original plans for a huge colonial empire just west of the United States seriously threatened the future development of the United States. Jefferson asserted that if France took possession of Louisiana, "from that moment we must marry ourselves to the British fleet and nation." With his anti-British sentiments, this was not a situation he looked forward to.

Napoleon, however, lost interest in the Western Hemisphere after the French were expelled from Haiti by a slave revolt, and war once again on the horizon in Europe. He resolved to fill his treasury and put Louisiana beyond the reach of Britain by selling it to the United States. Thus, when America offered him 5 Million dollars for the port on New Orleans, he countered by offering all of the Louisiana territory (including New Orleans) for 15 million dollars. His offer presented Jefferson with a constitutional dilemma. The Constitution conferred no explicit power to purchase territory, and there were some in Congress that would refuse to vote funds for the endeavor. At first the president wanted to propose an amendment, but delay might lead Napoleon to change his mind. Eventually, he decided, with reservations, that the power to purchase territory was inherent in the power to make treaties, saying that "the good sense of our country will correct the evil of loose construction when it shall produce ill effects."

The United States obtained the "Louisiana Purchase" 1803, (the same year that Ohio became a state). It contained more than 2,600,000 square kilometers including the port of New Orleans. The nation had doubled its territory and gained rich plains, forests, mountains, and river systems that within 80 years would become its heartland, and a breadbasket for the world.

When Jefferson began his second term in 1805, he declared American neutrality in the struggle between Great Britain and France, which now occupied almost all of continental Europe. In 1807, the British passed the Orders-in-Council, which forbade all trade with Continental Europe. Although both sides sought to restrict neutral shipping to each other, British control of the seas made its interdiction and seizure much more serious than any

actions by Napoleonic France. British naval commanders routinely searched American ships, seized vessels and cargoes, and in a process known as **impressment**, abducted sailors believed to be British subjects, frequently pressing American seamen into the British navy.

Jefferson decided to rely on economic pressure to force the British, and to a lesser extent, the French, to stop trampling on the freedom of the seas. In December 1807, Congress passed the Embargo Act, forbidding all foreign commerce. Ironically, the law required strong police authority that vastly increased the powers of the national government, in direct violation to the principles Jefferson espoused. Economically, it was an epic failure. In a single year American exports, which had been some of the highest in the world, fell to one-fifth of what they had been before the Act. Shipping interests were almost ruined by the measure, while the once vibrant shipbuilding industry collapsed. Discontent rose in the mercantile regions of New York and New England. Agricultural interests also suffered heavily. Prices dropped drastically when the Western and Southern farmers could not export their surplus meat, grain, cotton, and tobacco.

The embargo hurt the United States at the same time it failed to starve Great Britain into a change of policy. As the discontent at home increased, Jefferson tried to mitigate the disaster by partially conciliating domestic shipping interests. In 1809 he signed the Non-Intercourse Act which permitted commerce with all countries except Britain or France and their dependencies.

Despite the unpopularity of the Embargo Act, another Republican, James Madison succeeded Jefferson as president in the election of 1809. Relations with Great Britain grew worse, and the two nations moved rapidly toward war. Congress received a detailed report, showing several thousand instances in which the British had impressed American citizens. In addition, northwestern settlers had suffered from attacks by Indians whom they believed had been incited by British agents in Canada because of the competition between the British Canadians and the Americans in the fur trade industry. Many Americans also favored the conquest of Canada and the elimination of British influence in North America altogether, as well as vengeance for impressment and commercial repression. By 1812, newspapers and most Republicans were clamoring for war. On June 18, the United States declared war on Britain.

THE WAR OF 1812

The nation went to war bitterly divided. While the South and West had their reasons for wanting war, the merchant states of New York and New England opposed it because it interfered with their commerce, as Britain was their main trading partner. The U.S. military was minuscule. The army had fewer than 7,000 regular soldiers, distributed in widely scattered posts along the coast, near the Canadian border, and throughout the thousands of miles of the remote interior. The state militias were poorly trained and lacked discipline.

Hostilities began with a poorly planned and executed invasion of Canada. The mass of the US Army, over 2000 men, gathered in the territory of Michigan in preparation what was predicted to be an easy victory over British forces in Canada. Instead, through trickery and a calculated use of fear, the British General Brock convinced the American General Hull to surrender his entire force without firing a shot. The U.S. Navy, however, scored successes. In addition, American privateers, swarming the Atlantic, captured 500 British vessels during the fall and winter months of 1812 and 1813.



The USS Constitution captures HMS Guerriere, 19 August 1812

The campaign of 1813 centered on Lake Erie. General William Henry Harrison, who would later become president, led a large force of militia, volunteers, and regulars north from Kentucky with the re-conquest of Detroit as the objective. On September 12, while he was in upper Ohio, he received word that Commodore Oliver Hazard Perry had destroyed the British fleet on Lake Erie, clearing the way for another attempt by the US to invade Canada. Harrison occupied Detroit and pushed into Canada, defeating the fleeing British and their Indian allies on the Thames River. The campaign to the north faltered however, and the Americans had to return without gaining much territory.

A year later, when the British attempted to counterattack, the force was stopped when Commodore Thomas Macdonough's small fleet defeated the British flotilla on Lake Champlain in upper New York. Deprived of naval support, a British invasion force of 10,000 men retreated back to Canada. By this point however, the Napoleonic Wars were drawing to a close, and the British had more resources to send to North America. Consequently, the British fleet harassed the Eastern seaboard with orders to "destroy and lay waste." On the night of August 24, 1814, a small force routed the American militia sent to meet them, then continued to Washington, D.C., and burnt the city to the ground. President James Madison fled to Virginia. A few days later, they tried to do that same thing to nearby Baltimore, but they were stopped by the fort guarding the city in a battle about which an American observer, Frances Scott Key, would later write the "The Star Spangled Banner."

British and American diplomats conducted talks in the Belgian city of Ghent. With stalemate on the horizon, and war fatigue setting in on both populations, negotiations were settled on and the Treaty of Ghent was signed December 24, 1814. The treaty provided for the end of hostilities, the restoration of all territory taken during the war, and a commission to settle boundary disputes. Essentially nothing was accomplished, and both sides returned to Status Quo Ante Bellum. This was possible of course, because with the Napoleonic Wars over, many of the issues which sparked the war, such as impressment and the British blockade of Europe, were no longer relevant. Unaware that a peace treaty had been signed, both sides continued fighting into 1815 in New Orleans, Louisiana. Led by **General Andrew Jackson**, the United States scored the greatest land victory of the war, decimating the British veterans and ending any British hopes of reestablishing continental influence south of the Canadian border.

While the war still raged, however, Federalist delegates selected by the legislatures of Rhode Island, Massachusetts, Connecticut, New Hampshire and Vermont, gathered in Hartford, Connecticut in an expression of

opposition to "Mr. Madison's war." New England had continued to trade with the enemy throughout the war, and some areas prospered from this commerce. Still, the Federalists claimed that the war was ruining the economy. Even the possibility of secession from the Union was discussed, though never brought to a vote. With the war over, and with the tremendous victory at New Orleans most Americans were jubilant. The Federalists would garnish a stigma of disloyalty from which they never recovered. The party would effectively cease to exist within 5 years.

Manifest Destiny



Primary source document Reading: Excerpted from "The Great Nation of Futurity," *The United States Democratic Review*

John L. O'Sullivan on *Manifest Destiny*

[1839]

The American people having derived their origin from many other nations, and the Declaration of National Independence being entirely based on the great principle of human equality, these facts demonstrate at once our disconnected position as regards any other nation; that we have, in reality, but little connection with the past history of any of them, and still less with all antiquity, its glories, or its crimes. On the contrary, our national birth was the beginning of a new history, the formation and progress of an untried political system, which separates us from the past and connects us with the future only; and so far as regards the entire development of the natural rights of man, in moral, political, and national life, we may confidently assume that our country is destined to be the great nation of futurity.

It is so destined, because the principle upon which a nation is organized fixes its destiny, and that of equality is perfect, is universal. It presides in all the operations of the physical world, and it is also the conscious law of the soul -- the self-evident dictates of morality, which accurately defines the duty of man to man, and consequently man's rights as man. Besides, the truthful annals of any nation furnish abundant evidence, that its happiness, its greatness, its duration, were always proportionate to the democratic equality in its system of government. . . .

What friend of human liberty, civilization, and refinement, can cast his view over the past history of the monarchies and aristocracies of antiquity, and not deplore that they ever existed? What philanthropist can contemplate the oppressions, the cruelties, and injustice inflicted by them on the masses of mankind, and not turn with moral horror from the retrospect?

America is destined for better deeds. It is our unparalleled glory that we have no reminiscences of battle fields, but in defense of humanity, of the oppressed of all nations, of the rights of conscience, the rights of personal enfranchisement. Our annals describe no scenes of horrid carnage, where men were led on by hundreds of thousands to slay one another, dupes and victims to emperors, kings, nobles, demons in the human form called heroes. We have had patriots to defend our homes, our liberties, but no aspirants to crowns or thrones; nor have the American people ever suffered themselves to be led on by wicked ambition to depopulate the land, to

spread desolation far and wide, that a human being might be placed on a seat of supremacy.

We have no interest in the scenes of antiquity, only as lessons of avoidance of nearly all their examples. The expansive future is our arena, and for our history. We are entering on its untrodden space, with the truths of God in our minds, beneficent objects in our hearts, and with a clear conscience unsullied by the past. We are the nation of human progress, and who will, what can, set limits to our onward march? Providence is with us, and no earthly power can. We point to the everlasting truth on the first page of our national declaration, and we proclaim to the millions of other lands, that "the gates of hell" -- the powers of aristocracy and monarchy -- "shall not prevail against it."

The far-reaching, the boundless future will be the era of American greatness. In its magnificent domain of space and time, the nation of many nations is destined to manifest to mankind the excellence of divine principles; to establish on earth the noblest temple ever dedicated to the worship of the Most High -- the Sacred and the True. Its floor shall be a hemisphere -- its roof the firmament of the star-studded heavens, and its congregation an Union of many Republics, comprising hundreds of happy millions, calling, owning no man master, but governed by God's natural and moral law of equality, the law of brotherhood -- of "peace and good will amongst men." .

Yes, we are the nation of progress, of individual freedom, of universal enfranchisement. Equality of rights is the cynosure of our union of States, the grand exemplar of the correlative equality of individuals; and while truth sheds its effulgence, we cannot retrograde, without dissolving the one and subverting the other. We must onward to the fulfillment of our mission -- to the entire development of the principle of our organization -- freedom of conscience, freedom of person, freedom of trade and business pursuits, universality of freedom and equality. This is our high destiny, and in nature's eternal, inevitable decree of cause and effect we must accomplish it. All this will be our future history, to establish on earth the moral dignity and salvation of man -- the immutable truth and beneficence of God. For this blessed mission to the nations of the world, which are shut out from the life-giving light of truth, has America been chosen; and her high example shall smite unto death the tyranny of kings, hierarchs, and oligarchs, and carry the glad tidings of peace and good will where myriads now endure an existence scarcely more enviable than that of beasts of the field. Who, then, can doubt that our country is destined to be the great nation of futurity?



John L. O'Sullivan

THE ERA OF GOOD FEELINGS

Early in the summer of 1817, James Monroe, the nation's fifth president, embarked on a goodwill tour through the Northeast portion of the country, the partisan stronghold of the Federalists who had opposed the War of 1812. Everywhere Monroe went, citizens greeted him warmly, holding parades and banquets in his honor. Even in Boston, the most Federalist of cities, a crowd of 40,000 welcomed the Republican president. **John Quincy Adams** expressed amazement at the acclaim with which the president was greeted: "Party spirit has indeed subsided throughout the Union to a degree that I should have thought scarcely possible."

One newspaper reflecting on the renewal of political consensus called the times the "**Era of Good Feelings**." This phrase is still used to describe the period of James Monroe's presidency, that was marked by an absence of political strife and opposition. The collapse of the Federalist Party after the War of 1812 enabled the Jeffersonian Republicans to completely dominate national politics. This, in turn, allowed the Republicans to adopt (or co-opted) many of the nationalistic policies of their former opponents. They even went so far as establishing a second national bank, and passing a protective tariff, as well as making improvements in transportation.

To the American people, James Monroe was the face of the Era of Good Feelings. His life reflected much of the history of the young republic. He had joined the Continental Army in 1776 and had spent the arduous winter of 1777-1778 at Valley Forge. After the war, he became a member of the Confederation Congress from Virginia, then as a Senator after the new Constitution, and went on to serve as minister to both France and Great Britain. During the War of 1812, he had served as both Secretary of State and Secretary of War at the same time. With the Federalist Party in steep decline, he had been easily elected president, carrying all but three states.

The last of the "Virginia Dynasty" (4 out of the first 5 presidents were from Virginia), Monroe was a dignified and formal man; he was the last president to wear the fashions of the eighteenth century. He continued to wear a powdered wig tied in a queue and dressed in a cocked hat, a black broadcloth tailcoat, knee breeches, long white stockings, and buckled shoes. His political values, too, were inspired by George Washington. Monroe worked to eliminate party and sectional rivalries with both his behavior and attitude. He hoped, like Washington, for a country without political factions, governed by leaders chosen because of their ability and character. Wanting to unite all parts of the country, he tried to appoint a representative of from each region to his cabinet. He even named John Quincy Adams, a former Federalist and the son of the only Federalist president, as Secretary of State. So great was Monroe's popularity that he won a second presidential term nearly unanimously, by an Electoral College vote of 231 to 1. A new era of national harmony appeared to have dawned.

Feeling (rightly or wrongly) that they'd won a great victory in the War of 1812, a new nationalistic spirit in foreign affairs swept the country in the decade following the war. In 1815, this resulted in a decision to end the raids by the North African Barbary pirates on American commercial shipping in the Mediterranean. For seventeen years the United States had paid tribute to the Muslim pirate ruler of Algiers. In March 1815, Captain Stephen Decatur and a fleet of ten ships sailed into the Mediterranean, where they captured two Algerian gunboats, towed the ships into Algiers harbor, and threatened to bombard the city. Algiers quickly relented, followed by all the North African states who then agreed to treaties releasing American

prisoners without ransom, ending all demands for American tribute, and even providing compensation for American vessels that had been seized.



Image Credit: study.com

After successfully defending American interests in North Africa, Monroe felt he was strong enough diplomatically to deal with the British. The United States and Britain had left a number of issues unresolved in the Treaty of Paris ending the War of 1812. These issues included disputes over boundaries, fishing and rights, and rival claims to the Oregon region of the Pacific Northwest. The Rush-Bagot Agreement of 1817 removed most military vessels from the Great Lakes. Britain allowed Americans the right to fish in eastern Canadian waters in 1818, agreed to the 49th parallel as the

boundary between Canada and the United States from Minnesota to the Rocky Mountains, and agreed to joint occupation of the Oregon region, with ownership to be decided later.

An important issue to the United States after the War of 1812 was the fate of Spain's crumbling New World empire. Many of Spain's New World colonies had taken advantage of turmoil in Europe during the Napoleonic Wars to fight for their independence. These revolutions aroused intense sympathy in the United States, where parallels were seen with their own European struggles; however, many Americans feared that European powers might restore monarchical order in Spain's New World.

Florida, which was still under Spanish control was used by pirates, fugitive slaves, and Native Americans as a jumping off point for raids on American settlements in Georgia. In December 1817, to end these incursions, Monroe retro-actively authorized General Andrew Jackson to lead a punitive expedition against the Seminole Indians in Florida. Jackson attacked the Seminoles, destroyed their villages, and overthrew the Spanish governor. He also court-martialed and executed two British citizens whom he accused of inciting the Seminoles to commit atrocities against Americans.

Jackson's actions provoked a furor in Washington and Europe. Spain protested Jackson's acts and demanded that he be punished. Secretary of War John C. Calhoun and other members of Monroe's cabinet urged the president to reprimand Jackson for acting without specific authorization. In Congress, Henry Clay called for Jackson's censure. The truth was however, Jackson's actions were popular with the people, and he had a power that was difficult to deal with. Not all the civilian leadership in Washington was against Jackson's actions. Secretary of State Adams an opportunity to wrest Florida from Spain.

Instead of apologizing for Jackson's conduct, Adams declared that the Florida raid was a legitimate act. Adams informed the Spanish government that it would either have to police Florida effectively or cede it to the United States. Convinced that American annexation was inevitable, Spain ceded Florida to the United States in the Adams-Onís Treaty of 1819. In return, the United States agreed to honor \$5 million in damage claims by Americans against Spain, in effect purchasing the territory from the dying empire. Under the treaty, Spain relinquished its claims to Oregon and the United States renounced, at least temporarily, its claims to Texas.

European activity throughout the New World, especially in the Pacific Northwest and Latin America threatened to become a growing problem for America. In 1821, Russia claimed the entire Pacific coast from Alaska to Oregon and closed the area to foreign shipping. This occurred at the same time as rumors that Spain, with the help of other European allies, was planning to reconquer its newly independent colonies in Latin America. Neither Britain nor America wished to see these events take place as European intervention threatened both nation's interests. Not only did Britain have a flourishing trade with Latin America, which would decline if Spain regained its New World colonies (or, alternatively France obtaining new territory), but it also occupied the Oregon region jointly with the United States. In 1823, British Foreign Minister George Canning proposed that the United States and Britain jointly announce their opposition to further European intervention in the Americas.

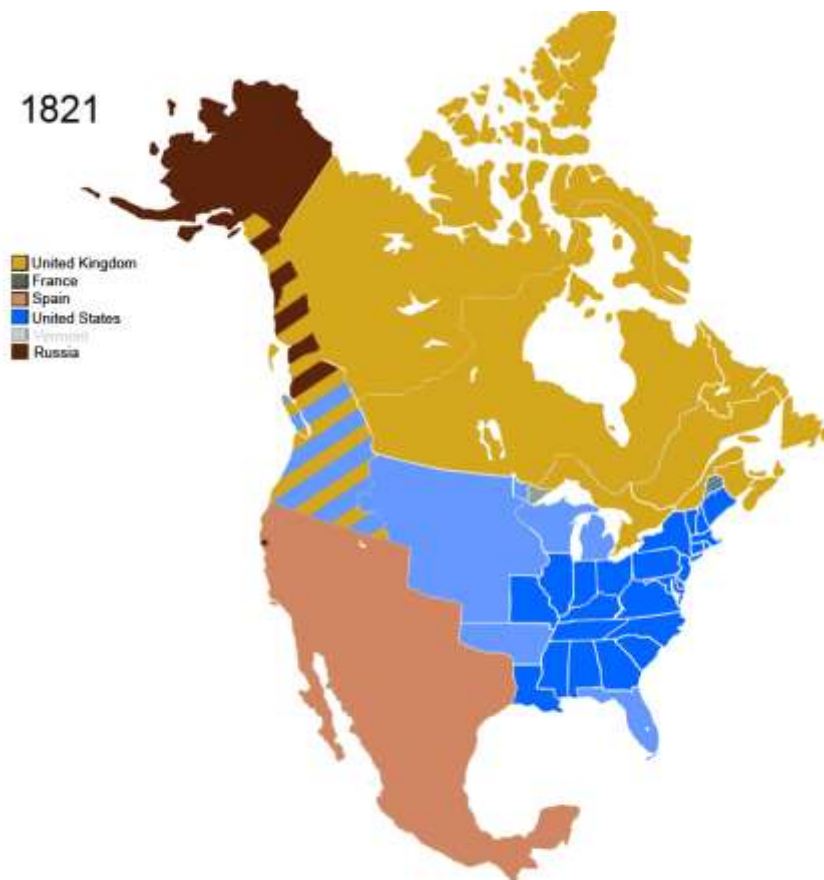


Image Credit: commons.wikimedia.org

Monroe initially supported the British proposal. However, his secretary of state, John Quincy Adams, opposed a joint Anglo-American declaration. Adams knew that the British would use their fleet to support the American position with or without a joint declaration, Adams persuaded President Monroe to make an independent declaration of American policy. In his state of the union message to Congress in 1823, Monroe outlined what has become known as the Monroe Doctrine. He proclaimed that the Western Hemisphere would henceforth be off-limits to any further European colonization, announcing that the United States would regard any undertaking by European powers "to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety." Countries with possessions in the hemisphere, Britain, France, the Netherlands, and Spain, were warned against any further expansion. Monroe also said that the United States would not interfere in the internal affairs of Europe.



Image Credit: myroom.co.nz

For the American people, the Monroe Doctrine became a symbol of American hegemony in the Western Hemisphere. The United States had independently defined its rights and interests in the New World. Though during the first half of the nineteenth century the United States lacked the military power to enforce the Monroe Doctrine and depended on the British navy to deter European intervention in the Americas, the nation had unequivocally declared to European powers that any threat to American security would provoke American retaliation.

JACKSONIAN ERA

In 1824, John Quincy Adams, the son of John Adams was elected president. The election was one of the most controversial in American history. Andrew Jackson received the most votes, yet he lost the election. According to the Constitution, a candidate must receive a majority of the votes, or the contest is decided in the House of Representatives. John Quincy Adams was declared the winner amidst allegations that his new Secretary of State, Henry Clay, had influenced the election in a "corrupt bargain".

After that unsuccessful bid, Jackson and his allies would spend the next four years changing voting laws and establishing a coalition which would enable him to win the election of 1828 as a Democrat. He and Martin Van Buren were responsible for creating the political organization that was the basis for the modern Democratic Party. Andrew Jackson believed the presidency represented the will of the people since he was the only official elected by all of them. He would use this belief to establish a more powerful presidency than ever before. He was widely criticized as an undemocratic authoritarian. He was known for rewarding his political supporters with government job after his election victory. Jackson coined the phrase "To the victor go the spoils," and so the spoils system of politics was born.

Jackson's victory was marred when shortly after the election, and before he even took office, his wife died of a heart attack. Even though his supporters were wealthy landowners, bankers, and businessmen, to the public Jackson was seen as "the peoples' President."

Jackson vetoed more bills than all previous Presidents combined. His veto of a bill to re-charter a Second Bank of the United States was an decisive issue in the 1832 election, in which he defeated Henry Clay. One volatile issue Jackson had to deal with was State's Rights.

