Advanced Placement

U.S. History, Book 2

Pre-Civil War America (1800) to Urbanization, Industrialization, and Reform (1900)

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Introduction

The lessons in *Advanced Placement U.S. History, Book 2* will require you to process information in order to understand continuity and change in American history. You will learn to use a variety of sources to develop reasoning and critical thinking skills. It is important to focus on understanding the relationships among common themes and concepts in American history. You will analyze documents, read historical interpretations, and write thesis sentences, short essays, and document-based responses. These historian's skills will help you to understand how America has changed and adapted to meet needs that emerged during various periods in the country's development.

The development of certain skills such as reading, writing, mapping, and critical thinking are vital to your growth as a student of history. You must understand that there are basic assumptions which define the core principles of social studies. The historical process has evolved over time and is based on recurring themes and concepts which have developed from these core principles. Concepts represent things, thoughts, or actions which have certain characteristics in common and usually reflect some form of mental or physical interaction. Themes demonstrate relationships between and among concepts and often can be traced over time. Recorded history preserves the human experience for posterity and reflects the problems and successes people and nations have encountered over time.

The book is divided into three parts. In Part 1, you will study America before the Civil War. This section deals with the period from 1800 to 1860 during the early republic, expansion of the nation, and the beginnings of industrial growth. Part 2 deals with the Civil War and its aftermath. It examines the conflicts and compromises that led up to the war and the economic, social, and political effects of the war. Part 3 examines the urbanization and industrialization of America after Reconstruction and before the dawn of the twentieth century, as well as the political and social reforms that dominate this period.

Part 1
Antebellum America, 1800–1860

The period prior to the Civil War was one of challenge and change for the new nation. New western lands acquired after the War for Independence were explored and settled. The Northwest Territory became a model for the establishment of territorial expansion prior to statehood. Political parties developed, and the role of the judiciary in the establishment of the nation state was defined. The changing roles of women, the industrial revolution, and the beginnings of an American literary and philosophical tradition characterized the period. Expansion resulted in war with Mexico over the Southwest and tested early American foreign policy; at the same time, it damaged American relations with sovereign Native American peoples like the Cherokee Nation. In addition, reform movements forced Americans to confront controversial issues like slavery.

George Washington cautioned in his Farewell Address against the division of the country into opposing factions. Still, differences in political positions appeared early in debates between Thomas Jefferson and Alexander Hamilton, members of Washington's first Cabinet, over narrow and broad interpretations of the newly ratified Constitution. Out of these debates grew the Anti-Federalist and Federalist Parties, which took different positions over public credit, a national bank, a protective tariff, a whiskey excise tax, and the country's response to foreign affairs.

While the Constitution of the United States does not specifically state which branch of the United States government has the power to declare laws unconstitutional, in *Marbury v. Madison* (1803), John Marshall, the chief justice of the U.S. Supreme Court, used the Court to establish the principle of judicial review. Marshall's actions did much to establish the Court as the arbiter of what was constitutional and what was not; constitutional interpretation by the Court could be used to check and balance the actions of the executive and legislative branches of government. Often those branches came into conflict with the Court, such as in the case of *Worcester v. Georgia* (1831). The Court ruled that the state of Georgia seized Cherokee Nation lands illegally and gave them to white land speculators. While the Court had ruled, the executive branch, under President Andrew Jackson, refused to enforce its decision, and the Trail of Tears resulted.

Between colonial times and the Civil War, the role of women in American life began to change. In colonial times, women were important contributors to the economic success of a family. The early industrial revolution separated families by work roles, as men became the managers and main providers. Young women, especially in New England, began to work

in factories. As a middle class developed in America, women were released from domestic chores, allowing them to engage in charitable work. This led to the involvement of women in reform movements such as women's rights and abolitionism.

As the plantation system spread throughout the South, slavery became the dominating institution, one which planters sought to preserve. Rebellions like the one led by Nat Turner in 1831 were few and far between, and slave codes were established and enforced throughout the South. Runways, whose aim was to find freedom in the North, often were returned by slave catchers. The Southern-dominated Supreme Court, led by Roger B. Taney, ruled in the Dred Scott case (1857) that slaves were property that could not legally be protected in the North and that citizens had a legal obligation to return slaves to their owners in the South. Abolitionist movements developed in opposition to slavery and its extension into the lands of the Mexican Cession.