Jackson took on the state of South Carolina during the Nullification Crisis in 1832-33. South Carolina attempted to declare null and void within their

state the federal Tariffs of 1828 and 1832. The resolution of the nullification crisis in favor of the federal government helped to undermine the nullification doctrine, the constitutional theory that upheld the right of states to nullify federal acts within their boundaries. In doing so, Jackson broke with his vice-president and alienated a portion of his southern political base. Jackson used the money from the tariffs to close the Second Bank and pay off the National Debt. Western lands speculation caused Jackson to issue the Specie Circular, which required all public lands to be paid for with legal tender, which at the time was either gold or silver. This accelerated the Panic of 1837.

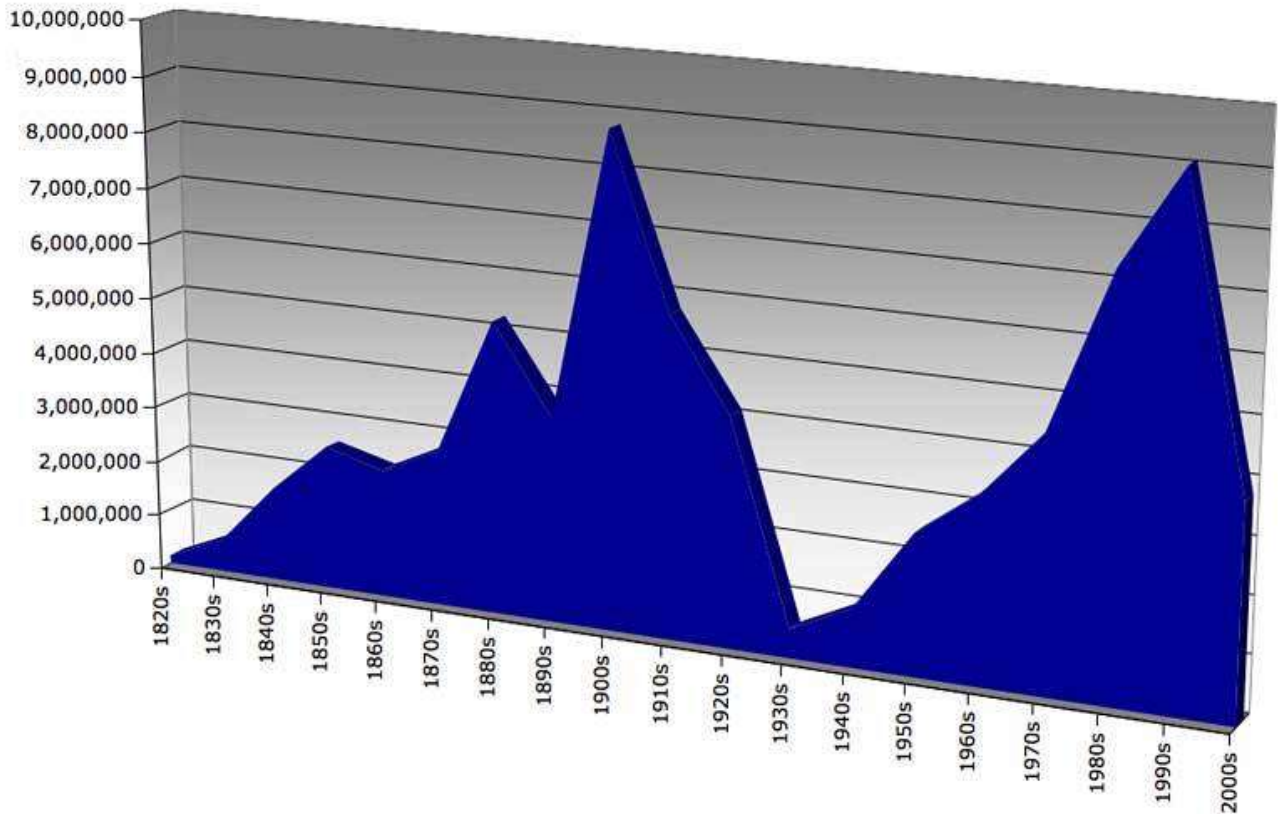
Tragically, it was during Jackson's presidency that the Indian Removal Act became law, which pushed thousands of American Indians off of their traditional homelands and resettled them far to the west in the Oklahoma territory. This incident became known as The Trail of Tears.

Andrew Jackson was hated by his political enemies, who sometimes referred to him as "King Andrew I," but he was loved by the common people. He was a war hero who became associated with increasing participation of the common man in government.

EARLY IMMIGRATION

In the three decades after the War of Independence, immigration to the new United States had declined dramatically to a mere few thousand yearly, yet the population continued to grow faster than anywhere else in the world. The first national census which was taken in 1800 showed a population of 5,308,843. By 1820, the population had nearly doubled to 9,638,453. With the opening up of western lands, growing cities and a secure political system, and a desire to escape the devastation caused by the Napoleonic Wars, immigration from all over Europe began to increase after the War of 1812. In the 1820s, around 100,000 people arrived, mainly from England, Ireland and other parts of Europe (and without having to show any identification) and joined the more establish Americans in the march westward.

Immigration In The US By Decade: 1820-2004



uspolitics.about.com

RELIGION

Religion, in one way or another, was often a driving factor in the western push into newly acquired lands. In the late 18th and early 19th centuries, religion in America was going through a dramatic transformation. The Revolutionary generation, who were greatly influenced by the Enlightenment attacks on institutional religion, was dying out, to be replaced by a new generation with a conviction that religion was an indispensable vehicle of moral progress.

America did not start out as a particularly religious nation. At the end of the 18th century, church membership was low and still declining. In 1775, it is estimated that there were only 1,800 ministers in a population of 2.5 million. Historians believe that just one American out of every 20 was a church member. One contemporary observer thought that "infidelity is very general among the higher classes."

Few of the nation's founders were very religious. For the most part, they valued the rational inquiry espoused in Enlightenment philosophy and rejected religious fundamentalism. Many leaders of the revolutionary generation were wary of the religious hierarchy and questioned the inerrancy of the Bible. However, during the 1790s, a wave of religious revivals began that would continue until the Civil War.

These revivals were highly emotional meetings held by preachers throughout the country, which sought to awaken Americans to their need for religious rebirth. These revivals were so transformative that the early 19th century is sometimes called the "Second Great Awakening."

One observer estimated in 1811 that three to four million Americans attended camp meetings annually. The people who attended the meetings came from all social classes. Perhaps two-thirds were women. The people would often be whipped into a frenzy by the preachers. A minister left a vivid first-person description of the scene:

Sinners [were] dropping down on every hand, shrieking, groaning, crying for mercy...agonizing, fainting, falling down in distress.

Evangelical revivalism was the leading form of religious expression in early 19th century America. The word evangelical refers to a belief that all people must recognize their depravity and worthlessness, repent their sins, and undergo a conversion experience and a rebirth of religious feelings, and then spread this message to others. It is the evangelical imperative to spread the gospel.

The revivals left an enduring imprint on pre-Civil War America. The rituals of evangelical religion, such as the camp meeting, group prayer, and mass baptisms along rivers and creeks were a truly distinctive American practice in the decades before the Civil War. *The revivals contributed to the idea of the United States as a nation with a unique mission to lead the world to a new age of equality and freedom.* When Abraham Lincoln in his Gettysburg Address and Second Inaugural spoke about bloody sacrifice, rebirth, and national mission, he was using vocabulary familiar to all those who attended revivalist sermons.

An important concept for the revivalists was that each person had a duty to fight sin. Sin is actions against the will of God. For the revivalists, sin was not an abstraction. It was something real and tangible in people's lives. Dueling, profanity, and drinking hard liquor, fornication and adultery were all

sins. Eventually, as we will see, many northern evangelicals regarded slavery as the embodiment of all sins.

During the late 18th and early 19th centuries, the old, established denominations that had dominated religious life in colonial America, the Congregationalists, Episcopalians, and Presbyterians, grew slowly. The new groups, however, as a result of the revivalism grew at a staggering pace. Baptists, an evangelical denomination, expanded from 400 congregations in 1780 to more than 12,000 in 1860; Methodists from 50 to 20,000; Roman Catholics from 50 to 2,500. The African Methodist Episcopal church grew from 5 congregations in 1816 to more than 100 by 1850.

Many new religions and sects also sprung up. Some of these were the Disciples of Christ, the Mormons, and the Shakers. In the increasingly fluid environment of early 19th century America, sects competed fiercely for members.

The story of the Mormons is filled with biblical overtones of divine revelations and visitations, of martyrdom and persecution, of an exodus across a continent, and of the fulfillment of prophecy in establishing a religious community in an uninhabited desert. This story did not take place in a foreign land in the distant past, however, it took place in the United States during the early 19th century.

The Mormon church, also known as The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, had its beginnings in upstate New York, which at the time was a hotbed of religious fervor. An endless parade of Baptist, Methodist, Presbyterian, and Universalist preachers eagerly seeking converts came to the region. Fourteen year old Joseph Smith, Jr., the son of a migrant farmer, eagerly listened to these, but was uncertain which way was true.

In the spring of 1820, Smith went into a forest near his home in Palmyra, N.Y., to seek divine inspiration. He later claimed he was "seized upon by some power that entirely overcame me." According to his tale, a brilliant light revealed "two personages," who told him that all existing churches were false and that the only true church of God was about to be reestablished on earth.

Three years later, he claimed another angel told him of the existence of a set of buried golden plates that contained a lost section from the Bible describing a tribe of Israelites that had fled ancient Israel and settled in America. The next morning, Smith is said to have unearthed the golden plates. He was forbidden from telling anyone about the plates for four years,

until he translated them into English, published his holy book, the Book of Mormon, and founded the new church.

Soon however, Smith was in trouble with the law. Because he said that he had conversed with angels and received direct revelations from the Lord, local authorities threatened to indict him for blasphemy. To avoid prosecution, he and his followers responded by moving to Kirtland, Ohio, near Cleveland, where they built their first temple. It was in Kirtland that the Mormons first experimented with a communal economy planned and run by the church. In this community, church trustees controlled the members' property and put members to work building a temple and other structures.

Everywhere the Mormons went, however, they met with resistance the local population and the local authorities. From Kirtland, the Mormons moved to Independence, Missouri, and then to a town in the northern part of the state. Beginning in 1832, proslavery mobs attacked the Mormons, accusing them (incorrectly: the Mormons actually preached acceptance of slavery) of inciting slave insurrections. The mobs burned several Mormon settlements and seized farms and houses. Joseph Smith was arrested for treason and sentenced to be shot, but he managed to escape before this could be carried out. Deciding the eastern areas were not safe for them, fifteen thousand Mormons fled Missouri to Illinois after the governor proclaimed them enemies who "had to be exterminated, or driven from the state."

Trouble arose again in Illinois, this time from within. A group of dissident Mormons published a newspaper denouncing the practice of polygamy and attacking Smith for trying to become "king or lawgiver to the church." On Smith's orders, Mormon legionnaires (Smith's private army) destroyed the dissidents' printing press. Smith was again charged with treason, but the Illinois governor gave Smith his pledge of protection. Smith and his brother were taken to a jail in Carthage, Illinois, however, on June 27, 1844, a mob of citizens, aided by jail guards, stormed into Smith's cell and shot him and his brother.



Image Credit: www.nps.gov

The leadership of the Mormon community now fell to Brigham Young, who led the Mormon pioneers first to Nebraska, and then to the Utah territory, where they finally settled on the site that was to become Salt Lake City. Once established in Salt Lake, missionaries were sent out around the world to win more converts. From 1849 to 1852, the Mormons expanded their missionary efforts, establishing several missions in Latin America, Europe, and the South Pacific. By 1877, over seventy thousand Mormon converts immigrated to America.

OTHER REFORMS

The religious revivalism and rejection of sin soon led to a period of tremendous reform throughout American society. The spread of suffrage under Jacksonian Democracy led to a new concept of education. Once near universal manhood suffrage was achieved, those in power understood that it was now necessary to have an informed and literate electorate. Demands for free, tax-supported schools open to all children began to be heard in the North. This idea spread slowly throughout the region and in one state after another and legislation was enacted to provide for such free instruction. Horace Mann from Massachusetts became the leader of this movement. The public school system became common throughout the North. In the South,

and parts of the West however, the battle for public education continued for years.

Another important social movement that emerged during this period was the opposition to the sale and use of alcohol, or the temperance movement. It stemmed from a variety of concerns often motivated by religious beliefs. The activists cited the effect of alcohol on the workforce, the violence and suffering of children and women experienced at the hands of heavy drinkers and other social evils as being caused by alcohol. In 1826 Boston ministers organized the Society for the Promotion of Temperance. In 1833, the society convened a national convention in Philadelphia, which formed the American Temperance Union. They called for the prohibition of all alcohol, and pressed state legislatures to ban its production and sale. The movement was quite successful, as thirteen states enacted a ban by 1855. However, the laws were subsequently challenged and mostly thrown out by the courts. They survived only in northern New England, but between 1830 and 1860 the temperance movement did manage to reduce Americans' per capita consumption of alcohol.

A host of other reformers addressed the problems of prisons and care for the insane as well as other social problems. Efforts were made to de-emphasize punishment in prison and focus on penitentiaries where the guilty would undergo rehabilitation. In Massachusetts, Dorothea Dix led a struggle to improve conditions for insane persons, who were kept confined in wretched almshouses and prisons. After achieving a certain amount of success in Massachusetts, she took her campaign to the South, where nine states established hospitals for the insane between 1845 and 1852.

Women involved in these social movements soon began to see their own unequal position in society. During colonial times, unmarried women had enjoyed many of the same legal rights as men, although social pressure often required that they marry early. Once married, women virtually lost their separate identities in the eyes of the law, and perhaps most importantly, women were not permitted to vote.

In 1848 Elizabeth Cady Stanton and her colleague Lucretia Mott organized a women's rights convention, the first in the history of the world, at Seneca Falls, New York. It was a "who's who" among the social activists of the day, including Frederick Douglass, the black abolitionist. Many of the issues discussed were ahead of their time. Delegates drew up a "Declaration of Sentiments," calling for the right to vote, equality with men before the law, and equal opportunities in education and employment.

Though these measures would not come to fruition during the 19th Century, some real progress was made regionally. In 1848 also the state of New York voted to allow married women to keep their property in their own name. The Married Women's Property Act encouraged other states to enact similar laws.

The struggle for the vote continued. In 1869 Elizabeth Cady Stanton and another leading women's rights activist, Susan B. Anthony, founded the National Woman Suffrage Association (NWSA), to work towards a constitutional amendment for women's right to the vote.

INTO THE WEST

The idea of "going west" did much to shape American life. Push Factors along the East Coast contributed to a lot of the migration into the newer regions. Poor farming conditions in New England caused many of the younger generations to set out and find new land in the rich interior of the continent. In the backcountry areas of the Carolinas and Virginia where poor infrastructure such as a lack of canals and roads giving access to coastal markets caused many to feel they had no hope of advancement if they stayed put.

The expanding population in western areas during the early 19th Century led to a growing number of territories applying for statehood. As new states were admitted, politicians in Washington were always keeping an eye on the balance of power between free states and slave states. From 1816 to 1821, three free states were created; Indiana, Illinois, and Maine and three slave states were created; Mississippi, Alabama, and Missouri.

These frontier settlers were by necessity a robust crowd. One English traveler characterized them as "a daring, hardy race of men, who live in miserable cabins. ... They are unpolished but hospitable, kind to strangers, honest, and trustworthy. They raise a little Indian corn, pumpkins, hogs, and sometimes have a cow or two. ... But the rifle is their principal means of support." Handy with the ax, snare, fishing line, and musket, these men blazed the trails, built the first log cabins, and confronted Indians tribes who competed for the same land.

Over a remarkably short time, comfortable log house with glass windows, a chimney, and partitioned rooms replaced the Spartan cabin, just as wells replaced the springs. The hard-working settlers would rapidly clear their land of timber using the slash and burn method. Virgin wilderness was transformed into fertile farmland in a year's time. Most of the new settlers were farmers as well as hunters. The settlers grew their own grain, vegetables, and fruit while supplementing their diets by hunting deer, wild

turkeys, and honey; and fishing from nearby streams and lakes. They brought livestock with them such as chickens, cattle and hogs. Many of prominent men in western regions gained their fortune by being land speculators who bought large tracts of the cheap land and, when land values rose, they would sell their holdings often moving even farther west. Daniel Boone, a famous early frontiersman, was said to move whenever a neighbor was close enough that he could see smoke rising from his chimney.

Though hunters, trappers and farmers led the way; doctors, lawyers, storekeepers, editors, preachers, mechanics, and politicians soon followed, once they felt the land was 'civilized' enough. The farmers were the majority however, and would remain so until nearly the 20th century. Unlike hunters and trappers, when farmers settled, they usually intended to stay and planned on their children taking over the farm after them. They built large barns and brick or frame houses. They sought to improve their livestock, they plowed the land skillfully, and sowed productive seed. They sometimes erected flour mills, sawmills, and distilleries. They laid out good highways and toll ways, and built churches and schools. Incredible change came in just a few years. In 1833, Chicago, Illinois, was an insignificant trading village with a small fort and a population around 200; but long before some of its founders had died, it had become one of the biggest and richest cities in the nation.

Farms were easy to acquire. Government land after 1820 could be bought for \$1.25 per acre, and after the 1862 Homestead Act, could be claimed by merely occupying and improving it for five years. In addition, industrial improvements and inventions meant that tools for working the land were easily and relatively cheaply available. It was a time when, in a phrase coined by Indiana newspaperman John Soule and popularized by *New York Tribune* editor Horace Greeley (see the beginning of the chapter), young men could "*go west and grow with the country.*"

Except for movement into Mexican-owned Texas, this western migration into the Louisiana Purchase territory ended in Missouri until after 1840. Beyond this border were lands occupied by Indian tribes and white fur traders. These fur traders, as with the first days of French exploration in the Mississippi Valley, also served as pathfinders for the settlers who would eventually come and settle. These trappers were mostly of French and Scots-Irish stock, were invaluable in their exploration of the great rivers and their tributaries including the discovery of passes through the Rocky and Sierra Mountains. They made possible the overland migration of the 1840s and the later occupation of the Great Plains.

During the first half of the 19th Century, the growth of the nation was staggering. The population grew from 7.25 million to more than 23 million in the four decades after the War of 1812. The lands open to settlement increased by almost the size of Western Europe, from 4.4 million to 7.8 million square kilometers.

TEXAS AND MEXICO

During the 1810s and 1820s, the Spanish and later the Mexican government invited Americans to settle in the vast but sparsely populated territory of Texas. They soon outnumbered the Hispanic residence, and authorities in Mexico City moved to prohibit further immigration in 1830. In 1834 General Antonio López de Santa Anna became dictator of Mexico, throwing out the country's constitution. The following year the Texans (or Texians as they were then known) revolted. Santa Anna marched north with a large army to crush the rebellion. He defeated the Texans in the famous battle of the Alamo in early 1836. However, the Texans under Sam Houston destroyed the Mexican Army and captured Santa Anna a month later at the Battle of San Jacinto, forcing the Mexican dictator to sign a treaty giving Texas independence.

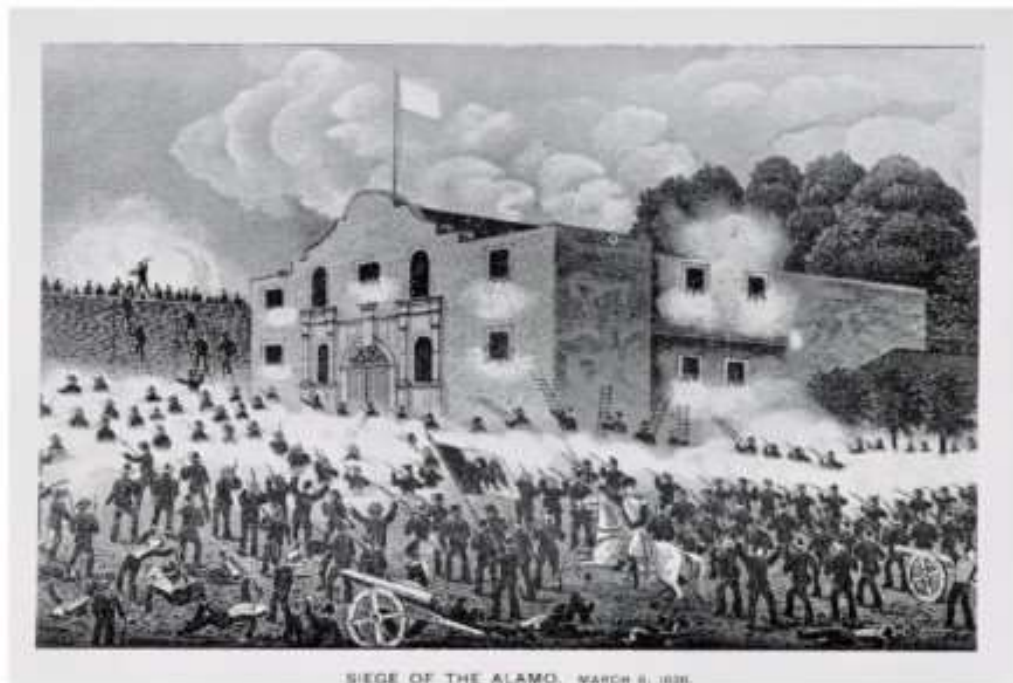


Image Credit: art.com

For nearly a decade, Texas was an independent republic. There were a number of reasons why Texas was not immediately granted statehood as most of the Texans wanted. The biggest reason was that the annexation of a large new slave state would disturb the delicate balance of political power in the United States Senate. In 1845, President James K. Polk, a dark horse candidate, was elected on a platform of robust westward expansion. In the northern region of the country, this meant securing a treaty with Britain over the Oregon territory. But his major priority was to bring the Republic of Texas into the Union. This however would lead to conflict with Mexico. Texas claimed that its border with Mexico was the Rio Grande, yet Mexico argued that the border extended only to the Nueces River.



Image Credit: commons.wikimedia.org

Because settlers were flooding into the territories of New Mexico and California, the U.S. attempted to purchase them from the Mexican government. The Mexicans rejected all offers however and in 1846, after a clash of Mexican and U.S. troops along the Rio Grande, the United States declared war. American troops quickly occupied the lightly populated territory of New Mexico, and then lent support to settlers in California who

were revolting against the Mexican authorities. A U.S. army under **Zachary Taylor** invaded Mexico, crushing the Mexicans at Monterrey and Buena Vista. However, these victories failed to bring the Mexicans to the negotiating table. So, in March 1847, a U.S. army commanded by Winfield Scott landed near Veracruz on Mexico's east coast, and fought its way inland, eventually capturing the capital, Mexico City. The Mexicans finally relented and signed the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in which they ceded what would become all of the American Southwest region and California for \$15 million. With victory in the Mexican War, the United States gained a vast new territory of 1.36 million square kilometers encompassing all or part of the present-day states of Nevada, New Mexico, California, Utah, most of Arizona, and portions of Colorado and Wyoming. The war has been called the training ground for American officers who would later fight on both sides in the Civil War. Though it was a fairly quick victory, it was also politically divisive. Antislavery forces, mainly among the Whigs, saw Polk's expansion as merely a proslavery plan to expand America's slaveholding lands.

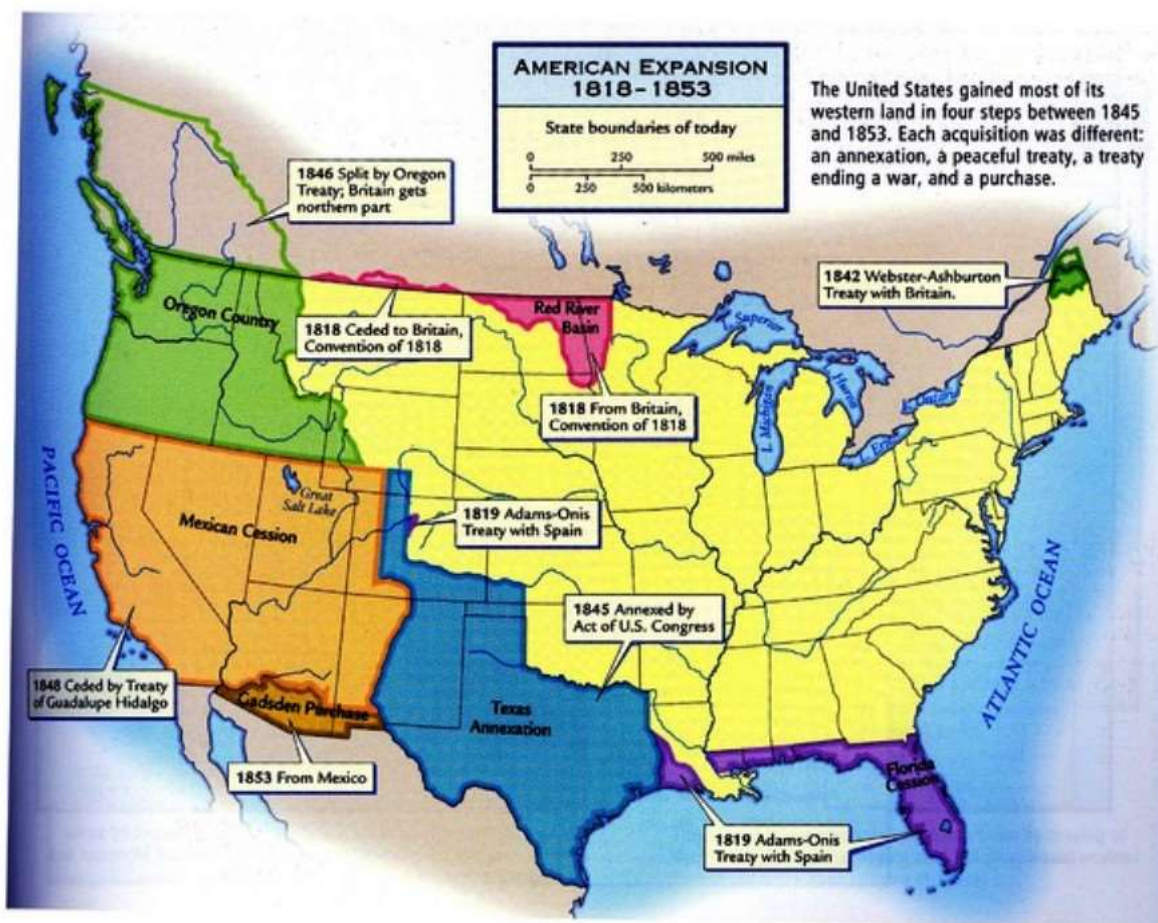


Image Credit: mappery.com

Chapter Five:

The California Gold Rush and Perry's Expedition to Japan



Arrival of Commodore Perry and his Black Ships in Japan. weaponsandwarfare.com

THE 49ers

On January 24, 1848, just as the Mexican-American War was ending, carpenter James W. Marshall noticed several bright bits of yellow mineral near a sawmill that he was building for John A. Sutter. Sutter was a Swiss-born immigrant who owned one of the great ranches that dotted California's Sacramento Valley. Marshall decided to test if the minerals were "fool's gold," (iron pyrite) which shatters when struck by a hard object, or gold, which is malleable. He "tried it between two rocks, and found that it could be beaten into a different shape but not broken." He exclaimed to the men working with him: "Boys, by God, I believe I have found a gold mine."

On March 15 a San Francisco newspaper, *The Californian*, printed the first account of Marshall's discovery. Two weeks later, the paper had lost its entire staff and had to shut down its printing press. Its last edition it explained to its readers:

"The whole country, from San Francisco to Los Angeles...resounds with the sordid cry of Gold! Gold! Gold! while the field is left half-planted, the house half-built, and everything neglected but the manufacture of picks and shovels."

In 1849 as news spread of the fortunes being made in California, 80,000 migrants began to arrive from lands accessible by boat, such as Oregon, the Sandwich Islands (now Hawaii), Mexico, Chile, Peru and even China. . Only half were Americans; the rest were from all over the world. They came from Britain, Australia, Germany, France, Latin America, and China. A notable number of immigrants were from China. By 1852 more than 20,000 Chinese had landed in San Francisco. Their distinctive dress and alien appearance was highly recognizable in the gold fields, and created a degree of animosity towards the Chinese.

When news reached the East Coast of the United States, press reports were initially skeptical. However, after December 1848, when President James K. Polk announced the positive results of a report made by Colonel Richard Mason, California's military governor, in his inaugural address, Easterners caught the gold bug. As Polk wrote, "The accounts of abundance of gold are of such an extraordinary character as would scarcely command belief were

they not corroborated by the authentic reports of officers in the public service."

Gold fever spread across the country and the world, whole platoons of soldiers deserted; sailors jumped ship; husbands left wives; apprentices ran away from their masters; farmers and business people deserted their livelihoods. By July, 1850, 500 ships had been left abandoned in San Francisco Bay. California's population had grown from 14,000 to 100,000 in the first two years after gold was discovered. The population of San Francisco swelled from 459 in the summer of 1847, to 20,000 even within months of discovery.

Throughout 1849, it was mostly men, known as '49ers, traveling alone who came to California. They borrowed money, mortgaged their property or spent their life savings to make the arduous journey to California. They left their families and hometowns for a chance at striking it rich. The women left behind took on new responsibilities such as running farms or businesses and caring for their children alone. The percentages were so lopsided that in 1850, women made up only 8 percent of California's population. In mining areas, it was less than 2 percent!

Most miners lived in tents and cooked their food over camp fires. A typical meal might be beans, bacon or local game they were able to hunt. Sickness was rampant from sleeping on damp, cold ground. Miners' diets were not very balanced resulting in generally poor health. Scurvy was common from lack of vegetables and fruits. Sanitation was poor and miners seldom bathed or washed their clothes.

These mining camps often quickly turned into mining towns filled with canvas tents and cheaply built wooden buildings. Fires were very common. A number of these towns were completely destroyed by fire- sometimes more than once. Heavy rain and snow during the winter months compounded the difficult living and mining conditions. Most miners wintered in San Francisco or some mining town, waiting for Spring, when they would get back to their claim.

The gold rush transformed California from a quiet, remote society into one that was wild, lawless, ethnically-diverse, and violent. To accommodate the needs of the '49ers, new gold mining towns grew up all over the region. Though they served those seeking to make their own fortune in the Gold

Rush, it was the owners of the shops, saloons, brothels and other businesses that really became successful during this time.

The success of finding gold drove up prices for everything. While the average worker might make \$6 to \$10 per day, food and supplies could cost much more than anywhere else in the country. John H. Miller, writing to the "St. Joseph Valley Register," October 6, 1849, gives the following prices at Weberville, 60 miles from Sacramento:

Wagons \$40 to \$80.00
Oxen, per yoke 50 to 150.00
Mules, each 90 to 150.00
Board, per meal, \$1.50, or per week 21.00
Beef, per pound 40 cents to .75
Flour, per pound 25 cents to .30
Molasses, per gallon \$2 to 4.00
Mining Cradles \$20 to 60.00
Mining Pans \$4 to 8.00

The overcrowded pandemonium of the mining camps and towns grew ever more unruly, including rampant banditry, gambling, prostitution and violence. San Francisco, for its part, developed a bustling economy and became the central metropolis of the new frontier. Philosopher Josiah Royce, whose family arrived during the gold rush, declared that the Californians were "morally and socially tried as no other American ever has been tried." San Francisco alone had more than 500 bars and 1,000 gambling dens. In the span of 18 months, the city burned to the ground six times.

One 49er left an account of what he saw in the mining camps:

"Many, very many, that come here meet with bad success & thousands will leave their bones here. Others will lose their health, contract diseases that they will carry to their graves with them. Some will have to beg their way home, & probably one half that come here will never make enough to carry them back. But this does not alter the fact about the gold being plenty here,

but shows what a poor frail being man is, how liable to disappointments, disease & death.

There is a good deal of sin & wickedness going on here, Stealing, lying, Swearing, Drinking, Gambling & murdering. There is a great deal of gambling carried on here. Almost every public House is a place for Gambling, & this appears to be the greatest evil that prevails here. Men make & lose thousands in a night, & frequently small boys will go up & bet \$5 or 10 (about \$115-\$225 today) -- & if they lose all, go the next day & dig more. We are trying to get laws here to regulate things but it will be very difficult to get them executed."

There were a thousand murders in San Francisco during the early 1850s, but only one conviction. Forty-niners (the nickname of the immigrants who traveled to California in 1849) slaughtered Indians for sport, drove Mexicans from the mines on penalty of death, and sought to restrict the immigration of foreigners, especially the Chinese. Since the military government was incapable of keeping order, leading merchants formed vigilance committees, which attempted to rule by lynch law and the establishment of "popular" courts.

Though gold mining continued throughout the 1850s, it had reached its peak by 1852, when some \$81 million was pulled from the ground. After 1850, the easily obtained gold in California was largely gone, yet more miners continued to arrive. Mining was a difficult and dangerous labor, and striking it rich was not only a matter of luck, but also skill and hard work. After two years and nearly 100,000 miners digging for gold, the average daily take for a man working with his pick and shovel decreased sharply from what it had been in 1848. When gold became more difficult to reach, the growing industrialization of mining drove more and more miners from independence into wage labor, and mining companies took over. The new system of hydraulic mining, developed in 1853, brought enormous profits by reaching what man alone could not- but it was also environmentally destructive.

Though the Gold Rush petered out in the mid-1850s, settlement in California continued, with the state's population reaching 380,000 by the end of the decade. Large-scale agriculture (sometimes called California's second "Gold Rush"- which continues to this day) began during this time. Roads, schools, churches, and civic organizations quickly came into existence. Later waves of new-comers were mostly Americans. Pressure grew for better

communications and political connections to the rest of the United States, leading to statehood for California on September 9, 1850, in the Compromise of 1850 as the 31st state of the United States. The legacy of the Gold Rush lives on in California today. Its nickname is the Golden State, and the city of San Francisco's professional football team is named the "49ers."



The name of today's San Francisco's Football team is the 49ers

TRAILS WEST

After War with Mexico, the Oregon Territory dispute and the California Gold Rush, immigrants flocked to occupy the newly opened lands. They came by wagon, pulled by oxen, mules or horses, often as entire families. They followed guides on well known, yet dangerous trails through vast expanses of wild country. The pioneers faced a four-month journey across little-known territory in harsh conditions. Their trails started off in towns like St. Joseph and Independence, Missouri, which prospered from the growth of the outfitting the wagon trains with goods such as wagon parts, draft animals, food, ammunition and other supplies. Due to stories about the savage Indians that travelers would face along their way, the migrants wanted to be well prepared to defend themselves in a territory poorly patrolled by the Army. Once they embarked, settlers faced other challenges as well. Some of these included oxen dying of thirst, overloaded wagons, and dysentery and other diseases and lack of medicine. Trails were wide open and often poorly marked, and with human guides and guidebooks often unreliable, the pioneers often lost their way. The most famous case of this took place in 1846, when the Donner Party set out from Illinois armed with one such poor guidebook, which gave them such inaccurate advice that the party found itself snowbound in the High Sierra Mountains. The group turned to cannibalism in order to survive.

There were many trails leading out West. The most common Southern route was the Santa Fe Trail. To go to the Northwest, the Oregon Trail became the best known and most often followed pathway. Despite being well worn, settlers still always faced difficult journeys westward. Being left to their own devices, the settlers developed a very independent outlook which still exists in their descendants today. Women had important roles as they packed and unpacked the wagons, cooked, milked cows, tended to children, and aided in childbirth. Men were responsible for yoking and unyoking the oxen, driving the wagons, making up hunting parties and protecting the wagon trains from Indian and bandit attacks.



Image Credit: manifestdestinywars.wordpress.com

Primary source document Reading: Excerpted from "***The Japan Expedition, 1852–1854; the personal journal of Commodore Matthew C. Perry***"

Matthew C. Perry on the Japanese

[1854]

The Japanese are remarkable for their inordinate curiosity and, in the display of so many of the inventions of our ingenious countrymen, they had ample means of gratifying this propensity. They were not satisfied with the minutest examination of all these things, surpassingly strange as they must have been to them, but followed the officers and men about, seizing upon every occasion to examine every part of their garments, and showing the strongest desire to obtain one or more of their buttons. Those who were admitted on board the ships were equally inquisitive, peering into every nook and corner accessible to them, measuring this and that, and taking sketches after their manner of whatever they could lay their eyes upon, though it would be difficult to discover from their drawings what they were intended to represent.

Notwithstanding that the Japanese are themselves so fond of indulging their curiosity, they are by no means communicative when information is required of them, alleging as a reason that their laws forbid them to communicate to foreigners anything relating to their country or its institutions. We have had much better opportunities of picking up here and there, and from time to time, many interesting particulars respecting the laws, customs, and habits

of these people than others who have preceded us. Yet a long time will elapse before any full and authentic account of their internal laws and regulations will be obtained; certainly not until we can establish men of intelligence in the country in the character of consular agents, merchants, or missionaries who, to enable them to make any progress, should acquire a knowledge of the language.

We found the common people more disposed to fraternize than were the mandarins or officials. It was evident that nothing but a fear of punishment deterred them from entering into free intercourse with us; but they were closely watched, and it may be inferred that the higher classes would be equally inclined to greater intimacy if they in their turn were not also watched. In truth every native has a spy set upon him in this country, as in Lew Chew. No one is entrusted with public business of any importance without having one or more associated with him, who are ever on the alert to detect and take note of the slightest suspicion of delinquency.

THE AMERICAN EXPEDITION TO JAPAN

Although Portuguese, Spanish, and Dutch traders engaged in regular trade with Japan in the 16th and 17th centuries, the Islands were closed to all but a few outsiders in 1639. Persistent attempts by the Europeans to convert the Japanese to Catholicism who came to resent the hierarchical social structure of Japan led the Tokugawa Shogunate to expel most foreigners in that year. This policy of Sakoku was followed for the next two centuries. Japan limited trade access only to Chinese and Dutch ships with special charters in one trading port in Nagasaki.

The United States wanted to establish contact with Japan during the mid-19th century for a number of reasons. First, having established itself on the Pacific, the US had expanded its trade with in Chinese ports (as the British were forcing more of them open). Americans wanted this trade to grow elsewhere in Asia as well, as they established treaties with Siam at this time. Technological improvements made this goal easier, as American traders in the Pacific replaced sailing ships with steam ships. This however also lead to the problem of fueling, as steamships needed access to provisions and coaling stations along the way of making the long journey from the United States to Asia. Japan was situated in an advantageous geographic position and there were rumors (exaggerated) that it held vast deposits of coal increased the appeal of establishing mercantile and diplomatic contacts with the Japanese. Another major player in the push for establishing normalized

relations with the Japanese was the American whaling industry, which conducted much of its operations in the North Pacific. They needed safe harbors, assistance in case of shipwrecks, and reliable supply stations- all of which were unavailable under the Japanese policy of Sakoku. During the first half of the 19th century, a number of American sailors had been shipwrecked and stranded on Japanese shores. The tales of their mistreatment at the hands of the unwelcoming Japanese spread through the merchant community and across the United States, causing great alarm.

In addition to this combination of economic and political considerations, a belief in Manifest Destiny, which had motivated U.S. expansion across the North American continent, also became a force which drove American missionaries and merchants to journey across the Pacific. Many Americans believed that they had a unique responsibility to modernize and civilize the Japanese and Chinese. In the case of Japan, missionaries believed that Protestant Christianity would be accepted where Catholicism had mostly been rejected. Some Americans argued that, even if the Japanese were unreceptive to Western ideas, forcing them to trade and interact with the world was a necessity that would ultimately benefit both nations.

Commodore Matthew C. Perry's mission was not the first American attempt to establish relations with the Japanese. In the 1830s, the Far Eastern squadron of the U.S. Navy sent several missions from its regional base in Guangzhou, China. However, in each case, the Japanese did not permit them to land, and the Americans did not have orders to risk conflict. In 1851, President Millard Fillmore sent a naval expedition to Japan with the mission to return shipwrecked Japanese sailors and to request that Americans stranded in Japan be returned to the United States. Commodore Matthew Perry was a lifetime naval officer, and the brother of Oliver Hazard Perry, the leader of American forces during the Battle of Lake Erie in the War of 1812. Matthew Perry had distinguished himself in the Mexican-American War and was instrumental in promoting the United States Navy's conversion to steam power.

Perry first sailed to the Ryukyus and the Bonin Islands southwest and southeast of the main Japanese islands, even claiming the territory for the United States. He then convinced that the people in both places assist him in resupplying his fleet, as well giving information. Perry then sailed north to Edo (Tokyo) Bay, carrying a letter from the U.S. President addressed to the

Emperor of Japan. The United States didn't really have a very deep understanding of Japanese government and society at this time. The Americans did not know that the Japanese emperor was little more than a figurehead, and the true leadership of Japan was in the hands of the Tokugawa Shogunate. It was quite some time before Perry came to realize that he was dealing with Shogunate officials, and not actually the Emperor's own men.

When Commodore Matthew C. Perry's four-ship squadron appeared at Edo Bay in July 1853, the Shogunate was thrown into turmoil. Unlike previous expeditions, Commodore Perry was fully prepared for hostilities if his negotiations with the Japanese failed. When the Japanese were slow to respond to his entreaties, he threatened to open fire on the city. When the Japanese still refused, he sent two white flags to them, saying that they should hoist the flags when they wished a bombardment from his fleet to cease and to surrender. Not really wishing to damage or kill, but merely to demonstrate the power of his modern weapons, Perry commanded his ships to attack several empty buildings around the harbor. The ships of Perry were equipped with new Paixhans shell guns, capable of bringing destruction everywhere a shell landed. The Japanese soon relented. Perry landed at Kurihama (in modern-day Yokosuka) on July 14, 1853, presented the letter from the U.S. President to the attending delegates, and left for China, promising to return in one year for a reply.

Fortifications were established at Odaiba in Edo Bay in order to protect the city from the promised American return. In the scurry of activity to prepare to resist the Americans, industrial developments were also started in order to build modern cannons. Attempts were also made at building Western-style warships from Dutch textbooks, such as the *Shōhei Maru*.

Perry returned after just over 6 months, in February of 1854- much sooner than the Japanese had expected. He had also doubled the size of his fleet. The Shogunate, having no precedent to manage this threat to national security, tried to balance the desires of some of the senior councilors to compromise with the foreigners, with others who argued to keep the newcomers out, and of the feudal daimyo (lords) who wanted to directly confront the Americans with force. Lacking consensus, the Shogun decided to compromise by making military preparations while also accepting Perry's demands for opening Japan to foreign trade. On March 31, 1854, the Treaty

of Peace and Amity (Treaty of Kanagawa) was signed. Ostensibly it maintained the prohibition on trade but actually opened three ports (Nagasaki, Shimoda, Hakodate) to American whaling ships seeking provisions. It guaranteed good treatment to shipwrecked American sailors and allowed a United States consul to take up residence in Shimoda, a seaport on the Izu Peninsula, southwest of Edo. This was, in essence, a back-door way to establish trade with Japan. Perry and his fleet stayed in Japan for over a month, where both parties began the process of cultural exchange. Both sides were impressed and interested in each other. For the Japanese, they had reached a crossroads in their history from which they could never turn back

Although Japan had to be forced to open its ports to modern trade, once it did, it made use of the new access to modern technological developments with enthusiasm. Politically, the opening of Japan was a Disaster for the Tokugawa Shogunate, which shogun fell from power in the ensuing turmoil. The Emperor gained real control of the country in the Meiji Restoration of 1868, with long-term effects for the rule and modernization of Japan. One of Japan's first objectives was to modernize its military. Once it did this, it quickly rose to the position of the most formidable Asian power in the Pacific. It would take on and defeat the Chinese in the 1890s, and then the Russians in the early 1900s.