Prior to the Civil War, one of the dominating movements in American intellectual thought was transcendentalism. The transcendentalists had no organized system of beliefs; they did offer a systematic way of going about understanding the world and humankind's place in it. Henry David Thoreau was one of the authors whose writings reflect the principles of transcendentalism.

Three actions during the early years of the Republic shaped American foreign policy for decades to come. In his Farewell Address, George Washington urged America to isolate itself from the tumult of European politics and to maintain a policy of neutrality. The War of 1812 illustrated the nation's willingness to violate the policy of neutrality when it was advantageous to do so. The Monroe Doctrine stressed America's special interests in the Western Hemisphere. Manifest Destiny provided the drive and umbrella of respectability for westward expansion. President James K. Polk's pledge to fulfill the destiny of the United States to stretch from sea to sea left the country with the huge territory in the Southwest, acquired as a result of the Mexican War, the moral question of slavery, and a continuous discord with Mexico. Westward expansion created a safety valve for the discontented and opened economic opportunities for settlers willing to risk the uncertainty and danger of the frontier. It also brought increased regional specialization, as the East and North developed factory systems while the South relied on a plantation economy; in the West, family farms specialized in grains for eastern markets. The South developed far fewer factories, railroads, and canals than the North, as its planters invested capital in slaves. It came to view the economic development in the East and West as a threat to its existence.

The opening of the Oregon Trail and the discovery of gold in California impacted the development and growth of the United States. The movement westward opened the vast territories of the Mexican Cession to settlement, but at the same time, it destroyed the culture of the Native

Americans of the West. Indians were used as slaves in California's mines until most of the native population died off or retreated to the safety of the mountains. The Plains tribes lost buffalo grazing lands to farms and barbed wire, resulting in depletion of food sources and eventually in confinement on a reservation system.

Prior to the establishment of the factory system in the United States, the nation's economy was built on the exportation of staple goods and the production of necessities by local artisans. By the Civil War, the factory system, continental expansion, and commercial agriculture had produced a market economy in which specialization by people and regions reshaped the American economic system. The new system brought cheaper goods and a higher standard of living, but also contributed to a loss of artisan skills, the exploitation of women and children by the factory system, the development of a great divide in economic wealth, and an increase in urbanization and its attendant social issues.

Conflicting Political Philosophies in the Early Republic

Directions: Study the following descriptions of the philosophies of Alexander Hamilton, secretary of the treasury, and Thomas Jefferson, secretary of state. Assume the role of either Hamilton or Jefferson, and prepare for a Cabinet meeting with President George Washington tomorrow. The agenda includes discussion of the following issues:

1. Funding the foreign, national, and state debt
2. Proposed Bank of the United States
3. Whiskey excise
4. Protective tariff
5. The country's appropriate response to the French Revolution

Be ready to present your position on each issue and to explain a rationale consistent with your philosophy of government.

Alexander Hamilton

Alexander Hamilton, born in the West Indies in 1757, came to the colonies to go to school and, later, to attend King's College (Columbia University). At seventeen, he composed a series of persuasive letters to the editor on the principles involved in the colonial dispute against the mother country. When war broke out, Hamilton earned a commission as a captain in a New York artillery company. After a short time, George Washington appointed him to be his aide and to think for him, as well as to execute orders. After a time, Hamilton retired to study law and serve as receiver of continental taxes for New York, a position that soon taught him the desirability of a strong national government capable of enforcing its will on adamant states' rights advocates. In 1786, at the poorly-attended Annapolis Convention, Hamilton introduced a resolution to call a convention of all thirteen states to consider revisions to the Articles of Confederation. At the resulting Philadelphia Convention in 1787, Hamilton used all of his influence to push for the strongest possible central government. He later helped to pen a series of "Federalist Papers," designed to build support for the new government. When the Constitution went into effect, Washington again chose Hamilton to do his thinking, this time in organizing the Department of the Treasury to put the nation on a sound financial footing.