Contemporary Japanese depiction of Perry

Chapter Six: The Problem of Slavery



Primary source document Reading: Reprinted from " **Slavery a Positive Good**" by **John C. Calhoun**

John C. Calhoun's Defense of Slavery: Slavery a Positive Good

[February 06, 1837]

In the early to mid-1800s, the United States was engaged in a vigorous and often vicious debate over the issue of slavery. There were many positions on the topic, both for and against. One of the most vocal proponents of slavery emerged as the senator from South Carolina, John C. Calhoun. He would take to the floor of the U.S. Senate and disagree not only with his opponents, who saw slavery as an unqualified evil, but also with those on who own side, who views slavery as a **necessary** evil.

I do not belong, said Mr. C., to the school which holds that aggression is to be met by concession. Mine is the opposite creed, which teaches that encroachments must be met at the beginning, and that those who act on the opposite principle are prepared to become slaves. In this case, in particular I hold concession or compromise to be fatal. If we concede an inch, concession would follow concession—compromise would follow compromise, until our ranks would be so broken that effectual resistance would be impossible. We must meet the enemy on the frontier, with a fixed determination of maintaining our position at every hazard. Consent to receive these insulting petitions, and the next demand will be that they be referred to a committee in order that they may be deliberated and acted upon. At the last session we were modestly asked to receive them, simply to lay them on the table, without any view to ulterior action. . . . I then said, that the next step would be to refer the petition to a committee, and I already see indications that such is now the intention. If we yield, that will be followed by another, and we will thus proceed, step by step, to the final consummation of the object of these petitions. We are now told that the most effectual mode of arresting the progress of abolition is, to reason it down; and with this view it is urged that the petitions ought to be referred to a committee. That is the very ground which was taken at the last session in the other House, but instead of arresting its progress it has since advanced more rapidly than ever. The most unquestionable right may be rendered doubtful, if once admitted to be a subject of controversy, and that would be the case in the present instance. The subject is beyond the jurisdiction of Congress – they have no right to touch it in any shape or form, or to make it the subject of deliberation or discussion. . . .

As widely as this incendiary spirit has spread, it has not yet infected this body, or the great mass of the intelligent and business portion of the North; but unless it be speedily stopped, it will spread and work upwards till it brings the two great sections of the Union into deadly conflict. This is not a new impression with me. Several years since, in a discussion with one of the Senators from Massachusetts (Mr. Webster), before this fell spirit had showed itself, I then predicted that the doctrine of the proclamation and the Force Bill—that this Government had a right, in the last resort, to determine the extent of its own powers, and enforce its decision at the point of the bayonet, which was so warmly maintained by that Senator, would at no distant day arouse the dormant spirit of abolitionism. I told him that the doctrine was tantamount to the assumption of unlimited power on the part of the Government, and that such would be the impression on the public mind in a large portion of the Union. The consequence would be inevitable. A large portion of the Northern States believed slavery to be a sin, and would consider it as an obligation of conscience to abolish it if they should feel themselves in any degree responsible for its continuance, and that this doctrine would necessarily lead to the belief of such responsibility. I then predicted that it would commence as it has with this fanatical portion of society, and that they would begin their operations on the ignorant, the weak, the young, and the thoughtless –and gradually extend upwards till they would become strong enough to obtain political control, when he and others holding the highest stations in society, would, however reluctant, be compelled to yield to their doctrines, or be driven into obscurity. But four years have since elapsed, and all this is already in a course of regular fulfillment.

Standing at the point of time at which we have now arrived, it will not be more difficult to trace the course of future events now than it was then. They who imagine that the spirit now abroad in the North, will die away of itself without a shock or convulsion, have formed a very inadequate conception of its real character; it will continue to rise and spread, unless prompt and efficient measures to stay its progress be adopted. Already it has taken possession of the pulpit, of the schools, and, to a considerable extent, of the press; those great instruments by which the mind of the rising generation will be formed.

However sound the great body of the non-slaveholding States are at present, in the course of a few years they will be succeeded by those who will have been taught to hate the people and institutions of nearly one-half of this Union, with a hatred more deadly than one hostile nation ever entertained towards another. It is easy to see the end. By the necessary course of events, if left to themselves, we must become, finally, two people. It is impossible under the deadly hatred which must spring up between the

two great nations, if the present causes are permitted to operate unchecked, that we should continue under the same political system. The conflicting elements would burst the Union asunder, powerful as are the links which hold it together. Abolition and the Union cannot coexist. As the friend of the Union I openly proclaim it—and the sooner it is known the better. The former may now be controlled, but in a short time it will be beyond the power of man to arrest the course of events. We of the South will not, cannot, surrender our institutions. To maintain the existing relations between the two races, inhabiting that section of the Union, is indispensable to the peace and happiness of both. It cannot be subverted without drenching the country or the other of the races. . . . But let me not be understood as admitting, even by implication, that the existing relations between the two races in the slaveholding States is an evil:—far otherwise; I hold it to be a good, as it has thus far proved itself to be to both, and will continue to prove so if not disturbed by the fell spirit of abolition. I appeal to facts. Never before has the black race of Central Africa, from the dawn of history to the present day, attained a condition so civilized and so improved, not only physically, but morally and intellectually.

In the meantime, the white or European race, has not degenerated. It has kept pace with its brethren in other sections of the Union where slavery does not exist. It is odious to make comparison; but I appeal to all sides whether the South is not equal in virtue, intelligence, patriotism, courage, disinterestedness, and all the high qualities which adorn our nature.

But I take higher ground. I hold that in the present state of civilization, where two races of different origin, and distinguished by color, and other physical differences, as well as intellectual, are brought together, the relation now existing in the slaveholding States between the two, is, instead of an evil, a good—a positive good. I feel myself called upon to speak freely upon the subject where the honor and interests of those I represent are involved. I hold then, that there never has yet existed a wealthy and civilized society in which one portion of the community did not, in point of fact, live on the labor of the other. Broad and general as is this assertion, it is fully borne out by history. This is not the proper occasion, but, if it were, it would not be difficult to trace the various devices by which the wealth of all civilized communities has been so unequally divided, and to show by what means so small a share has been allotted to those by whose labor it was produced, and so large a share given to the non-producing classes. The devices are almost innumerable, from the brute force and gross superstition of ancient times, to the subtle and artful fiscal contrivances of modern. I might well challenge a comparison between them and the more direct, simple, and patriarchal mode by which the labor of the African race is, among us, commanded by the European. I may say with truth, that in few

countries so much is left to the share of the laborer, and so little exacted from him, or where there is more kind attention paid to him in sickness or infirmities of age. Compare his condition with the tenants of the poor houses in the more civilized portions of Europe—look at the sick, and the old and infirm slave, on one hand, in the midst of his family and friends, under the kind superintending care of his master and mistress, and compare it with the forlorn and wretched condition of the pauper in the poorhouse. But I will not dwell on this aspect of the question; I turn to the political; and here I fearlessly assert that the existing relation between the two races in the South, against which these blind fanatics are waging war, forms the most solid and durable foundation on which to rear free and stable political institutions. It is useless to disguise the fact. There is and always has been in an advanced stage of wealth and civilization, a conflict between labor and capital. The condition of society in the South exempts us from the disorders and dangers resulting from this conflict; and which explains why it is that the political condition of the slaveholding States has been so much more stable and quiet than that of the North. . . . Surrounded as the slaveholding States are with such imminent perils, I rejoice to think that our means of defense are ample, if we shall prove to have the intelligence and spirit to see and apply them before it is too late. All we want is concert, to lay aside all party differences and unite with zeal and energy in repelling approaching dangers. Let there be concert of action, and we shall find ample means of security without resorting to secession or disunion. I speak with full knowledge and a thorough examination of the subject, and for one see my way clearly. . . . I dare not hope that anything I can say will arouse the South to a due sense of danger; I fear it is beyond the power of mortal voice to awaken it in time from the fatal security into which it has fallen.



John C. Calhoun in 1822

KING COTTON AND SLAVERY

In 1787, many Northern delegates to the Constitutional Convention were disappointed that they had been unable to adopt any measures towards ending slavery. However, they comforted themselves with the notion that slavery appeared to be a dying institution. Slave imports into the New World were declining and slave prices were falling because the 'slave crops' of tobacco, rice, and indigo did not generate enough income to pay for their upkeep.

As prices for traditional slave crops fell, planters in Maryland and Virginia began replacing them with products such as wheat and corn, which did not have the same labor intensity. It seemed that slavery had become an economic drain, leading some Southerners, such as Thomas Jefferson, to say that slavery was becoming a source of debt, economic stagnation, and moral dissipation.

This trajectory irrevocably changed when Eli Whitney of Massachusetts inadvertently gave slavery a new lease on life. After graduating from Yale, Whitney traveled south in search of employment as a tutor in 1792. During his journey, he was befriended by a charming southern widow named Catharine Greene, whose late husband was General Nathanael Greene, a hero during the American Revolution. When Whitney arrived in the South and discovered that his promised salary as a tutor was less than promised, he quit the job and accepted Greene's invitation to visit her plantation near Savannah, Georgia.

While staying with Mrs. Greene, Whitney became intrigued with the problem encountered by southern planters in producing short-staple cotton. The growing textile industry had created a high demand for the crop, but it could not be used until the seeds had been extracted from the raw cotton. From a slave named Sam, Whitney learned that a comb could be used to remove seeds from cotton, but it was a laborious and time-consuming process. In just ten days, Whitney devised a way of mechanizing the comb. Within a month, Whitney's cotton engine (gin for short) could separate fiber from seeds faster than 50 people working by hand.

Whitney's invention began to spread throughout the South with the unfortunate side effect of revitalized the institution of slavery by causing the demand for slaves to raise short-staple cotton. In just two years after 1792, when Whitney arrived on the Greene plantation, the price of slaves doubled. By 1825 field hands, who's average price was just \$500 apiece in 1794, were worth \$1,500. It was a simple matter of supply and demand; and as demand went up so too did the number of slaves. During the first decade of

the 1800s, the number of slaves in the United States increased by 33 percent. After the African slave trade became illegal in 1807, the slave population grew another 29 percent in the decade 1811-1821.

MOONLIGHT AND MAGNOLIAS

In the decades before the Civil War, popular writers in both the North and South created a vision of the South as a land of aristocratic planters living in a land of moonlight and magnolias, with beautiful southern belles, poor white trash, faithful household slaves, and ignorant and superstitious field hands. This image of the South became known as the 'plantation legend' and after the Civil War, as the 'Lost Cause.' This idea, "the land of cotton where old times are not forgotten" was memorialized in 1859 in a song called "Dixie." The song was actually written by a Northerner named Dan D. Emmett for traveling shows (remember, this was long before television) given by a troupe of black-faced minstrels on the New York stage.



Actors in 'black face' performing in a minstrel show.

To Northerners, whose lives were becoming increasingly urban, individualistic, commercial, this vision of Southern culture seemed to have many things that were becoming lost in the North. Many Northerners

admired the leisurely pace of life, a clear social hierarchy, and an indifference to money they saw in this version of the South.

This stereotype about life in the South was a vast oversimplification. In reality, the South was a diverse and complex region. Still, this vision of the South persists today among Americans who often associate the old South with cotton plantations and all the tropes listed above. Yet large parts of the South were completely unsuitable for plantation life, for both geographical as well as political reasons. In the mountainous regions of eastern Tennessee, South Carolina and western North and , as well as western Virginia, there were very few plantations or slaves. There was also a greater diversity of crops grown by Southerners beyond cotton or other cash crops, such as rice and tobacco. Though it might be true that "cotton was king," unlike the slave societies of the Caribbean, which produced sugar almost exclusively for export, the South devoted a large portion of its land to raising food and livestock.

The pre-Civil War South (often called the 'ante-bellum South') included vast area with differing regions geographically, economically, and politically. Such regions included the Piedmont, Tidewater, coastal plain, piney woods, Delta, Appalachian Mountains, upcountry, and a fertile black belt. The beliefs and desires of these regions were not uniform either, and they often clashed over such political questions as debt relief, taxes, apportionment of representation, and internal improvements.

Large plantations with hundreds of slaves were very rare. In 1860 only 11,000 Southerners (less than one percent) of the white population owned more than 50 slaves. Only 2,358 owned as many as 100 slaves. However, though these slaveholders amounted to a fraction of the Southern population, they owned most of the South's slaves. Over half of all slaves lived on plantations with 20 or more slaves. A quarter lived on even larger plantations with more than 50 slaves.

In the late antebellum South, one-third of all southern white families owned slaves. Yet, importantly, the vast majority of white southern families either expected to one day own them. The poorer whites supported the institution of slavery also because they feared that if freed, blacks would compete with them economically and challenge their higher social status. Southern whites defended slavery not simply on the basis of economic necessity but often out of a desire to maintain white supremacy.

The slaveholders were not exclusively white males either. Some were free blacks, mulattos, or American Indians; one-tenth were women. Many

slaveholders weren't even planters with more than one in ten working as artisans, businesspeople, or merchants.

SECTIONALISM AND SLAVERY

There were many differences between the North and the South, economically, politically, socially; but none of them compared to the one overriding issue that hung over every debate perhaps even every conversation about this sectionalism, that was of course, slavery. Southerners often blamed Northern businessmen for the South's backward economy. They claimed that these Yankee businessmen wanted to keep the South's economy from developing so that they could take advantage of the South in order to buy the South's cheap cotton, only to make huge profits in manufacturing and transport. Many Northerners, on the other hand, declared that slavery, what Southerners called their "peculiar institution" and which they regarded as essential to their economy, was largely responsible for the region's relative financial and industrial backwardness.

These back and forth recriminations went all the way back to the founding of the country, but the issue flared up again around the time of the Missouri Compromise in 1820. In the North, sentiment for outright abolition grew increasingly powerful, though the majority of Northerners were more likely to simply want to stop the spread of slavery. Southerners at first seemed to feel a little guilt about slavery, as Thomas Jefferson typified. He referred to it as a "necessary evil." By 1850 however, slavery was well over 200 years old; it was an integral part of the basic economy of the region. As time went by and they felt more and more pressure from the North, Southerners began to defend slavery more vehemently, as we can see in our reading by John C. Calhoun at the beginning of the chapter. Political leaders of the South, the professional classes, and most of the clergy now no longer apologized for slavery but championed it. Southern publicists insisted, for example, that the relationship between capital and labor was more humane under the slavery system than under the wage system of the North.

Before 1830, a 'softer' form of slavery was generally observed in the South, when personal supervision of the slaves by their owners was still common. Gradually, however, with the introduction of large-scale cotton production in the lower Southern states such as Mississippi and Alabama, the master gradually ceased to exercise close personal supervision over his slaves, and employed professional overseers charged with exacting from slaves a maximum amount of work. In such circumstances, slavery often became a system of coercion and brutality in which beatings and the breakup of families on the auction block were commonplace. There were still occasions, however, where it could be much milder.

For abolitionists, however, the criticism of slavery was not usually about the behavior of individual masters and overseers. Systematically treating black laborers as if they were draft animals, called 'chattel slavery,' violated, as the abolitionists pointed out, every human being's inalienable right to be free.

THE ABOLITIONISTS

The chief concern of Southerners in national politics was the protection and enlargement of the cotton/slavery system. Territorial expansion was all important because of the wastefulness of cultivating cotton almost exclusively rapidly exhausted the soil, leading to the need for new fertile lands. Politically each new territory would then establish a basis for additional slave states to counter the admission of new free states. In the 1830s Northern Anti-slavery advocate's opposition became fierce.

The antislavery movement had won its last victory in 1808 when Congress abolished the slave trade with Africa. For the next couple decades, opposition came largely from the Quakers and a few other religious individuals, who maintained a mild but ineffectual protest. Meanwhile, the cotton gin the opening up of the West into the Mississippi Delta region created even more demand for slaves.

The abolitionist movement once again became more energized in the early 1830s. It was uncompromising, combative, and insistent upon an immediate end to slavery. The leader of this new trend was William Lloyd Garrison of Massachusetts, who combined the crusading zeal of a demagogue with the heroism of a martyr. Garrison produced the first issue of his abolitionist newspaper, *The Liberator* in January 1831. He announced, "I shall strenuously contend for the immediate enfranchisement of our slave population. ... On this subject, I do not wish to think, or speak, or write, with moderation. ... I am in earnest – I will not equivocate – I will not excuse – I will not retreat a single inch – AND I WILL BE HEARD."

Garrison used sensational methods and heated rhetoric to awaken Northerners to the evil in the institution of slavery, which many had thought of as unchangeable. Garrison focused the public's gaze on the most repulsive aspects of slavery and portrayed slaveholders as torturers and human traffickers. He acknowledged no compromise, recognized no rights of compensation for the slaveholders and he demanded immediate action. Some abolitionists with more moderate views held that reform should be accomplished by legal and peaceful means. Frederick Douglass, an escaped slave who galvanized Northern audiences, however, joined Garrison on the side of radical abolitionism.

The "Underground Railroad," was a web of secret escape routes from the South to free territories in the North or Canada was established in the 1830s. As many as 40,000 fugitive slaves were helped to freedom in Ohio alone from 1830 to 1860. By 1838 there were about 1,350 antislavery societies with a membership of perhaps 250,000 around the country.

The majority of Northerners at the time were ambivalent about the abolitionist movement or actively opposed it. For example, in 1837 a mob even attacked and killed Elijah P. Lovejoy, the editor of an antislavery publication, in Alton, Illinois. The repression of free speech, especially in the South, allowed the abolitionists to link the slavery issue with other civil liberties for whites. For example, another angry mob destroyed abolitionist literature in the Charleston, South Carolina, post office in 1835. The postmaster-general said he would not ensure delivery of abolitionist material. This led to a bitter debate in Congress with abolitionists flooding their congressmen with petitions calling for action against slavery. The debate became so all-encompassing that in 1836 the House voted to table all petitions dealing with slavery automatically, which in effect meant that they would never be discussed. The former President John Quincy Adams, who was elected to the House of Representatives in 1830, fought against this "gag rule" as a violation of the First Amendment, eventually winning its repeal in 1844.

THE COMPROMISE OF 1850

Many Northerners believed that if slavery was not allowed to spread, it would ultimately decline and die. To this end, they pointed to the statements of Washington and Jefferson, and to the Ordinance of 1787, which banned the extension of slavery into the Northwest. Then Texas, which already allowed slavery, entered the Union as a slave state. However, California, New Mexico, and Utah did not have slavery. A debate ensued in Congress on whether or not they should be able to enter the Union as slave or free states.

Southerners maintained that all the lands acquired from Mexico should be open to slavery. Antislavery Northerners demanded that all the new regions should be free. A group of moderates suggested that the 1820 Missouri Compromise should be extended to the Pacific with new states north of it to be free and states to the south to be open to slavery. Another group proposed the idea of "popular sovereignty." This meant that the government should permit settlers to enter the new territory both with and without slaves. Then when the territories organized into states, the people themselves could make the decision based on a vote.

Despite the growing power of the abolitionist movement, most Northerners did not want to challenge the existence of slavery in the states where it already existed. Stopping the expansion of slavery into the new territories was the mainstream abolitionist goal. In 1848, a new Free Soil Party received nearly 300,000 votes. Its platform stated that it wanted "to limit, localize, and discourage slavery."

After the Gold Rush, California was on the path to statehood faster than anyone had anticipated. Congress had to establish the status of this territory quickly in order to institute an organized government. Kentucky Senator Henry Clay, now in his 70s, proposed a carefully balanced but complicated plan. He was able to gain the support of his old rival, Daniel Webster. He joined by the Rising Democratic star, Senator Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois, the leading advocate of popular sovereignty, who helped guide it through Congress.

The plan, known as the Compromise of 1850 had many parts. First, California was admitted to the Union as a free state. Second, the remainder of the Mexican cession would be divided into the two territories of New Mexico and Utah and organized on the principle of popular sovereignty. Third, Texas, which claimed a portion of New Mexico would be paid \$10 million, which would be used to pay off the state's debts. Fourth, the Fugitive Slave Act was passed, which required law officials to help in the apprehension of runaway slaves and return them to their masters, regardless of where they were found. The fifth provision outlawed the buying and selling of slaves (but not slavery) in the District of Columbia.

The compromise averted a political crisis and possibly postponed the Civil War for more than a decade. For a short time, the compromise seemed to put the matter to rest. However, the Fugitive Slave Law deeply offended many Northerners, who repulsed by the idea that they would be required to assist in catching slaves. In response, the Underground Railroad became more daring than ever.

A NATION DIVIDED

In the decade after the Compromise of 1850, the issue of slavery ate away at the country's political bonds and tore apart the two main political parties, the Whigs and the Democrats. The Whigs, unable to decide on a coherent message were completely destroyed, while the Democrats, unified in their support of slavery, were divided on whether protecting it where it existed or expansion was the most important area of concentration. As a result, weak presidents, whose irresolution mirrored that of their parties, would serve in

the nation's highest office, at a time when a resolute leader was most needed.

Abolitionists became more emboldened throughout the 1850s, and their movement grew. Harriet Beecher Stowe published *Uncle Tom's Cabin* in 1852. Stowe, provoked by the passage of the Fugitive Slave Law, wrote the book in order to show people in the North a humanized view of the lives of slaves. The book portrayed with the cruelty of slavery and posited a fundamental conflict between free and slave societies. Over 300,000 copies were sold that year. Presses had to be run day and night to keep up with the demand. It inspired widespread support for the antislavery cause, appealing to basic human emotions, pity for the helpless individuals exposed to ruthless exploitation and a rising indignation at the injustices facing slaves daily.

The Compromise of 1850 only settled matters for a mere 4 years, when once again the issue of slavery in the territories had to be dealt with. The region that now comprises Nebraska and Kansas was being settled rapidly increasing the need for territorial, and eventually, state governments.

The entire region was closed to slavery under the terms of the Missouri Compromise of 1820. However, slave-holders in Missouri, which dominated the politics of the state, objected to letting Kansas become a free territory because Kansas would then have three free state, Iowa, Kansas and Illinois as neighbors. They worried that this might force them to become a free state soon as well. The Kansas congressional delegation, backed by other Southern states, blocked all efforts to organize regional governments.

Stephen A. Douglas wishing to earn favor with the South in order to gain the presidency in 1856, argued that the Compromise of 1850, having left New Mexico and Utah free to resolve the slavery issue through popular vote, superseded the Missouri Compromise. He proposed a plan where Kansas and Nebraska would have the same option. Under his plan, settlers could take slaves into the territories which would eventually vote to determine if they should enter the Union as slave states or free.