In that capacity, Hamilton, now married to the aristocratic Betsy Schuyler of New York, displayed his elitist tendencies and his lack of faith in the common people. Hamilton believed in the development of a strong central government and a self-sufficient economy based on industry as well as agriculture. Although he had strongly supported the American Revolution, he favored the Tory government of Britain over the revolutionary government of France. In creating a financial policy for the new nation, Hamilton aimed, specifically, to establish the credit of the nation, build a strong central government, consolidate the support of the wealthy for the new government, and help to solve the currency shortage that threatened the development of industry in the United States.

Thomas Jefferson

Thomas Jefferson, the elder son of a prominent Virginia planter, inherited two farms in 1757 when he was fourteen. Jefferson, who had been educated by local tutors, developed an insatiable appetite for learning. Leaving his plantations in the hands of overseers, he moved to Williamsburg at seventeen to pursue professional training at the College of William and Mary. There, young Jefferson became acquainted with the ideas of the Enlightenment and accepted the belief of enlightened thinkers in the capacity of humans to solve problems of society. Along with the English philosopher John Locke, Jefferson believed in certain natural rights that government has an obligation to protect; if the government fails to protect those rights to life, liberty, and property, the people have a right to alter or abolish the government. This idea of the social contract became a major premise of the Declaration of Independence. Jefferson's reading ranged widely in politics, philosophy, religion, natural science, music, architecture, sculpture and painting, the law, literature, and agriculture. Serving in the Virginia colonial legislature in the critical years beginning in 1769, Jefferson soon had ample evidence to convince him of the undesirability of an authoritarian government. He quickly concluded that government should be restricted to protecting natural rights. Jefferson's tenure as minister to France just before the French Revolution reinforced that view. The same concern for human rights prompted Jefferson to withhold support for the new Constitution until the framers agreed to the addition of a Bill of Rights.

While he was not a systematic thinker, Jefferson had clarified his thinking on the proper role of government by the time he agreed to serve as secretary of state in the Washington administration. He wanted the states to retain as much authority as possible and the powers of the national government to be interpreted narrowly. He had seen enough of the manufacturing centers of Europe to be assured that an agricultural economy should avoid many of the undesirable consequences of industrialization and urbanization. Although he favored nonintervention in European affairs as a way of preserving peace, he, nonetheless, strongly favored the French against the British in foreign matters.

John Marshall

Directions: Listed below are nine important events in the life of John Marshall. Explain the significance of each factor in shaping his political philosophy.

1. John Marshall served in the Revolutionary army for four years and suffered through Valley Forge with George Washington, whom he revered.

2. John Marshall served in the Virginia legislature (1783–89) when Virginia planters refused to pay their debts to English merchants.

3. Daniel Shays led his rebellion, and this country experienced a depression as well as European disrespect during the period Marshall served in the Virginia legislature.

4. The bloody tales of the French Revolution filtered across the Atlantic to America. Many Americans believed that the situation in France had become chaotic.

5. President Washington was attacked because of the Proclamation of Neutrality in 1793, his actions to suppress the Whiskey Rebellion, and his acceptance of the unpopular Jay Treaty.

6. John Marshall was sent to France in the late 1790s to try to stop French raids on American shipping. Talleyrand tried to bribe Marshall and the other American representatives. Marshall also saw Napoleon emerging from the chaos of the French Revolution. He feared this autocratic new leader.

7. Thomas Jefferson and James Madison wrote the Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions, which were debated during the period 1799–1800. (One state declared a law of Congress unconstitutional, another state declared the same law void, a third state said the law was invalid, a fourth state said it was valid, and some states denied the right of Congress to pass the law and asserted the states' right to disregard the law.)

8. In 1801, shortly before the end of his presidential term, John Adams appointed John Marshall to serve as chief justice of the Supreme Court.

9. In 1801, Thomas Jefferson, a Republican, became president, and Republicans took control of Congress.

Major Cases of the Marshall Court

Directions: Record information about each of the following Supreme Court cases.

Case	Description	Court Decision and Reasoning	Long-Range Significance
1. *Marbury v. Madison* (1803)			
2. *McCulloch v. Maryland* (1819)			

 Name:

Case	Description	Court Decision and Reasoning	Long-Range Significance
3. *Dartmouth College v. Woodward* (1819)			
4. *Gibbons v. Ogden* (1824)			

Name:

Domestic Economy and Republican Motherhood

Directions: Read the following information, and answer the questions.

The phrase *republican motherhood* is a modern term describing a concept of a woman's role that existed in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The fundamental premise is that, although a woman's life is centered in the home, she is responsible for raising sons who will foster ideals of patriotism and liberty. Daughters, of course, would still be in the domestic sphere but should receive a better education to equip them for motherhood.

Catherine Beecher (the sister of Harriet Beecher Stowe, author of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*) wrote a very popular book giving advice on how to run a household, including cooking, interior design, and child rearing. The following passage is taken from the introduction:

> In this Country, it is established, both by opinion and by practice, that woman has an equal interest in all social and civil concerns; and that no domestic, civil, or political, institution, is right, which sacrifices her interest to promote that of the other sex. But in order to secure her the more firmly in all these privileges, it is decided, that, in the domestic relation, she take a subordinate station, and that, in civil and political concerns, her interests be intrusted to the other sex, without her taking any part in voting, or in making and administering laws.[1]

Beecher then goes on to quote approvingly from the work of Alexis de Tocqueville, a French traveler in the United States who wrote about the journeys he took from 1832 to 1840 in the still-young republic:

> It is not thus that the Americans understand the species of democratic equality, which may be established between the sexes. They admit, that, as Nature has appointed such wide differences between the physical and moral constitutions of man and woman, her manifest design was, to give a distinct employment to their various faculties; and they hold, that improvement does not consist in making beings so dissimilar do pretty nearly the same things, but in getting each of them to fulfil their respective tasks, in the best possible manner. The Americans have applied to the sexes the great principle of political economy, which governs the manufactories of our age, by carefully dividing the duties of man from those of woman, in order that the great work of society may be the better carried on.
>
> In no country has such constant care been taken, as in America, to trace two clearly distinct lines of action for the two sexes, and to make them keep pace one with the other, but in two pathways which are always different. American women never manage the outward concerns of the family, or conduct a business, or take a part in political life; nor are they, on the other hand, ever compelled to perform the rough labor of the fields, or to make any of those laborious exertions, which demand the exertion of physical strength. No families are so poor, as to form an exception to this rule.
>
> If, on the one hand, an American woman cannot escape from the quiet circle of domestic employments, on the other hand, she is never forced to go beyond it. Hence it is, that the women of America, who often exhibit a masculine strength of understanding, and a manly energy, generally preserve great delicacy of personal appearance, and always retain the manners of women, although they sometimes show that they have the hearts and minds of men.

[1]Catherine Beecher, *A Treatise on Domestic Economy: For the Use of Young Ladies at Home and at School* (Boston: T. H. Webb, & Co., 1842), 27–28.

Name:

> Nor have the Americans ever supposed that one consequence of democratic principles, is, the subversion of marital power, or the confusion of the natural authorities in families. They hold, that every association must have a head, in order to accomplish its object; and that the natural head of the conjugal association is man. They do not, therefore, deny him the right of directing his partner; and they maintain, that, in the smaller association of husband and wife, as well as in the great social community, the object of democracy is, to regulate and legalize the powers which are necessary, not to subvert all power.
>
> This opinion is not peculiar to one sex, and contested by the other. I never observed, that the women of America considered conjugal authority as a fortunate usurpation of their rights, nor that they thought themselves degraded by submitting to it. It appears to me, on the contrary, that they attach a sort of pride to the voluntary surrender of their own will, and make it their boast to bend themselves to the yoke, not to shake it off. Such, at least, is the feeling expressed by the most virtuous of their sex; the others are silent; and in the United States it is not the practice for a guilty wife to clamor for the rights of woman, while she is trampling on her holiest duties.[2]

1. According to Beecher and Tocqueville, how did women in America feel about being subject to men?

2. Why do you think they felt this way?

[2]Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America,* book 3, chapter 12, "How Americans Understand the Equality of the Sexes," in Catherine Beecher, *A Treatise on Domestic Economy: For the Use of Young Ladies at Home and at School* (Boston: T. H. Webb, & Co., 1842), 28–29.