The Kansas-Nebraska Act passed Congress in May 1854, and was signed by President Franklin Pierce. Southerners celebrated with cannon fire, but when Douglas returned to his home state of Illinois to give a speech, the ships in Chicago's harbor lowered their flags to half-staff, and he was greeted by a crowd of 10,000 who hooted so loudly that he could not even make himself heard.

The wake of the Kansas-Nebraska Act left the political parties in turmoil. The Whig Party, which had vacillated about the question of slavery and its expansion, sank to its death. Tapping into the desire of many people who were becoming more firmly anti-slavery, the Republican Party, whose primary purpose was to stop the spread of slavery into all the territories was formed in Wisconsin in 1854. In 1856, it nominated John Frémont, a military officer and famous explorer of the West. Frémont lost the presidential election, but the new party won many other congressional and local elections in the North. Antislavery leaders such as Salmon P. Chase and William Seward exerted more influence than ever. Along with them appeared a little known Illinois attorney, Abraham Lincoln.

In Kansas, the flow of both Southern slaveholders and antislavery families erupted into an armed conflict, known as "bleeding Kansas." The Supreme Court compounded the problems with its infamous 1857 Dred Scott decision.

Scott was a Missouri slave who, some 20 years earlier, had been taken by his master to live in Illinois and the Wisconsin Territory; in both places, slavery was banned. After returning to Missouri, Scott sued for liberation since he had lived so long in a Free State. A majority of the Supreme Court, which was dominated by Southerners, decided that Scott had no standing to sue in court because he was not a citizen. The Court declared that slaveholders had the right to take their "property" anywhere in the federal territories, regardless of local laws against slavery. The ruling stated that Congress could not restrict the expansion of slavery. This in effect invalidated former compromises on slavery and disallowed new ones.

The Dred Scott decision was met with condemnation throughout the North. For Southern Democrats, however, the decision was a great victory. It gave them justification through judicial sanction of establishing slavery throughout the territories.

DOUGLAS, LINCOLN, AND BROWN

Abraham Lincoln had been raised in an antislavery household and had grown up viewing slavery as an evil. At the beginning of his political career as a Republican in 1854 (he was formerly a Whig politician), he declared in a widely publicized speech that all national legislation should be made on the principle that slavery should be restricted and eventually abolished. Lincoln dismissed the idea of popular sovereignty, stating that slavery in the western territories was not only the concern of the local inhabitants but to the nation as a whole.

In the 1858 U.S. Senate election for Illinois Lincoln ran against Stephen A. Douglas. On 17 June, Lincoln's opening campaign speech presciently states:

A house divided against itself cannot stand. I believe this government cannot 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.

Douglas and Lincoln went on to engage in a series of seven debates throughout the campaign. Douglas, known as the "Little Giant," had a reputation as a tremendous orator. However, Lincoln gained national fame through his eloquent challenge to Douglas's concept of popular sovereignty. The debates were published in newspapers around the country. The end result was an electoral victory for, Douglas won the election by a small margin, yet Lincoln achieved the national acclaim which would propel him into the White House two years later.

By the late 1850s, events were spinning out of control. On the night of 16 October, 1859, John Brown, an antislavery zealot who had captured and executed five proslavery settlers in Kansas three years earlier, led a band of around 20 men in an attack on the federal arsenal (weapons storage) at Harper's Ferry, Virginia (now West Virginia). Brown wanted to use the weapons to lead a slave uprising. During the next two days of fighting, nearly half of Brown's men were killed including two of his sons. Brown and most of his surviving raiders were taken prisoner by a U.S. Marines force commanded by Army Colonel Robert E. Lee.

Brown was put on trial by Virginia for conspiracy, treason, and murder. On December 2, 1859, he was hanged. The Harper's Ferry Raid revealed once again the political chasm that had formed within the United States. Southerners saw their fears of a slave uprising realized, while antislavery activists often hailed Brown as a martyr to a great cause. Most Northerners had at first condemned Brown, but over the next couple years, he became something of a folk hero to many, and some even began to accept Brown as an instrument of God.

THE ELECTION OF 1860

The Republican Party nominated Abraham Lincoln as its candidate for the 1860 presidential election. The party platform stated that slavery could spread no farther. Although the party was primarily focused on the issue of slavery, it also pledged the enactment of a law granting land to all free

homesteaders who would help in the settling the West and promised a tariff for the protection of industry. The Democratic party split between Northern Democrats who nominated Stephen Douglas, and Southern Democrats, who were unwilling to accept Douglas's popular sovereignty in the wake of the Dred Scott case. The Southerners chose Vice President John C. Breckenridge of Kentucky as their nominee. Former Whigs from the border states along with the anti-immigrant Know-Nothings formed the Constitutional Union Party and nominated John C. Bell of Tennessee. This party took no stance on slavery or its expansion.

Douglas and Lincoln competed in the North, Bell and Breckenridge in the South. Lincoln only won 39 percent of the popular vote, but gained a majority in the electoral college with 180 votes, carrying all 18 free states. Bell won Kentucky, Tennessee, and Virginia. Breckenridge took the other slave states except for Missouri and New Jersey (still technically a slave state, though there were only 16 slaves left in the state when the 13th Amendment was passed in 1865). Both these states were won by Douglas (New Jersey split their 7 electoral votes, giving 4 to Lincoln even though Douglas had won the popular vote). Despite his poor showing, Douglas trailed only Lincoln in the popular vote overall.

Chapter Seven: The Civil War



Southern States Secede

Many in the Southern states believed that the new Republican administration would attempt to undermine slavery by appointing antislavery judges, postmasters, military officers, and other officials. Very soon after Lincoln's election Southern states began holding secession conventions. The first, South Carolina, voted unanimously to secede from the Union on December 20, 1860.

South Carolina was joined officially by ten more states, which were in order of secession: Mississippi, Florida, Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Texas, Virginia, Arkansas, North Carolina, and Tennessee (seceded June 8, 1861). Secession was declared by supporters in the slaveholding states of Missouri and Kentucky, but it did not take effect as it was opposed by pro-Union state governments and a heavy presence of Federal troops. These two states would still be represented as one of the thirteen stars on the Confederate flag.

	State	Seceded from Union	Readmitted to Union
1.	South Carolina	Dec. 20, 1860	July 9, 1868
2.	Mississippi	Jan. 9, 1861	Feb. 23, 1870
3.	Florida	Jan. 10, 1861	June 25, 1868
4.	Alabama	Jan. 11, 1861	July 13, 1868
5.	Georgia	Jan. 19, 1861	July 15, 1870
6.	Louisiana	Jan. 26, 1861	July 9, 1868
7.	Texas	March 2, 1861	March 30, 1870
8.	Virginia	April 17, 1861	Jan. 26, 1870
9.	Arkansas	May 6, 1861	June 22, 1868
10.	North Carolina	May 20, 1861	July 4, 1868
11.	Tennessee	June 8, 1861	July 24, 1866



In early February 1861, a new government, the Confederate States of America was formed in Montgomery, Alabama (Later the Confederate capital would be moved to Richmond, Virginia), and a constitution was drafted. The constitution was modeled on the U.S. Constitution, but it had some very important differences. The Confederate Constitution specifically referred to God, slavery, and state sovereignty. It explicitly stated the right to slavery in the states and territories (for westward expansion), though it prohibited the international slave trade. The Confederate President was limited to a single six-year term, but he was given the line-item veto power. The constitution prohibited protective tariffs, government funding of internal improvements, and required a two-thirds vote of Congress to admit new states. The new Confederate Congress appointed Jefferson Davis, a distinguished politician from Mississippi, as President. This appointment would be confirmed later in the year in an uncontested election.

Following secession, the Confederate states attempted to seize federal property within their boundaries such as forts, customs houses, and arsenals. Several forts, however, remained within Union hands, including Fort Pickens in Pensacola, Florida, and most importantly, Fort Sumter in Charleston, South Carolina's harbor. Fort Sumter had become a key symbol of whether the Confederate states exercised sovereignty within its borders. South Carolina demanded that President Buchanan (who would remain president until Lincoln was sworn in on 4 March, 1861) sell Fort Sumter to the CSA. Buchanan however refused. The ultimate decision and consequences would have to wait for Lincoln.

When Lincoln became President, he attempted to be both firm and conciliatory. During his inaugural address, he declared secession to be illegal and did not acknowledge the CSA as an independent country. However, he promised to, "not interfere with the institution of slavery where it exists." But that, "the power confided to me...to hold, occupy, and possess the property and places belonging to the Government" would be defended. To this end, he stated that "beyond what may be necessary for these

objects...there would be no invasion, no using of force against or among the people anywhere."

Lincoln ended the speech by saying, "We are not enemies, but friends. We must not be enemies. Though passion may have strained it must not break our bonds of affection. The mystic chords of memory, stretching from every battlefield and patriot grave to every living heart and hearthstone all over this broad land, will yet swell the chorus of the Union, when again touched, as surely they will be, by the better angels of our nature."

Lincoln received a letter from Robert Anderson the next morning, however, informing him that Fort Sumter's supplies would run out in four to six weeks and that it would take a 20,000-man force to reinforce the fort.

Lincoln decided to try to peacefully re-supply the fort with provisions and informed the Confederate government of his decision beforehand. However, upon learning of Lincoln's plan, Jefferson Davis ordered General Pierre G.T. Beauregard (1818-1893) to force Fort Sumter's surrender before the supply mission could arrive. At 4:30 a.m. April 12, Confederate guns began firing on Fort Sumter. Thirty-three hours later, the fort surrendered. The only casualty on either side was a Confederate horse that was killed when a cannon exploded. Although bloodless, the firing on Fort Sumter would be the event which marked the beginning of the American Civil War.

AN UNEQUAL DIVIDE AND TECHNOLOGICAL IMPROVEMENTS

In response to the attack on Fort Sumter, Lincoln called on the states to provide 75,000 militiamen for 90 days service. More than double that number volunteered, however the eight slave states still in the Union refused to furnish troops, and four, citing Fort Sumter as provocation (Arkansas, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Virginia) soon seceded.

The man who would eventually lead the forces of the Confederacy, Robert E. Lee (1807-1870) of Virginia, was originally unsure of which side he would choose. Lee was Winfield Scott's (America's highest ranking General) choice to serve as field commander of the Union army. However, when Virginia voted to secede, Lee resigned from the U.S. army, saying to his sister that he could not "raise my hand against my birthplace, my home, my children. Save in defense of my native state, I hope I may never be called on to draw my sword."

When the war began, both sides were confident the war would be short and end in victory. The North had statistics on their side. In 1861, the Confederate states had a population of just 9 million people (including 3.7

million slaves) compared to the Union which had 22.5 million. In addition to manpower, the North also had a larger navy, a more developed railroad system, a stronger manufacturing base and most of the nation's financial and banking sector. The North had 1.3 million industrial workers, compared to the South's 110,000. Northern factories manufactured nine times as many industrial goods as the South; seventeen times as many cotton and woolen goods; thirty times as many boots and shoes; twenty times as much pig iron; twenty-four times as many railroad locomotives; and 33 times as many firearms.

However, the South also felt confident. For one thing, the Confederacy had only to wage a defensive war and wait for the North to grow tired of trying to conquer the South. Southerners knew the Union had to conquer and control the Confederacy's 750,000 square miles of territory. To the overconfident Southerners, the Confederate army seemed superior to that of the Union. More Southerners had attended West Point or other military academies, had served as army officers, and had experience using firearms and horses.

More Americans died in the American Civil War than any other war in American history. One obvious reason for this was that each side was killing other Americans. Altogether, over 600,000 died in the conflict, more than all other American wars combined until the Vietnam War. In fact, a soldier was 13 times more likely to die in the Civil War than in the Vietnam War.

One reason why the Civil War had such a high death toll was the new technological developments in weaponry. Accuracy and distance improved dramatically from the past. Cone-shaped bullets replaced musket balls, and beginning in 1862, smooth-bore muskets were replaced with rifles with grooved barrels, which imparted spin on a bullet and allowed a soldier to hit a target a quarter of a mile away. The Civil War was the first war in which soldiers used breechloading arms, which were loaded from behind the barrel instead of through the muzzle thus making reloading and firing much faster. By the end of the war, the North was issuing repeating rifles, which could fire several shots without reloading, and even early automatic weapons like the Gatling gun. The Civil War was also the first war in which Americans used exploding artillery known as shrapnel, as well as landmines.

Unfortunately, the technological improvements far outpaced strategy on the battlefield. Massive frontal assaults and massed formations used for centuries now resulted in deaths on a scale never before seen in the New World. In addition, far larger numbers of soldiers were involved in battles than in the past. In the Mexican War, no more than 15,000 soldiers opposed

each other in a single battle, but some Civil War battles involved as many as 100,000 soldiers.

Combat deaths for the Union totaled 111,904 with another 197,388 dying of disease; 30,192 died while in Confederate prisons, and a further 24,881 as a result of accidents. Another 277,401 Union soldiers were wounded. The Confederate casualties were also tragically high with approximately 94,000 combat deaths, 140,000 deaths by disease, and 195,000 men wounded.

About 20% of the Southern white male population died in the war.

Nearly 2/3 of the deaths during the war were caused by disease. Poor sanitation, contaminated water supplies, primitive medical practices caused the average regiment to lose half its fighting strength to disease during the first year.

THE BATTLES

All hopes for a swift victory for either side in the Civil War were dashed at the First Battle of Bull Run (called Manassas by the Confederates). After the surrender of Fort Sumter, the two armies both moved to secure northern Virginia, where the U.S. capital of Washington, D.C. was barely more than 100 miles from the Confederate capital of Richmond, Virginia. At Bull Run in northern Virginia 25 miles southwest of Washington, the armies clashed. Wealthy residents of Washington thought it would be good entertainment to watch and many came out to eat picnic lunches as they looked on. Initially the Union seemed to be winning the day, but when Confederate forces counterattacked, Union army retreated in panic. The Confederate forces failed to take up pursuit, allowing the North to regroup, and signaling to everyone that this was going to be a very long war.

In August 1862, Lincoln stated: "If I could save the Union without freeing any slaves I would do it; and if I could save it by freeing all the slaves I would do it; and if I could save it by freeing some and leaving others alone I would also do that." However, as the war moved on into its second year, immense pressure was building to end slavery and Lincoln had privately concluded that he could save the Union only by issuing an emancipation proclamation, which he had already drafted, but waited for a Union victory on the battlefield to issue.

That victory finally came on 17 September 1862. The Battle of Antietam, which is called the Battle of Sharpsburg by South, which typically named battles after nearby towns, while the North named them after geographical features. The Battle of Antietam became the bloodiest single day of the Civil

War, and American History. The South, under Lee, suffered 11,000 casualties while McClellan and the North lost 13,000. Lee was forced to retreat after the battle, allowing the North to declare the battle a Union victory. However, Union forces failed to follow up on their success and Lee was able to retreat quietly back into Virginia.

The preliminary *Emancipation Proclamation* that President Lincoln issued on September 22 stated that all slaves in parts of the Confederacy on January 1, 1863, "shall be then, thenceforward, and forever free." Lincoln hoped that emancipation would help to undermine the Confederacy's war effort. According to Secretary of the Navy Gideon Welles, the President believed that freeing the slaves was "a military necessity, absolutely essential to the preservation of the Union....The slaves [are] undeniably an element of strength to those who [have] their service, and we must decide whether that element should be with us or against us."

The Proclamation also affected foreign opinion of the war. The Confederate government had assumed that demand for cotton of Britain's textile industry would push Britain to break the Union naval blockade. However, the inability to import cotton from the American South prompted Britain to look elsewhere, such as Egypt and India. There was still a real danger of European involvement in the war, as both France and Britain feared a strong and rising power across the Atlantic. By redefining the war as a war of liberation, Lincoln was able generate support from a European populace which was widely anti-slavery. Simply put, there was no longer any way politically for a European power to join the war against the Union in order to preserve slavery in the South.

The Emancipation Proclamation had another effect as well. By early 1863, voluntary enlistments in the Union army had fallen so sharply that the federal government instituted an unpopular military draft and decided to enroll black, as well as white troops. This new influx of troops allowed President Lincoln to resist the demands for peace that likely would have included keeping the institution of slavery in the United States. More than 180,000 black soldiers served in the Union Army with another 29,000 served in the Navy. By the end of the war, blacks made up nearly 10 percent of all Union forces. Black Union soldiers suffered 68,178 dead or missing and Twenty-four received the Congressional Medal of Honor for valor above and beyond the call of duty in battle.

The participation of black troops in combat and their contribution to the war made it far less likely that black people would remain in slavery after the Civil War.



GETTYSBURG

In Mid-1863, General Lee decided to try to invade the North for a second time. His intention was to circle around Washington D.C. in order come in and capture it from the rear. By late June he was in Pennsylvania, and on the evening of July 1, most of Lee's army of 75,000 reached the small town of Gettysburg, a central location where a number of roads met.. Meanwhile, most of the 90,000-man Union army of General George Meade (1815-1872) arrived at Gettysburg that same evening. The largest battle ever fought in the Western Hemisphere was about to begin.

On July 2, Lee tried to attack Union positions on the left and right flanks in order to encircle the Union Army to destroy or capture it. However, northern troops were able to heroically repel the attacks. On the final day of battle, the Union army, expecting Lee to attack again on the flanks, reinforced its flanks. Lee, however, launched a frontal attack on the center of the Union lines. While the attack was a surprise, it was also a disaster for Lee. This frontal assault against a well-fortified defensive position on a hill was something akin to suicide. Around 15,000 Confederate troops, led by General George E. Pickett (1825-1875), marched nearly a mile into constant and heavy Union rifle and artillery fire. Although about a hundred Confederate soldiers succeeded in temporarily breaking through the Union defenses, they were very quickly killed or captured, and the northern lines held firm. The next day, Lee ordered a retreat back into Virginia, but it was clear that the South had suffered a disastrous defeat. Nearly 25,000 Southern soldiers were killed, wounded, or missing at Gettysburg. After the battle, Lee was never able to mount another major offensive. However, once again, the Northern forces failed to follow up with their victory at Gettysburg and Lee was able to return to Virginia was his army intact.

THE END OF THE WAR

To bring about an end to the war, Union generals such as Ulysses S. Grant and William Tecumseh Sherman believed the South's ability and will to fight had to be broken. In blunt terms, Sherman summed up the idea of total war: "We are not only fighting hostile armies," he declared in 1864, "but a hostile people, and must make old and young, rich and poor, feel the hard hand of war."

In March 1864, Lincoln gave Ulysses S. Grant command of all Union armies. Lincoln wanted a general who was not afraid to fight, even if it meant devastating casualties on both sides. To Lincoln (and Grant), ending the war quicker meant ending the killing sooner. Vowing to end the war within a year, General Grant launched three major offensives in unison. General Philip H. Sheridan's task was to lay waste to farmland in Virginia's Shenandoah Valley, destroying the key food-producing region of the Confederacy. He accomplished this by October of 1864. Meanwhile, General William Tecumseh Sherman advanced southeastward from Chattanooga and seized Atlanta, a major southern rail center, while Grant himself pursued Lee's army and sought to capture Richmond, the Confederate capital.

Grant would use an offensive strategy of wearing down the enemy called a "war of attrition." Grant knew that with the depleted manpower available to the South, every man killed or wounded would not be able to be replaced, while on the other hand the North still retained vast reserves. Grant started his offensive with 118,000 men; by early June, almost half of his men were casualties. But Lee's army was suffering too, having been reduced by a third, down to 40,000, and Southern troops could not be replaced. In a series of battles, Lee's Army continued to dwindle. The Battle of the Wilderness, in northern Virginia, reduced it by 11,000. This was followed shortly by the Battle of Spotsylvania Court House, where Lee lost another 10,000 men. The next battle, at Cold Harbor, was a disaster for the North, with 12,000 men killed or wounded. However, Grant continued to advance on to Petersburg. Taking this railway center south of Richmond would cut the Capital off from the rest of the Confederacy. The Union army settled in for a nine-month siege of the city.

While Grant was pursuing Lee's army, General Sherman, with a force of 100,000 men, marched toward Atlanta, Georgia from Chattanooga, Tennessee. He captured the rail center in Atlanta on September 2, 1864. After leaving the city in flames (set by retreating Confederates to keep supplies out of Northern hands), Sherman's men marched across Georgia toward Savannah. This became known as "Sherman's March to the Sea." In order to break the South's will to fight, Sherman had his soldiers destroy railroad

tracks, loot houses, destroy crops and burn factories. Sherman seized Savannah December 21, and then drove northward, capturing Charleston and Columbia, South Carolina, then heading through North Carolina to Virginia en route to join up with Grant. Sherman summed up the goal of his actions harshly: "We cannot change the hearts of those people, but we can make war so terrible...[and] make them so sick of war that generations would pass away before they would again appeal to it."



I intend to make Georgia howl.

~ William Tecumseh Sherman

APPOMATTOX COURTHOUSE

By April 1865, Grant's army had cut off Lee's supply lines, forcing Confederate forces to evacuate Petersburg and Richmond. The Confederate Government was on the run, and Lee's army retreated westward, but Grant's troops caught up to him about a hundred miles west of Richmond. Recognizing that the war was lost, Lee surrendered at Appomattox Court House, Virginia on 9 April, 1865. The aristocratic Lee wore a full-dress uniform, with a ceremonial sash and sword. Grant wore his mud-splattered field uniform with dirty boots.

In a final message to his troops the next day, Robert E. Lee stated that they were "compelled to yield to overwhelming numbers and resources." Three-quarters of the Southern white male population of military age had served in the war, but by 1865, the war of attrition had enabled the North to field four times as many troops as the Confederacy. When he surrendered, Lee's

entire army had shrunk to just 35,000 men, while Grant had 113,000, with more arriving every day. Lee's decision to surrender, however, probably helped to prevent large-scale guerrilla warfare.

By this time, most people understood the war was over. At noon on Good Friday, April 14, 1865 the war was brought full circle. Major General Robert Anderson once again raised the American flag over Fort Sumter. It was the same flag almost exactly 4 years to the day that he had surrendered, marking the beginning of the war.