Name:

The Declaration of Sentiments: Seneca Falls, 1848

Directions: Read the following declaration, which was written and approved by the Seneca Falls Convention under the leadership of Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Lucretia Mott. It was signed by 68 women and 32 men sympathetic to their cause. Then answer the questions.

When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one portion of the family of man to assume among the people of the earth a position different from that which they have hitherto occupied, but one to which the laws of nature and of nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes that impel them to such a course.

We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men and women are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights governments are instituted, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed. Whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of those who suffer from it to refuse allegiance to it, and to insist upon the institution of a 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. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shown that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their duty to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security. Such has been the patient sufferance of the women under this government, and such is now the necessity which constrains them to demand the equal station to which they are entitled.

The history of mankind is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations on the part of man toward woman, having in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over her. To prove this, let facts be submitted to a candid world.

He has never permitted her to exercise her inalienable right to the elective franchise.

He has compelled her to submit to laws, in the formation of which she had no voice.

He has withheld from her rights which are given to the most ignorant and degraded men—both natives and foreigners.

Having deprived her of this first right of a citizen, the elective franchise, thereby leaving her without representation in the halls of legislation, he has oppressed her on all sides.

He has made her, if married, in the eye of the law, civilly dead.

He has taken from her all right in property, even to the wages she earns.

He has made her, morally, an irresponsible being, as she can commit many crimes with impunity, provided they be done in the presence of her husband. In the covenant of marriage, she is compelled to promise obedience to her husband, he becoming, to all intents and purposes, her master—the law giving him power to deprive her of her liberty, and to administer chastisement.

He has so framed the laws of divorce, as to what shall be the proper causes, and in case of separation, to whom the guardianship of the children shall be given, as to be wholly regardless of the happiness of women—the law, in all cases, going upon a false supposition of the supremacy of man, and giving all power into his hands.

After depriving her of all rights as a married woman, if single, and the owner of property, he has taxed her to support a government which recognizes her only when her property can be made profitable to it.

He has monopolized nearly all the profitable employments, and from those she is permitted to follow, she receives but a scanty remuneration. He closes against her all the avenues to wealth and distinction which he considers most honorable to himself. As a teacher of theology, medicine, or law, she is not known.

He has denied her the facilities for obtaining a thorough education, all colleges being closed against her.

He allows her in church, as well as state, but a subordinate position, claiming apostolic authority for her exclusion from the ministry, and, with some exceptions, from any public participation in the affairs of the church.

He has created a false public sentiment by giving to the world a different code of morals for men and women, by which moral delinquencies which exclude women from society, are not only tolerated, but deemed of little account in man.

He has usurped the prerogative of Jehovah himself, claiming it as his right to assign for her a sphere of action, when that belongs to her conscience and to her God.

He has endeavored, in every way that he could, to destroy her confidence in her own powers, to lessen her self-respect, and to make her willing to lead a dependent and abject life.

Now, in view of this entire disfranchisement of one-half the people of this country, their social and religious degradation—in view of the unjust laws above mentioned, and because women do feel themselves aggrieved, oppressed, and fraudulently deprived of their most sacred rights, we insist that they have immediate admission to all the rights and privileges which belong to them as citizens of the United States.

1. Why do you think the Convention chose to use the format and words of the Declaration of Independence?

2. What are the chief complaints listed as "abuses and usurpations"?

3. How do you think this document would have been received by the women described by Catherine Beecher and Alexis de Tocqueville?

Foreign Policy in the Early Republic

Directions: Match each foreign policy event to its description. Then list the events by name in chronological order.

Descriptions

_____ 1. Spain guaranteed American farmers the use of the Mississippi River and the right of deposit in New Orleans in an attempt to prevent an Anglo-American rapprochement.

_____ 2. This agreement restored the status quo when a lengthy war and protracted negotiations failed to produce a victory for either side.

_____ 3. The United States stopped all foreign trade in an effort to pressure Britain and France into respecting U.S. rights as a neutral party.

_____ 4. The United States would refrain from intervention in European affairs but would regard as an "unfriendly act" any attempt at further colonization in the Western Hemisphere.

_____ 5. Britain agreed to evacuate forts in the Old Northwest but made no concessions on impressments or violations of U.S. rights as a neutral party.

_____ 6. The United States staunchly rejected French demands for an apology, a loan, and a bribe as a condition of negotiations.

_____ 7. The United States declared war against Britain in an effort to gain Canada, an end to Indian troubles on the frontier, and respect for our rights as a neutral.

_____ 8. Spain ceded Florida to the United States and renounced any claim to Oregon in return for renunciation of any tenuous claims the United States might have to Texas and $5 million in claims of Americans against the Spanish government in Florida.

_____ 9. Britain and the United States agreed to mutual disarmament of the Great Lakes.

Events

a. Adams–Onis Treaty
b. Proclamation of Neutrality
c. Monroe Doctrine
d. Rush-Bagot Treaty
e. Pinckney Treaty
f. XYZ Affair
g. Washington's Farewell Address
h. Louisiana Purchase
i. Treaty of Ghent
j. Jay Treaty
k. Embargo
l. War of 1812

_____ 10. The United States would remain friendly and impartial toward both Britain and France rather than become embroiled in the French Revolution in the critical first years of the Republic.

_____ 11. The United States purchased a huge amount of land in order to guarantee Americans permanent use of the Mississippi River.

_____ 12. Americans might sign commercial treaties with foreign nations but should steer clear of permanent alliances that might entangle the country in European conflicts.

Chronological Order

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____
4. _____
5. _____
6. _____
7. _____
8. _____
9. _____
10. _____
11. _____
12. _____

John Quincy Adams and Foreign Policy

Directions: Read the following information, and complete the report.

John Quincy Adams has been called the most effective secretary of state in our nation's history. He served in that position during the Monroe administration (1817–1825) just prior to assuming the presidency himself. Perhaps one reason for his success was having a clear notion of what American foreign policy was at the time and where it should be headed.

Assume the role of Secretary Adams as he prepared a report on the state of American foreign policy for his incoming secretary of state, Henry Clay, at the beginning of 1825. In this report, include the following information:

1. A succinct statement of U.S. foreign policy at the time
2. A statement of Adams's philosophy on the national interests/morality issue as a guide to policy determination
3. What accomplishments Adams himself achieved as secretary of state and how these things benefited the nation
4. His vision of two critical foreign policy goals for the future

The Development of the Industrial Revolution in the United States

Directions: Read the following documents, and compile a list of factors that contributed to the development of the early Industrial Revolution in the United States.

Document 1

Constitution, Article 1, Section 8.8

The Congress shall have power . . . to promote the progress of science and useful arts, by securing for limited times to authors and inventors the exclusive right to their respective writings and discoveries.

Document 2

From *A History of the American People*

The Erie Canal's . . . impact on the entire American economy was enormously stimulating. In the pre–Civil War years state governments supplied about three-quarters of the total funds invested in canals, and roughly half of the capital used to construct the rail network. Local communities and counties were also extremely active in subsidizing transportation improvements. In some cases, like that of the Erie Canal, these developmental efforts were operated as well as financed by governments. It was more common, however, for new ventures to be launched with government funds raised by taxation or the sale of public securities, then placed under private control. Public policy reflected not only widespread confidence in private enterprise, but a determination that it needed spurring to carry out large-scale development projects.

Government actively promoted industrial growth in other ways: erecting tariffs to protect domestic manufacturers from foreign competition; creating new legal arrangements, like the corporation, to stimulate the release of economic energy; and building schools to produce a better educated labor force.[1]

Document 3

A New England Farm Family's Reasons for Moving to a Mill Town (1843)

. . . You will probely want to know the cause of our moveing here which are many. . . . One of them is the hard times to get aliving off the farm for so large a famely so we have devided our famely. For this year we have left Plummer and Luther to care on the farm with granmarm and Aunt Polly. The rest of us have moved here to Nashvill thinking the girls and Charles they would probely worke in the Mill but we have had bad luck in giting them in. Only Jane has got in yet. Ann has the promis of going in the mill next week. Hannah is going to school. We are in hopes to take a few borders but have not got any yet.[2]