That evening President Lincoln and his wife decided to go watch a play performed in a theater near the White House. A few minutes after 10 o'clock, John Wilkes Booth (1838-1865), entered the presidential box at Ford's Theater and shot the President in the back of the head. Booth was a young actor from Maryland and Confederate sympathizer who had spied for Richmond and been part of a plot to kidnap Lincoln. After shooting Lincoln, Booth leaped down to the stage breaking his leg, but at this time there was no Secret Service and security around the president was nearly non-existent, which enabled Booth escape anyway. As he fled the theater he is said to have cried out: "Sic semper tyrannis" a Latin phrase meaning 'thus always to tyrants,' the motto of the State of Virginia.

Lincoln was carried unconscious to a nearby house. He was pronounced dead at 7:22 a.m., April 15. A few minutes later, Secretary of War Edwin M. Stanton (1814-1869) announced to the assembled crowd waiting outside, "Now he belongs to the ages."

The war absolutely devastated the South economically and demographically. It lost a fourth of its white male population of military age, a third of its livestock, half of its farm machinery, and \$2.5 billion worth of human property (slaves). Factories and railroads had been destroyed, and cities such as Atlanta, Charleston, Columbia, and Richmond had been largely burned to the ground. Monetary values don't translate well over the centuries, but an example of how much the South lost can be seen in South Carolina property values which were \$400 million in 1860, the third highest in the nation. After the war, in 1865, property values in the state had plunged to just \$50 million.

Chapter Eight:

Reconstruction

THE THIRTEENTH AMENDMENT

The South's loss of the Civil War led to massive social upheaval. Four million slaves were freed while a 250,000 southern whites had died; one-fifth of the entire white male population. The loss of the slaves was a \$2.5 billion property loss for plantation owners. This was in addition to the destruction of plantations, cities and infrastructure. For whites in the South, the loss of the Civil War was a disaster. For blacks in the South, it meant something else entirely.

The North's victory did not mean that slave emancipation happened immediately for everyone. In some areas slaves had already been free for years, in other areas, the wait for freedom was not yet over. In areas occupied by the Union during the Civil War, such as coastal South Carolina and parts of Louisiana and Florida slaves gained their freedom as early as the fall of 1861. Union generals like John C. Fremont, without presidential or Congressional authorization, proclaimed slaves in their conquered districts to be free. As the North's armies marched southward, slaves by the tens of thousands abandoned their plantations and flocked to Union lines. As an incentive to enlist former slaves, black soldiers in the Union Army and their families automatically gained freedom.

Many slaves in Texas were not formally freed until June 19, 1865, which became known as "Juneteenth," and this is still remembered as emancipation day in part of the Southwest. Slaves in the Border States that remained in the Union; Delaware, Kentucky, Maryland, and Missouri, were not freed until December 1865, eight months after the end of the Civil War. This was the date when the 13th Amendment was ratified, finally abolishing slavery in the United States forever.

During his re-election campaign in 1864, Lincoln had set a constitutional amendment ending slavery as one of his goals. He and his administration had worked towards that goal after his reelection, though he was killed before the amendment was ratified in December of 1865.

The text of the Thirteenth Amendment in its entirety is found below:

Section 1. 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.

Section 2. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

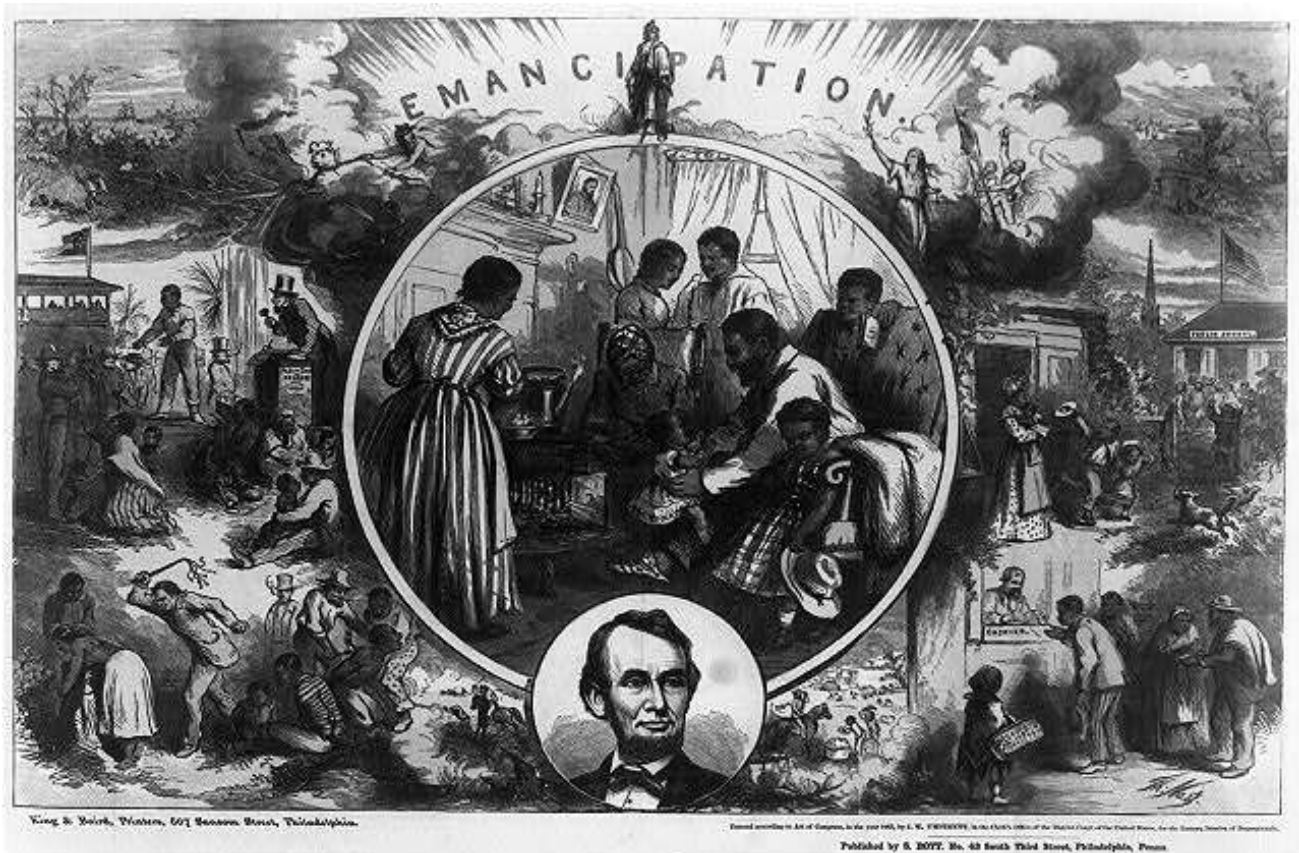


Image credit: <http://www.greatamericanhistory.net/amendment.htm>

REPUBLICAN ATTEMPTS TO PROTECT NEWLY FREED BLACKS

The American South was the only region in the world in which slavery was overthrown by force of arms, with the exception for Haiti in 1804. The ending of slavery in the Southern United States differed in many other ways. Formerly prosperous slave owners were deprived of the right to hold public office and received no compensation for the loss of their slave property. It was the only region in which former slaves received civil and political rights,

including, after the ratification of the 14th and 15th Amendments, full citizenship rights including the right to vote and hold elective office. It was also unique because it was the only post-emancipation society where former slaves formed successful political alliances with whites.

However, though the ending of slavery in America was unique in many ways, Southern planters still managed to hold onto their land, which gave them the power to eventually reestablish their economic and political dominance. Under Presidential reconstruction, all-white southern legislatures enacted "black codes." These measures were separate laws which only applied to blacks. The intent was to keep blacks from rising above their stations in life, and can even be seen as an attempt to force blacks back into slavery in everything but name. The black codes denied African Americans the right to purchase or even rent land. Vagrancy laws could be very loosely interpreted and allowed authorities to arrest blacks for "idleness" (including many children) and assign them to work gangs or even auction them off to a planter for as long as a year. In many areas, the black codes also barred ex-slaves from owning weapons, marrying whites, and assembling after sunset. To avoid being picked up for vagrancy or forced onto a work gang, blacks were required have written proof of employment.

Republicans became convinced that securing the peace and protecting the civil rights of former slaves required unprecedented extensions of federal power. Republicans felt that President Johnson was unwilling to take the required measures. In fact, under presidential reconstruction, Johnson permitted the establishment in 1865 of all-white governments that restricted the rights of ex-slaves. This was the basis of one of the greatest inter-governmental branch struggles in American history. Johnson felt that he was carrying out Lincoln's plan for reconstruction and believed he was only being fair to the white southerners. However, the Republican Congress thought the need to protect the basic rights of former slaves took precedence.

The Republican efforts would prevent the planters from re-imposing slavery in a new guise; but even though freedmen were not returned to slavery, very few managed to become independent landowners. Instead, a new system of landlords and laborers would emerge called sharecropping, which would perpetuate southern poverty for decades. In sharecropping, tenants would live and farm land for the land owners, keeping only a small percentage for themselves. While both whites and blacks became sharecroppers, it disproportionately affected the black community. It was a system designed to halt upward mobility, and it would keep many blacks tied to the same land their slave ancestors had worked for many years after emancipation.

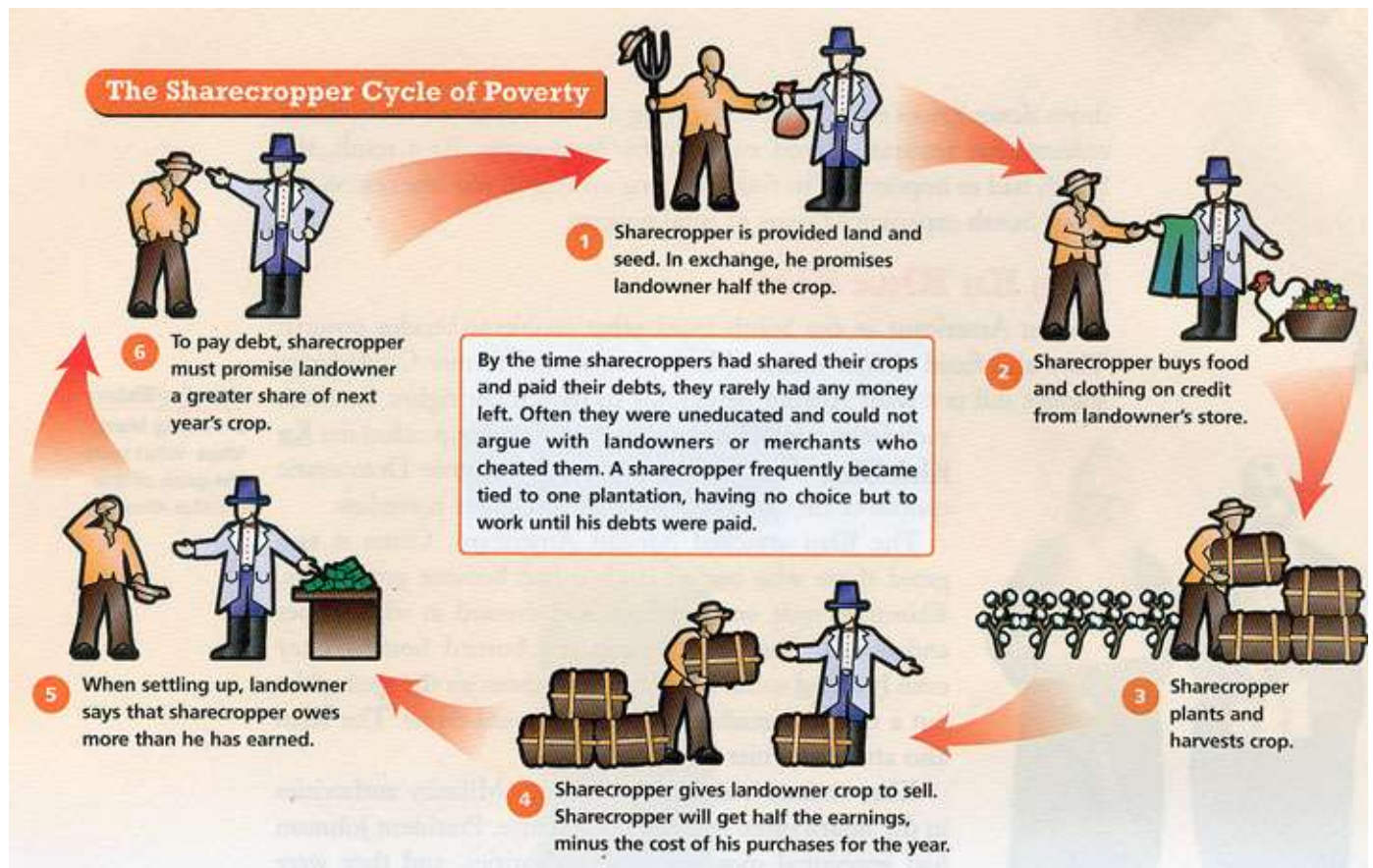


Image credit: <http://ushistoryvocab.weebly.com/sharecropping.html>

A more positive legacy of Reconstruction for American blacks in the South was the establishments of churches and schools that would eventually become the birth places of the Civil Rights movement nearly 100 years in the future.

STRUGGLES BETWEEN THE PRESIDENT AND CONGRESS

Under Presidential reconstruction, the only requirements for former Confederate states to rejoin the union were that they had repudiated their ordinances of secession, accepted the 13th Amendment, repudiated the Confederate debt, and pledged loyalty to the Union. Believing these measures too forgiving, and being appalled by the implementation of the black codes, the Republicans in Congress seized reconstruction from the president and implemented a much harsher system, in some cases punitive, against the South. Congress denied representatives from the former Confederate states their Congressional seats (a rare but legal maneuver by Congress), they passed the Civil Rights Act of 1866 over the veto of President Johnson, declaring all persons born in the United States to be citizens, regardless of race or previous servitude. They then codified this by writing the 14th Amendment to the Constitution, which also guaranteed

them equal protection of the laws. Additionally, the 14th Amendment reduced representation in Congress of any southern state that deprived African Americans of the vote. In 1870, Congress went even further by ratifying the Fifteenth Amendment, which gave voting rights to black men.

In 1867, Congress overrode another presidential veto and passed an act that divided the South into military districts that placed the former Confederate states under martial law until they adopted state constitutions guaranteeing civil liberties to former slaves.



Image credit: weebly.com

To stop the president from hindering its reconstruction program, the Republicans in Congress passed several laws restricting presidential powers. The president was prevented from appointing Supreme Court justices and also restricted his authority over the army. In 1867, Congress passed the Tenure of Office Act over Johnson's veto, which barred him from removing, without Senate approval, officeholders, who had been appointed with the advice and consent of the Senate.

In August 1867, Johnson put the Tenure of Office Act to the test by removing the Secretary of War Edwin Stanton from office. This act prompted Republicans in Congress to seek to impeach and remove the president.

According to the Constitution of the United States, the impeachment and removal of a president is a two-step process. The House of Representatives votes to impeach, which essentially means the House recommends that the

president should be removed from office. This is a simple majority vote- 50% plus one. Then there is a trial held in the senate for the actual removal of the president from office. In order for that to happen though, a 2/3 majority must vote in favor of removal.

The House voted 126-47 to impeach Johnson on 11 separate articles, making him the first president to be impeached by the House of Representatives in American history. On paper this was done for violating the Tenure of Office Act, as well as for denouncing Congress as unfit to legislate. But as seen above, there were other issues that were more important to Congressional Republicans. Johnson had vetoed 20 Reconstruction bills and had urged southern legislatures to reject the 14th Amendment, guaranteeing equal protection of the laws. He even ordered black families evicted from land they had previously been settled on by the U.S. Army.

In May of 1868, the Senate first voted on the 11th article of impeachment, which was about the president's violation of the Tenure of Office Act, with the final tally of 35 for and 19 against; one short of the two-thirds needed for conviction and removal from office. Seven Republicans voted against their party. The Senate voted on two more articles of impeachment, each again just one vote shy of conviction. They didn't bother to vote on the remaining eight impeachment articles. But through the impeachment process, Johnson had lost all his political capital, and there were only a few months left in his term of office. In the future, he no longer obstructed Congress' Reconstruction policies.

In 1868, Johnson did not receive the nomination for President from the Democratic party, and so left office at the completion of his term in 1869. However, in one of the most extraordinary comebacks in American Political history, he was elected to the United States Senate from Tennessee in 1874 and was sworn into office in 1875. However, he died later that year.

One of the most significant foreign policy developments during Johnson's presidency was the purchase of Alaska from Russia. The driving force behind this territorial acquisition was the Secretary of State William H. Seward. The deal was completed March 30, 1867, with the purchase price set at \$7.2 million (about \$123 million in 2017 dollars) or about 2 cents per acre. It was one of the greatest land purchases in history, though it was not universally well received in the United States. At the time many people referred to the purchase as "Seward's folly", or "Seward's icebox." There were even newspaper editorials saying that taxpayer money had been wasted on a "Polar bear garden." Over the next 150 years, gold, oil, natural gas and many other valuable minerals and natural resources would be discovered in Alaska.



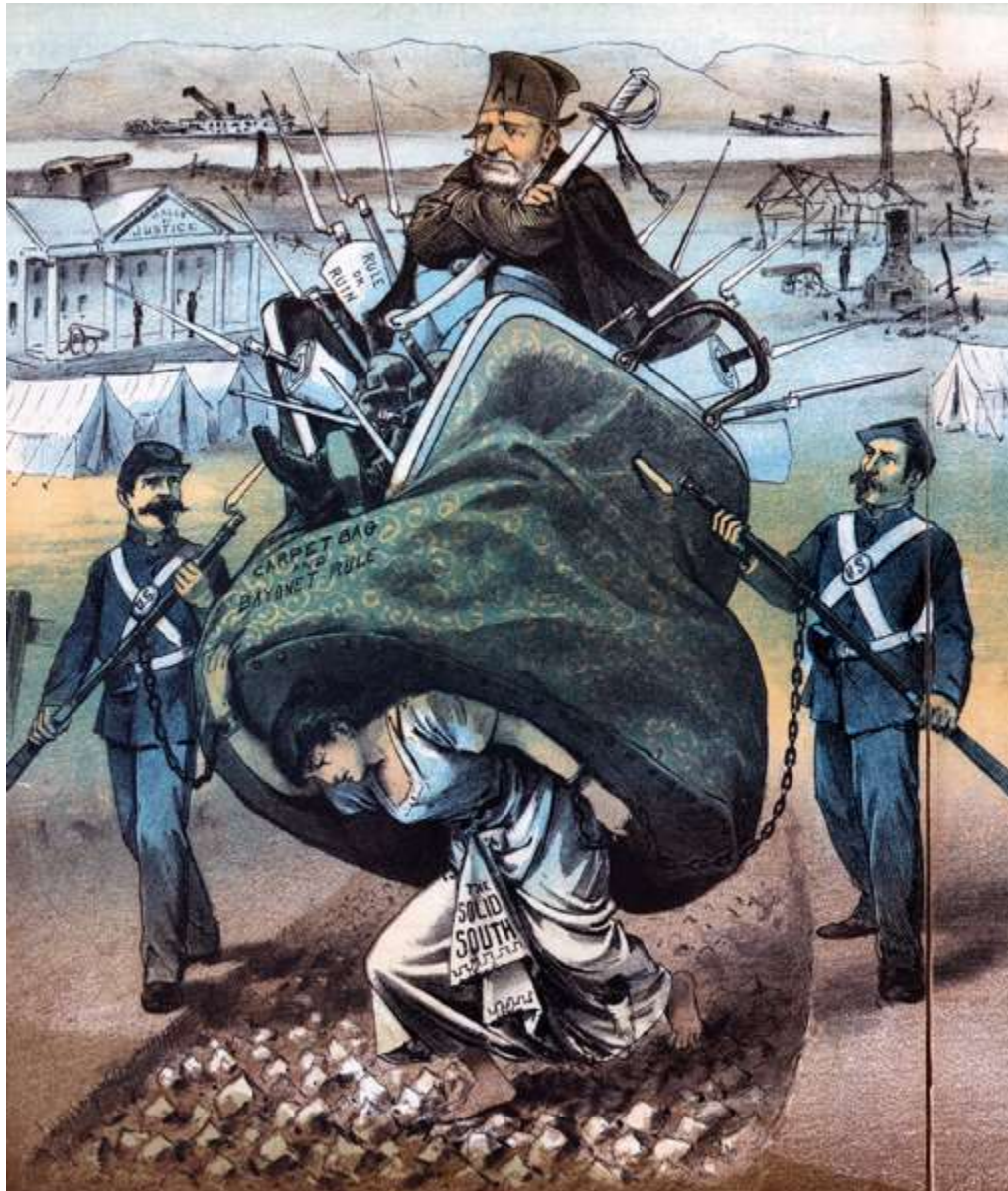
The signing of the Alaska Treaty of Cession on March 30, 1867. L-R: Robert S. Chew, William H. Seward, William Hunter, Mr. Bodisco, Eduard de Stoeckl, Charles Sumner and Frederick W. Seward. Image credit: Wikipedia.com

CARPETBAGGERS AND SCAWLAWAGS

With much of the white male population disenfranchised in the South, the majority of the people who could vote in many of the Federally occupied reconstruction states were Northerners who had moved down after the war, or Southerners who had stayed loyal to the Union during the war and usually were Republicans. The Southern white population saw these two groups as unscrupulous carpetbaggers from the North and unprincipled scalawags from the South. They believed these groups manipulated the newly freed and enfranchised blacks to gain control of the state and local governments supported by the presence of federal troops.

This stereotype was popularized during and after Reconstruction. The Northerner carpetbaggers were dishonest fortune seekers whose possession could be put in a bag (made of carpet- hence the name). "They are fellows

who crawled down South on the track of our armies...stealing and plundering," said editor Horace Greeley. The reality was, however, most of the Northerners that came down South after the civil war were former soldiers who migrated down south to seek a livelihood in an area where the aftermath of the war had created many opportunities for growth. The Southern hatred was often political, as these Northerners were generally Republicans and defended the civil and political rights of blacks.



The Southern view of Reconstruction: Carpetbaggers supported by the U.S. Army crushing and oppressing the South (represented by the woman). Image credit: knowlouisiana.org

The response from Whites in the South to their loss of status and power were to form organizations and secret societies to covertly or overtly undermine the Reconstruction governments, attack blacks they felt were getting out of line, and intimidate any whites they saw as supporting the government or blacks. One of the first groups to form was The White League. As with many other organizations, this was made up largely of former Confederate soldiers and the white business elite. It was dedicated to the reestablishment of white supremacy. In one brazen attack, in September 1874, the League overwhelmed the Louisiana state militia and seized control of state government offices. The attack left 27 Republican supporters of Reconstruction dead, including 24 African Americans and three whites. President Ulysses S. Grant had to order a squadron of six warships and sent in federal troops to force the White League to surrender.

Other tactics used to regain power for the Southern white majority focused on physical violence and economic intimidation. Secret organizations such as the Ku Klux Klan (KKK), founded in Tennessee in 1866, and the Knights of the White Camellia were dedicated to ending Republican rule and preventing blacks from voting. These were not fringe hate groups, but included judges, lawyers, and clergymen as well as yeomen farmers and poor whites. These groups used intimidation and terror to achieve their goals. "Every Democrat," according to South Carolina's Democratic party agenda, "must feel honor bound to control the vote of at least one negro by intimidation, purchase...or as each individual will determine." Many blacks were beaten and murdered by the Ku Klux Klan and other anti-reconstruction groups. The Republicans in Congress responded in 1870 and 1871, by passing the Force Act and the Ku Klux Klan Act which gave the president the power to use federal troops to prevent the denial of voting rights. Although scale of groups like the Ku Klux Klan declined, their campaign of intimidation was successful in keeping many African Americans from the polls. By 1876, Republican governments had been toppled in all but three states.

THE END OF RECONSTRUCTION

The South's Republican multi-racial state governments on average lasted only four-and-a-half years. During the 1870s, the unity of the Republican party collapsed and internal divisions, white terror, and northern apathy allowed southern white Democrats to return to power. The financial panic of

1873 and the economic depression that followed helped bring Reconstruction to an end, one region at a time. Across the country, especially in the South business failures, tightening credit, and unemployment heightened class and racial tensions and generated demands for government retrenchment. It was the disputed presidential election of 1876, however, that brought Reconstruction to a formal end.

In the election of 1876, the Republicans nominated the governor of Ohio, Rutherford B. Hayes, and the Democrats, selected Samuel J. Tilden, the governor of New York. The election was extremely close, but Tilden held the lead by midnight on Election Day, having gained 184 of the 185 electoral votes needed to win. He also led the popular vote by 250,000.

However, Republicans refused to accept the result. With good reason, they accused the Democrats of using bribery and physical intimidation to discourage blacks from voting in the South.

The outcome hinged on the disputed results in four states: Florida, Louisiana, Oregon, and South Carolina. Until these results were known, neither candidate had a majority of electoral votes.

A committee was set up to decide on the disputed electoral votes and it ruled in an eight-to-seven decision, along straight party lines, to award all the disputed elector votes to Rutherford B. Hayes.

Cries of "Tilden or Blood" came from Tilden's supporters, and many people feared that the country would be cast into a second civil war. However, Democratic leaders accepted Hayes's election in a deal where Republican promised to withdraw federal troops from the South, provide federal funding for internal improvements in the South, and name a prominent Southerner to the president's cabinet. With the redraw of federal troops in the south, the Republican governments in Florida, Louisiana, and South Carolina collapsed, bringing Reconstruction to an end.

After the Compromise of 1877, the national government would no longer intervene in southern affairs. This would permit the imposition of racial segregation and the disfranchisement of black voters which would last until the Civil Rights movement some 55 years later.

Chapter Nine:

The Ending of the Western Frontier

THE HOMESTEAD ACT AND THE TRANSCONTINENTAL RAILROAD

The Homestead Act was enacted by the Republicans in Congress during the Civil War in 1862. This law stated that any adult citizen, or person who intended to become citizen (including freed slaves and women), who had also never borne arms against the U.S. government could claim 160 acres of surveyed government land. Participants in this Act were required to “improve” their land by building a dwelling (house) and farming or ranching on the land. After five years on the land, the original claimant was entitled to the property, free and clear, for only a small registration fee. The title could also be acquired after only a 6-month residency and small improvements, if the claimant paid the government \$1.25 per acre. After the Civil War, Union soldiers could even deduct the time they had served in the military from the residency requirements. Eventually, 1.6 million individual claims would be approved; equaling close to ten percent of all government lands for a total of 420,000 square miles of territory.

The settling of the West before the Civil War was mainly conducted using covered wagons moving across the vast wilderness for months at a time while facing many hardships and dangers. Work on a railroad that would span the entire length of the country began during the Civil War in 1863, but the work was slow while the nation’s efforts were directed elsewhere. After the end of the war, however, construction was renewed with a vigor never previously seen. The construction of this railroad would have effects beyond facilitating the mass settlement of the American West. Before the construction of the transcontinental railroad, travel overland from the east coast by stagecoach cost \$1,000 (about \$30,000 in 2017 dollars) took five or six months, and involved crossing rugged mountains, arid desert, and raging rivers. Going by sea around the tip of South America could be just as dangerous at a distance of 18,000 miles. Another route would be to sail to Central America and to cross the Isthmus of Panama, then travel north to California onboard another ship. Each route took months and was expensive and dangerous. The transcontinental railroad would allow the journey to be completed in five days at a cost of \$150 for a first-class sleeper car.

Two companies were given extremely lucrative contracts from the government and encouraged to compete with each other to build as fast as possible. The Central Pacific built east from Sacramento, Calif., while the

Union Pacific built west from Omaha, Neb. At first, the Union Pacific, which was building on flat terrain, raced ahead. The Central Pacific had to run train track through the Sierra Nevada Mountains. Working three shifts around the clock, the Central Pacific employed Chinese immigrants to hand drill holes into the side of the mountains, which they then packed black powder and later nitroglycerine to blast away huge chunks of rock and earth away. The progress in the tunnels through the mountains was extremely slow, an average of only a foot a day. The transcontinental railroad was built almost entirely by hand in six years. Bridges, including one 700 feet long and 126 feet in the air, were constructed to ford streams, rivers and ravines. Thousands of workers from a multitude of backgrounds, including Irish and German immigrants, former Union and Confederate soldiers, freed slaves, and at one point, 8,000 of the 10,000 men toiling for the Central Pacific were Chinese. Explosions, freezing temperatures, and avalanches in the High Sierras killed hundreds of these workers. The race continued until May 10, 1869, at Promontory Summit, Utah, a golden spike was hammered into the final tie.



Celebration following the driving of the "Last Spike" at Promontory Summit, U.T., May 10, 1869. Image credit: Wikipedia.com

The railroad had a profound effect on American society. New phrases entered the American lexicons which are still used today. These include; "time's up," "time's a wasting," and "the train is leaving the station." The focus on time was the result of the division of the nation into four standard time zones for the first time.



Image credit: learner-centeredhistory.wikispaces.com

Many towns were founded on the Great Plains by railroads with land grants they were awarded by the federal government, and then they later sold the land to the public, once again helping to facilitate settling of Western lands.

The completion of the transcontinental railroad changed the nation in many other ways as well. Western goods such as agricultural products, coal, and minerals could move quickly and cheaply to the east coast. The transcontinental railroad also united the East and West into a more culturally homogenous area. Freight and Passengers could reach the west coast in days instead of months at one-tenth the cost. Settlers poured into what was previously thought of as a desert wasteland. The 1890 Census declared that the American frontier had disappeared.

The success of the transcontinental railroad fostered in the American people a faith that with money, determination, and hard work, anything could be accomplished.

The development of the railroad also made it profitable to raise cattle on the Great Plains. In 1860, around five-million longhorn cattle grazed in Texas. Cattle that could be bought for \$3 to \$5 a head there could be sold for ten times as much at railroad shipping points in Abilene or Dodge City in Kansas. This led to the famous cattle drives over a thousand miles or more to the north to reach the Kansas railheads.

The invention of barbed wire made it possible to build fences without very much wood and protect railroad tracks from stampeding animals. It however also had the effect of ending the open plains over which cattle could be driven. The first barbed wire was produced in 1868 and early barbed wire had to be manufactured by hand. Two strands of wire were wound together and barbs were threaded into the wires.



Barbed wire fences were a cheap and easy way to build a fence, but it put an end to the era of the cattle drive.
Image credit: www.fasttrackteaching.com

The final Destruction of the American Indians

As settlers began to flood into the West during, and especially after the Civil War, many clashes and massacres would take place which would eventually lead to all remaining free Indian tribes being sent to reservations. It was a long process that wasn't really complete until around 1890, but it was almost always a one sided struggle where the Indians with their dwindling numbers would be forced to give up their lands.

One of the most heinous events took place in the Spring of 1864, a wing of the Cheyenne tribe unleashed attacks on white settlers, in once case they murdered a ranch manager along with his wife and two small daughters. The bodies were scalped and mutilated. In order to show what had happened, the bodies were disinterred and paraded through the streets of Denver. This event prompted John M. Chivington, a Methodist minister with political ambitions served as Colorado's military commander, to call for volunteer Indian fighters for 100-day enlistments. On November 29, 1864, Chivington's force rode into the Arapaho-Cheyenne reservation at Sand Creek, where about 600 Indians led by the Cheyenne chief Black Kettle had set up a camp. A white flag and an American flag flew above Black Kettle's tepee. As the force rode up to the camp, Chivington reminded the men of previous Indian attacks against settlers. "Now boys," he shouted, "I shan't say who you shall kill, but remember our murdered women and children." The Indian camp was almost entirely old men, women and children, yet Chivington's force opened up on the village with an artillery barrage, then swept in on horse and foot, killing every Indian they could find, often hunting down fleeing children. "Kill them big and small," Chivington reportedly said. After six hours, about 150 Indians, a quarter of the camp's population, lay dead. The soldiers took three prisoners, all children. Twelve soldiers were killed, many of these were killed accidentally by other soldiers. Later, during a Congressional investigation of the incident, eyewitnesses would report shocking details. Lt. Joseph Cranmer described "a squaw ripped open and a child taken from her. Little children shot while begging for their lives." One eyewitness, Capt. Silas Soule, paid for his testimony with his life. He was assassinated after testifying at a congressional inquiry in which he said, "it was hard to see little children on their knees have their brains beat out by men professing to be civilized." A joint congressional committee concluded that Chivington "deliberately planned and executed a foul and dastardly massacre, which would have disgraced the veriest savage among those who were victims of his cruelty." The United States government took some limited action in response to the massacre. President Lincoln replaced Colorado's territorial governor and Congressional inquiry condemned the battle as a massacre. The Cheyenne

and Arapaho were promised reparations in an 1865 treaty, but none were paid.

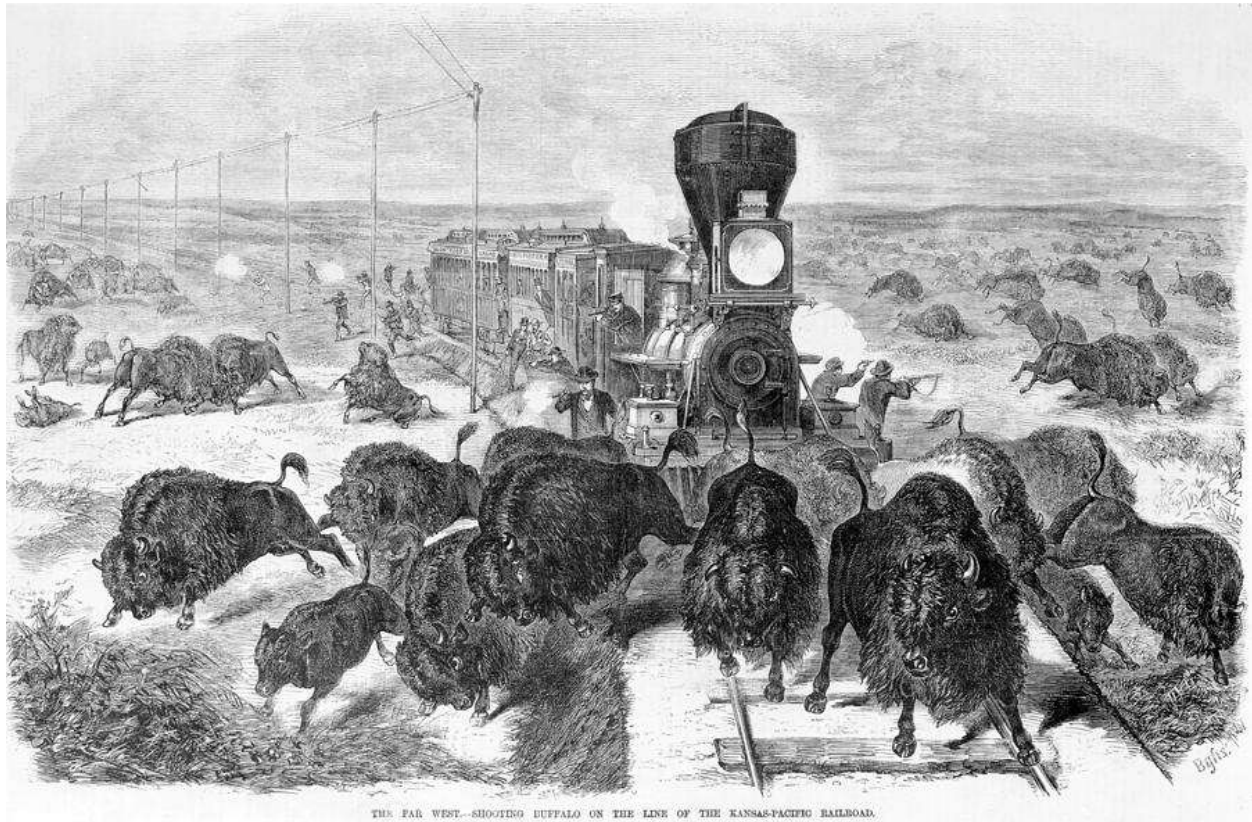


Image credit: 'The Sand Creek Massacre' by Robert Lindneux, 1936 HISTORY COLORADO

A tactic used by the U.S. Government, and applied widely after the construction of the Transcontinental Railroad, was the attempted destruction of the bison (often misnamed buffalo) population. From the 1860 to the 1880s, the bison were nearly hunted to extinction. There are a number of reasons why this was done. One was economic. Bison meat, hide and bones could be sold to the East. As the nation continued to industrialize, the leather from bison hide would be used in factory machine belts. The bones could be ground into phosphates.

However, the white hunters were not the only ones to get a great deal of use out of the bison. It was the cornerstone of the Plains Indian's way of life. They based their nomadic movements on the migrations of the buffalo. They hunted them and used almost every part of their body for food, clothing, shelter, jewelry, and medicine. Without the bison, there would be no Plains Indians. The U.S. government knew this, and it implemented a policy of annihilation against the buffalo. If the Indians could not practice their old ways of life, they would starve or be at the mercy of the U.S. Government,

which had the ultimate goal of removing Indians from their traditional lands, and placing them on reservations. Millions of bison would be killed over a two decade period leaving only a few hundred left in the world.



THE FAR WEST.—SHOOTING BUFFALO ON THE LINE OF THE KANSAS-PACIFIC RAILROAD.

Bison (buffalo) being shot from a passing train. Image credit: <http://rewilding.org>

A decade later, the American Indians would score one last major victory against the United States government. Gold had been discovered in the Black Hills region of South Dakota, a territory that by treaty belonged to the Sioux tribe of Indians. As miners and prospectors poured into the area, the U.S. Government ordered the Indians on to reservations. However, a large group of Cheyenne and Sioux gathered together and decided to resist.

Lt. Col. George Armstrong Custer, the commander of the 7th Cavalry, took a force of 647 men to confront the Indians. He believed that there were a total 1,500 Indians gathered around the Little Big Horn River. As he moved in to attack, he discovered too late how mistaken he was. In fact there was around 8,000 Indians, including close to 3,000 warriors. Custer divided his attack into 3 columns, which in the face of 4 to 1 odds was likely a tactical error. Custer's column was surrounded by hundreds of warriors and he and

every one of his men were slaughtered. The other two columns fared better, but it still resulted in a loss of 268 soldiers to only around 30 Indians. This battle, officially known as the Battle of Little Big Horn would be remembered as "Custer's Last Stand."

In reality, however, the battle can be viewed as the Indian's last stand. Within a year, large numbers of reinforcements would arrive, and the U.S. Army would force the surrender of the remaining hostile Indians in the area. The same pattern would happen in all other areas of the West as tribe after tribe was forced on to a reservation. On these reservations, the Indians would be able to have a certain amount of autonomy and receive assistance from the U.S. Government; yet their way of life had been destroyed and many of Indians from this period until today still face problems of poverty, alcoholism and depression.

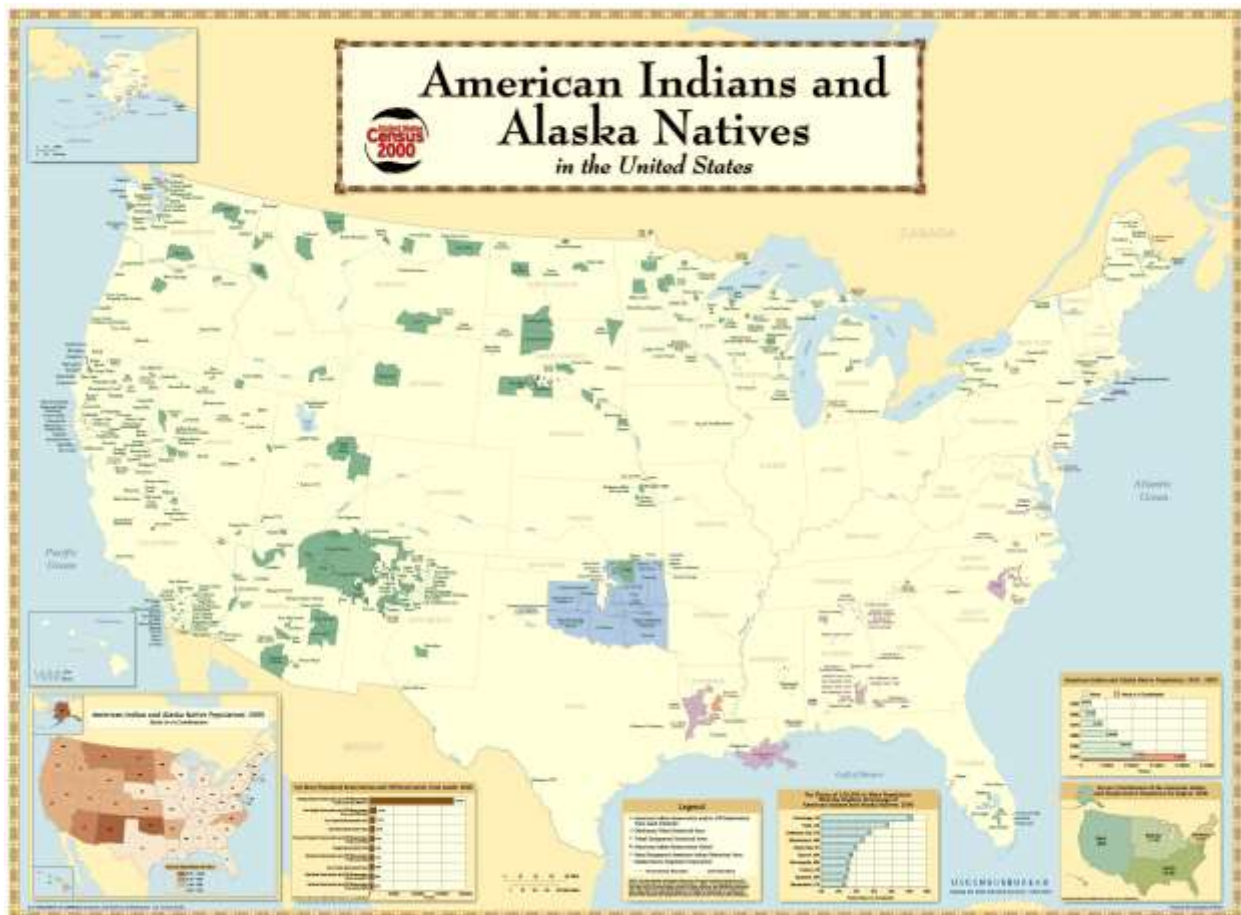
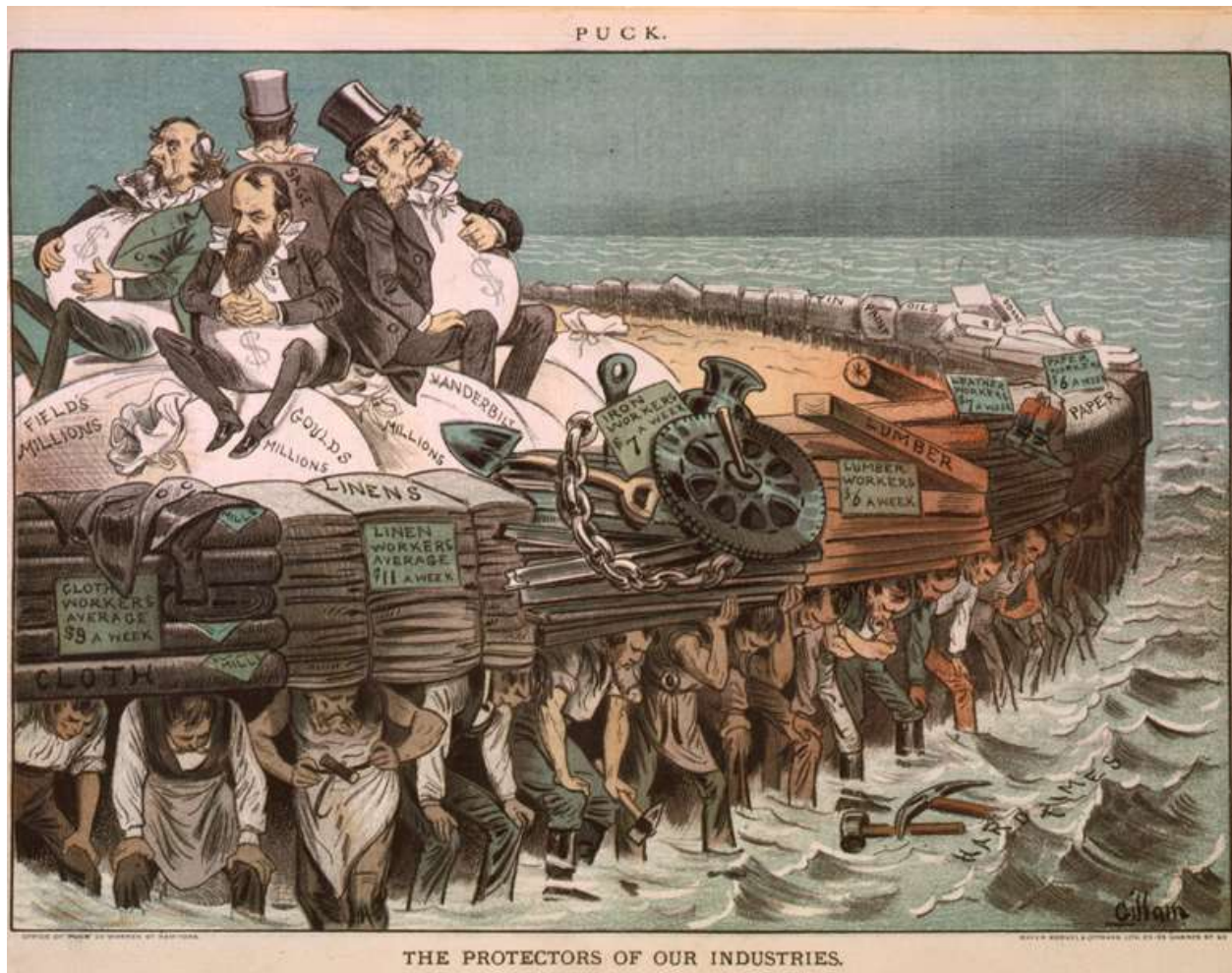


Image credit: http://www.oneofmanyfeathers.com/american_indian_reservations_map_us.html

Chapter Ten: The Gilded Age



The last decades of the 19th Century saw enormous changes in the cultural, societal and political landscape of America. There were few notable politicians during this time and one of the biggest changes could be described as the rise of the businessman. The captains of industry became known as the "Robber Barons." These businessmen were able to take advantage of the tremendous technological advancements of the Second Industrial Revolution, which began and continued throughout this period, to build enormous corporations build up great wealth and power.