Document 4

From *The National Experience*

The first postwar Congress, one of the most fruitful of the nineteenth century, took long strides toward Clay's goal of an American System. By 1816 the Republican party numbered in its ranks a large cluster of interest groups, both urban and rural, clamoring for protective duties on certain foreign goods entering the American market. Leading the protectionists were those who

[1]Stephan Thernstrom, *A History of the American People*, Vol. 1 (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1984), 217.
[2]Letter by Jemima W. Sanborn to Richard and Ruth Bennett, Nashua, New Hampshire, May 14, 1843, in *The New England Mill Village, 1790–1860*, ed. Gary Kulik, Roger Parks, and Theodore Z. Penn (Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press, 1982), 397.

had invested in New England textile mills and Pennsylvania iron smelters when the embargo and war had choked off European supplies. Seconding them were the hemp growers of Kentucky, the wool growers of Ohio and Vermont, and an assortment of Southerners and Westerners who hoped either to promote industry or to expand their domestic market behind a tariff wall.

The cries of the protectionists grew louder when British exporters, seeking to dispose of surpluses accumulated during the war and to drive competing American manufacturers out of business, flooded the American market with relatively low-priced goods. Protectionists claimed that the British were plotting to wreck the American economy and asserted that a higher tariff was essential for national economic survival. America's "infant industries" were fragile things, they said, requiring the tender care of the federal government while they matured.[3]

Document 5

Principal Canals in 1840

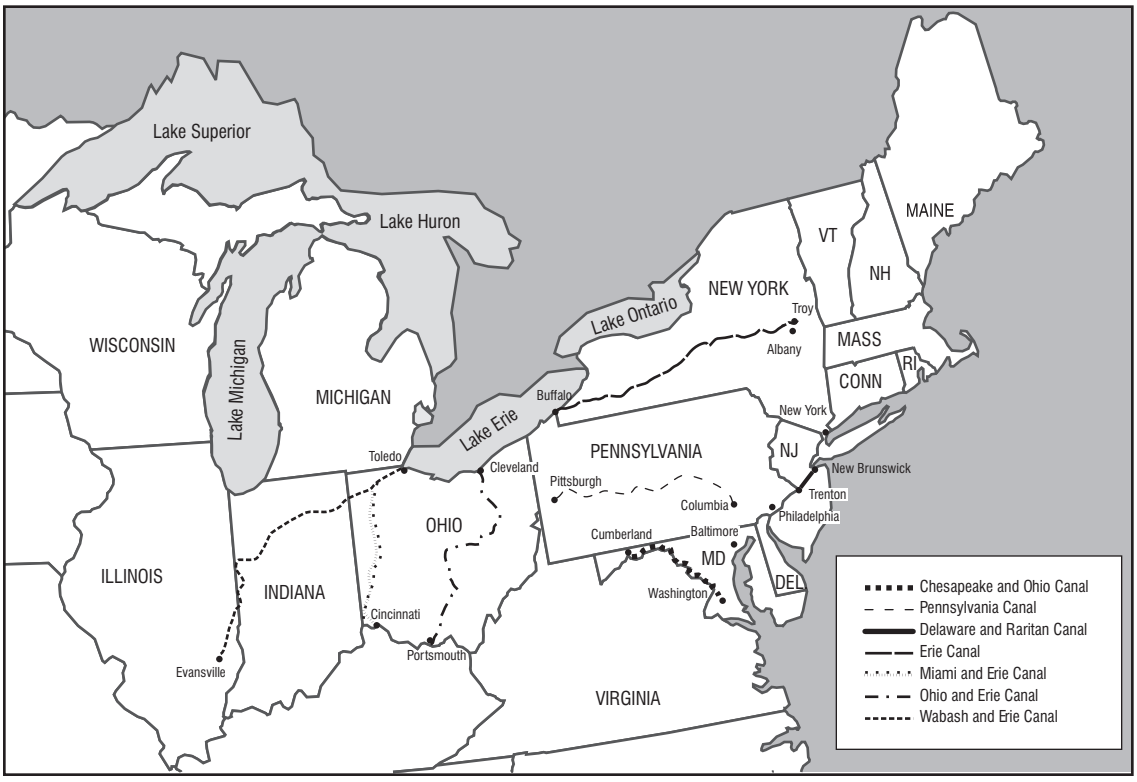


Fig. 5.1.