INDUSTRIALIZATION AND URBANIZATION

In the period from 1870 to 1900, there was an economic and productivity boom in starting in on the East Coast and soon spreading deep into the Mid-West. The rippling effects would be felt in every corner of the country, and soon spread around the world. Overall, living conditions improved dramatically, the prices of goods fell, life expectancy rose, and the population shifted from the countryside into the cities.

America became more connect with nation-wide communications and transportation. A positive result of this meant that crop failures in one area of the country no longer meant famine and malnutrition as rural areas had access to large markets through transport infrastructure. Public health improved with the construction of sewage systems in cities, better knowledge of sanitation and broader acceptance of germ theory. Laws were passed that regulated water supplies and set minimum standards of water quality. These two measures alone reduced the rates of infections and death from many diseases such as cholera and dysentery.

Major technological advancements served as building blocks for even further development. Each decade added to what had come before in a complicated web of progress.

During the 1870s, Air brakes, Automatic signals and knuckle couplers on the railroads made transportation safer, cheaper and more efficient.

The Bessemer process, and later the Open-hearth process of mass producing cheap steel was developed in Europe and brought to American steel mills. The ability to mass produce steel drove down the price. This fueled many other areas of economic growth as steel was used in railroads, construction of buildings and bridges, tools, and many other industrial applications.



The Bessemer Process of producing steel. Picture credit: <http://www.inventingeurope.eu>

Other inventions during this decade including the telephone, the typewriter, and electric lights, transformed the everyday lives of everyone.

Affordable steel enabled advancements in the 1880s, which included the first skyscraper and electric elevators.

The 1890s brought the first motion pictures. The invention of the electric generator would lead to even further developments in the proceeding decades which are still part of our daily lives, such as contributing to modern refrigerators and washing machines. The internal combustion engine combined with automobiles would soon lead to another revolution in transportation in the early 1900s.

The second Industrial Revolution was the catalyst behind the Gilded Age. This was an era of extremes: widespread poverty among the urban masses, but great wealth concentrated in the financial elites. There was tremendous economic expansion coupled with deep depressions. Economic insecurity became the norm for many as the depressions of the 1870s and 1890s caused many to lose their jobs or work for reduced wages. Industrial workers experienced long hours, hazardous working conditions, low wages, no compensation for injuries, and no pensions.

The increase in immigration coupled with Americans leaving their farms to find jobs in the cities, led to an urban boom during the Gilded Age. During the 1880s and 1890s, political persecution and civil wars caused many eastern and southern Europeans to flee in search of better lives in America. Steamships allowed cheaper travel for millions of immigrants from Greece, Italy, Poland, Russia, and other countries to join millions of rural Americans who were moving into eastern U.S. cities every year. In 1860, less than 20% of Americans lived in cities. By 1900, almost 40% of Americans would be urban.

In his book *"How the Other Half Lives"* journalist Jacob Riis documented the terrible living conditions that people endured. He focused particularly on children, writing, "I counted the other day the little ones, up to ten years or so, in a Bayard Street tenement that for a yard has a triangular space in the center with sides fourteen or fifteen feet long, just room enough for a row of ill-smelling closets at the base of the triangle and a hydrant at the apex..... Bodies of drowned children turn up in the rivers right along sin summer whom no one seems to know anything about."



Image Credit: 19th20thcenturyurbanization.weebly.com

The economy benefited from this influx of farmers and immigrants to the cities. Factory owners now had access to a workforce eager to make a new start in cities, who would often work long hours for meager wages and almost never unionize. The availability of this cheap labor would lead to the economic booms of the Gilded Age.

The urban explosion contributed to the rise of powerful political machines that would dominate all levels of politics in the Gilded Age. These powerful machines were run by Democrats such as, William "Boss" Tweed in New York City, and others like him who accumulated power and wealth by targeting insecure immigrants living in the cities' poorest quarters. The bosses promised to provide new public projects, social programs, and sometimes even physical protection in exchange for votes. These political machines came to dominate state and local politics and even eventually the U.S. Congress and Presidency.



This cartoon, "Bosses of the Senate" by Joseph Keppler, 1889, suggests that the Senate was "owned" by Business

Image Credit: <http://sageamericanhistory.net>

POLITICS OF THE GILDED AGE

Congress in the Gilded Age was known for being inefficient and rowdy. Members often did not treat their elected office seriously and would come to the Capitol drunk- or not show up at all. Spittoons were everywhere in the

smoke-filled halls of Congress. One disgusted observer commented that not only did the members spit and chew constantly, but their aim was bad as well. The atmosphere on the floor of both houses was chaotic. Senators were not popularly elected until the 17th Amendment was adopted in 1913. According to the Constitution, they were appointed by each State's legislature, however, in practice the positions were frequently auctioned off to the highest bidder. The Senate became known as a "rich man's club," where backroom deals and political favors were traded like any other commodity, and the needs of the people were only addressed if it could benefit the politicians. Ever since the impeachment of President Andrew Johnson in 1868, the Senate had dominated the federal government, setting the national agenda and distributing patronage jobs to political supporters.

Political corruption became the norm; practices in a later era that would be considered major scandals were viewed as unremarkable. Businessmen openly bribed public officials at all levels of government, and political machines used fraud and manipulation to win elections.

Political machine

s drove large voter turnout with most elections averaging around 80% participation. However, problems created by urbanization, industrialization, and the large influx of immigrants were met with confusion and delay. Between 1875 and 1896 only five major bills were passed in Congress and made it to president's desk.

Republican presidents dominated the Presidency from the election of Abraham Lincoln in 1860 until 1933 with the election of Franklin Roosevelt. Only one Democrat, Grover Cleveland, the former Governor of New York, was elected between the Civil War and 1900. He was considered conservative enough to work along side Republicans.

The Republican Party was able to maintain an edge in national politics, often by reminding the public that it was the Democratic Party that had caused the Civil War. This was known as "waving the Bloody Shirt," tying the Democrats to the blood that was shed over secession. From General Grant in 1868 onward, Republicans nominated former Civil War officers in every election through 1900 except in 1884, which they lost. Union veterans would remain an important voting block for the Republicans throughout the latter part of the 19th Century.

Black voters also tended to vote Republican, the party of Lincoln and emancipation, as a large bloc. However, disenfranchisement of blacks by local Democrats in the South eroded Republican power. After the Civil War and Reconstruction, Republicans became the party of business. They favored transportation improvements, protective tariffs, and a responsible monetary

policy. Republicans believed that what was good for business was good for the country, including workers.

Northern Protestants and Americans from families who had lived in the United States for a long time tended to vote Republican. The main ethnic and immigrant groups who supported the GOP (the nickname for the Republicans, meaning the Grand Old Party) were German Lutherans, Scandinavians, and English Anglicans and Methodists.

Democratic Party's main base had been in the South since Democrats. before the Civil War. With the exception of Reconstruction, the South would remain solidly Democratic until the late 20th Century. Despite, or perhaps because of this regional dominance, the Democrats struggled finding candidates for national office. Whereas the Republicans could run Union officer after Union officer, no Confederate Civil War veteran could possibly win the presidency. The only Democratic president elected between 1860 and 1900 was from New York. Grover Cleveland was elected twice, in 1884 and 1892, which made him the only American president with two non-consecutive terms.

The northern wing of the Democratic Party was supported by the urban working class

whose demographic makeup included white Southern Baptists who had moved to northern cities looking for work. Roman Catholics of German and Irish descent, and most other immigrant groups also favored the Democrats.

THE ROBBER BARONS

"Robber baron" was first meant as derogatory term for powerful nineteenth-century American businessmen. It is meant to convey criminality ("robber") and illegitimate aristocracy ("baron"). In the 1890s, the term was applied to businessmen who were seen as having used dubious measures to acquire their wealth. An example of this was the perception that the extremely low prices they sold their products for was at the expense of the wages of their workers. They would also buy out the competitors that couldn't match them. When there was no longer any competition, the businessmen would raise prices far above the original level.

The term Robber Baron comes from Raubritter (robber knights), who were medieval German lords that charged high tolls on merchants and travellers and sometimes even engaged in banditry. The term was popularized in a 1934 book by the same by U.S. political and economic commentator Matthew Josephson. He attributed the phrase to an antimonopoly pamphlet from 1880 which lambasted railroad magnates. Josephson alleged that like the German antecedents, American big businessmen amassed huge fortunes unjustly, immorally and unethically.

The theme resonated during the Great Depression, because of public scorn for the abuses of big business.

Robber barons were sometimes contrasted with "captains of industry," which was term originally used in Britain during the Industrial Revolution to describe business leaders whose ways of gaining a personal fortune made possitive contributions to the nation as a whole, such as expanding markets, increased productivity, acts of philanthropy, or providing more jobs. However, in America today, Robber Baron and Captain of Industry is often used interchangeably. Both terms are often applied to J.P. Morgan, Andrew W. Mellon, John D. Rockefeller and Andrew Carnegie.

John Pierpont (J.P.) Morgan was an American banker, financier, and art collector who dominated industrial consolidation and corporate finance during last few decades of the 1800s. In 1892, Morgan arranged the merger of Thomson-Houst

on Electric Company and Edison General Electric to form General Electric. In 1901, he merged nearly all Steel companies in America to form the United States Steel Corporation, the world's first billion dollar company. At the height of Morgan's career during the early 1900s, he and his partners were accused by critics of controlling the country's high finance.

John Davison Rockefeller was the founder of the Standard Oil Company in 1870, which dominated the world's oil industry and was the first great American business trust. He not only revolutionized the petroleum industry but also defined the structure of modern philanthropy. As gasoline and kerosene grew in importance, Rockefeller's wealth skyrocketed as he became the first American worth more than a billion dollars and for a time the richest man in the world. Adjusting for inflation, he is usually regarded as the richest man in American history (Though Bill Gates and Jeff Bezos could make a case as well).

Andrew Carnegie was a Scottish-American immigrant who led the enormous expansion of the United States steel industry in the late 1800s. He was also the most important philanthropists of his era. Using the fortune he made from the steel industry, he built Carnegie Hall in New York City. He then turned to improving education and other charitable endeavors. He founded the Carnegie Institution of Washington, Carnegie Corporation of New York, Carnegie Mellon University, the Carnegie Museums of Pittsburgh, and the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. Carnegie gave most of his money away before he died, establishing many schools, libraries, and universities in the United Kingdom, Canada, the United States, and man other countries, as well as to establishing a pension fund for former employees.

The 1880s marked the emergence of companies called trusts, which bought out smaller factories and merged them into conglomerates that could monopolize entire industries. Supreme Court Justice John Marshall Harlan, a conservative Republican said that the concentration of industry in the hands of the few caused "deep feelings of unrest." He went on to say, "The conviction was universal that the country was in real danger from another form of slavery...that would result from the aggregation of capital in the hands of a few individuals controlling, for their own profit and advantage exclusively, the entire business of the country."

By the late 1880s, people around the country viewed these monopolies as a danger to democracy. In an attempt to begin to address the problem, Congress passed The Interstate Commerce Act of 1887. This law only applied to railroads passing through multiple states. It declared that railroads could only charge fair and reasonable rates. It also required railroads to provide 10-day notice before raising rates, clearly post their rates, and prohibited railroads from charging less for a long distance than a short distance over the same line. This act set up the Interstate Commerce Commission (ICC), which was the first federal regulatory commission. The ICC had authority to investigate the railroads. However, railroad operators found ways around the law, and many of the ICC's decisions were thrown out by the Supreme Court.

Another attempt to halt the growing power of monopolist corporations was The Sherman Anti-Trust Act, which was passed in 1890. It outlawed any combination "in restraint of trade." In 1894, in the case of *U.S. v. Debs*, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that the act could also be used to stop labor unions from interfering with commerce. Although Unions were not the original target of the law, between 1890 and 1901, the federal government filed 18 suits under the law, four against labor unions.

THE ELECTION OF 1896

As America headed towards the beginning of the 20th Century, the 1896 presidential election pitted the Ohio Republican, William McKinley against Nebraska's only member of the House of Representatives, Democrat William Jennings Bryan. Bryan gave a rousing speech, known as the "Cross of Gold speech" at the Democratic National Convention, seizing the nomination. In his dramatic performance, he took over the populist issue of "Free Silver" (or more accurately, mixed specie or bimetallism). Referencing the Gold Standard, which he believed favored the rich over the poor, he declared, "you shall not crucify mankind upon a cross of gold."

Bryan would criss-cross the country by rail, speaking to hundreds of thousands of voters, but he rarely spoke of anything other than silver.

McKinley opted to stay in Ohio in what is known as a "Front Porch Campaign." Instead traveling to the voters, he stayed at home and let the voters come to him. He would give campaign speeches from the front of his house. This strategy was meant to convey dignity. McKinley also had about six times as much money to spend on his campaign, and even if he did not travel himself, McKinley had supporters in every corner of the country who would speak for him. McKinley's campaign focus was "Prosperity at home, prestige abroad." To achieve prosperity, McKinley believed that a Gold Standard would stimulate trade and help business. For prestige abroad, the United States must maintain a capable military, and acquire territory the opportunities were presented.



McKinley's 1896 campaign poster. Image credit: en.wikipedia.org

Bryan's message resonated with the poorer, rural voters and he won in the South and most of the West. However, McKinley was victorious in the more populous and industrialized Northeast and Midwest, which allowed him to take the White House.

Within a year of becoming McKinley become president, the United State's economy would be back on track, Hawaii would be annexed, and the country would be on the verge of war with the crumbling Spanish Empire. The United States was about to take its place as a global power.

References

- Johnson, Paul, *A History of the American People*, Harper Perennial; (February 17, 1999)
- Brinkley, Alan, *American History: Connecting with the Past*, McGraw-Hill Education; 15 edition (October 8, 2014)
- Barden, Cindy, *Industrialization through the Great Depression*, Mark Twain Media; Csm edition (January 3, 2011)
- Beckner, Chrisanne, *100 African-Americans Who Shaped American History*, Bluewood Books (February 25, 2015)
- Stewart, John, *American History: The People & Events that Changed American History*, CreateSpace Independent Publishing Platform (August 23, 2016)
- Cobbs, Elizabeth, *Major Problems in American History, Volume I*, Wadsworth Publishing; 3 edition (January 1, 2011)
- Norton, Mary Beth, *A People and a Nation, Volume I: To 1877*, Wadsworth Publishing; 10 edition (January 1, 2014)

Online Sources

- University of Houston. (2018). Digital History. [online] Digitalhistory.uh.edu. Available at: <http://www.digitalhistory.uh.edu/era.cfm?eraid=1&smtid=1> [Accessed 31 May 2018].
- United States Department of State. (2017). [online] history.state.gov. Available at: <http://www.digitalhistory.uh.edu/era.cfm?eraid=1&smtid=1> [Accessed 20 June 2017].
- United States Department of State. (2011). [online] *Outline of American History*. Available at: <https://publications.america.gov/publication/outline-of-american-literature-outline-serie> [Accessed 31 May 2018].
- The Library of Congress. (2018). [online] *American Memory: Timeline*. Available at: <http://lcweb2.loc.gov/ammem/ndlpedu/features/timeline/index.html> [Accessed 31 May 2018].
- George Mason University. (2018). [online] History Matters. Available at: <http://historymatters.gmu.edu/> [Accessed 31 May 2018].
- Boston University. (2018). [online] Historical Society. Available at: <http://muse.jhu.edu/journal/441> [Accessed 31 May 2018].
- Organization of American Historians (OAH). (2018). [online] OAH. Available at: <http://www.oah.org/> [Accessed 31 May 2018].

A

Aaron Burr · 76, 77

ABOLITIONISTS · 129

Abraham Lincoln · 96, 133, 134, 135, 173

Administration of Justice Act · 40

Alexander Hamilton · 55, 56, 60, 68, 70, 71, 74, 76, 77

Andrew Jackson · 81, 89, 93, 94

ARTICLES OF CONFEDERATION · 53

Aztecs

Civilization · 4

B

barbed wire · 163

Battle of Lexington · 43

Benjamin Franklin · 23, 47, 49, 51, 56

BILL OF RIGHTS · 59

Bison

Buffalo · 165, 166

bleeding Kansas · 133

Boston Massacre · 37

C

CARPETBAGGERS · 154

Christopher Columbus · 8, 11, 12

Civil War · 26, 96, 105, 126, 127, 131, 136, 140, 141, 142, 143, 148, 159, 163, 173, 174

COMMON SENSE · 45

COMPROMISE OF 1850 · 130

Confederate · 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 151, 152, 156, 160, 174

Congress · 41, 42, 43, 44, 46, 48, 50, 51, 53, 55, 56, 57, 58, 60, 68, 69, 72, 74, 75, 77, 78, 87, 89, 91, 121, 129, 130, 131, 133, 139, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 157, 159, 172, 176

constitution · 47, 52, 53, 55, 58, 60, 103, 139

Cross of Gold · 177

Currency Act · 34

D

Declaratory Act · 36

E

EUROPEAN DISCOVERY

European Discovery of America · 8

F

First Continental Congress · 40

FOREIGN POLICY · 72

France · 29, 30, 49, 50, 51, 56, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 77, 78, 87, 90, 91, 108, 143

Franklin Roosevelt · 74, 173

French and Indian War · 30, 32, 49

G

George Washington · 30, 43, 47, 55, 68, 87

GETTYSBURG · 144

GILDED AGE · 172

Gold Rush · 106, 109, 111, 112, 131

Great Awakening · 24, 96

H

Haiti · 77, 149

I

impressment · 73, 78, 79, 81

Inca · 5

INDUSTRIALIZATION · 169

Ireland

Irish · 14, 23, 94

J

Japan · 106, 107, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118

Jay Treaty · 74

John Brown · 134

John C. Calhoun

Calhoun · 89, 120, 121, 124, 128

John Jay · 73

John L. O'Sullivan · 83, 86

K

Kansas-Nebraska Act · 133
Ku Klux Klan · 157

M

Manifest Destiny · 82, 83, 116
Maya · 3, 4
MEXICO · 103
Minutemen · 42, 43
Monroe · 86, 87, 88, 89, 91, 92
Mormons · 97, 98, 99

O

Ohio · 6, 7, 29, 40, 77, 80, 98, 130, 158, 176, 177
Olive Branch Petition · 44

P

Perry · 80, 106, 107, 114, 116, 117, 118, 119
Pilgrims · 16, 22, 26
Proclamation of 1763 · 33
Puritans · 16, 22

Q

Quaker · 19, 22
Quartering Act · 35, 40
Quebec Act · 40

R

RAILROAD · 159

Reconstruction · 148, 151, 153, 155, 156, 157, 158, 174
REFORMS · 99
Religion · 95
REPUBLICAN · 149

S

SCAWLAWAGS · 154
slave
 Slavery · 8, 10, 11, 19, 44, 52, 57, 77, 98, 101, 104, 124, 125, 126, 127, 129, 130, 132, 133, 134, 135, 139, 140, 148, 149, 150
Spanish
 Spanish in America · 5, 9, 10, 13, 77, 89, 103, 115, 178
Stamp Act · 35, 36
Stephen A. Douglas · 131, 132, 134

T

TEXAS · 103
THE COERCIVE ACTS · 39
THE ERA OF GOOD FEELINGS · 86
THE WAR OF 1812 · 79
Thomas Jefferson · 46, 56, 70, 71, 74, 125, 128
Thomas Paine · 45, 51

U

Ulysses S. Grant · 145, 157
URBANIZATION · 169

W

William Jennings Bryan · 177
William Lloyd Garrison · 129
William Tecumseh Sherman · 145