Note that the canals mainly facilitated east-west traffic, especially along the great Lake Erie artery. No comparable network of canals existed in the South—a disparity that helps to explain Northern superiority in the Civil War that came two decades later.[4]

[3]John M. Blum, et al., *The National Experience, Part I: A History of the United States to 1877* (New York: Harcourt Brace, 1993), 202.
[4]Thomas A. Bailey and David M. Kennedy, *The American Pageant*, 11th ed. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1998), 321.
Fig. 5.1. Thomas A. Bailey and David M. Kennedy, *The American Pageant*, 11th ed. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1998), 321.

Document 6

Necessary Technology for the Late 1700s and Early 1800s

Eli Whitney, Samuel Slater, Oliver Evans, and others furnished the necessary technology for industry. In 1793, Eli Whitney developed a system of interchangeable parts which greatly accelerated the process of assembly. Samuel Slater, in 1790, brought the plans for a cotton mill by memory from England. Later, in 1804, Oliver Evans developed a high-pressure steam engine that was applied to mills and printing presses. Evans also experimented with techniques of mass production, which he employed in a flour mill.

Document 7

Population and Immigration to the United States, 1820–1860

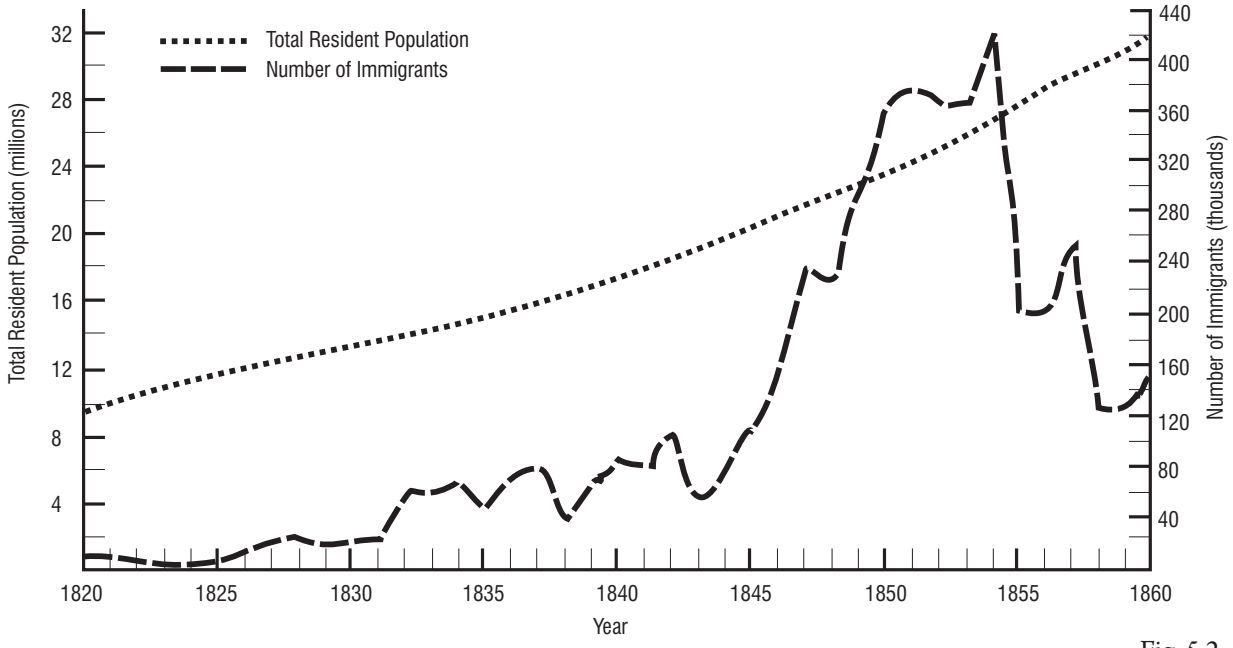


Fig. 5.2.

Document 8

From *A People and a Nation*

The federal judiciary validated government promotion of the economy and encouraged business enterprise. In *Gibbons v. Ogden* (1824), the Supreme Court overturned a New York State law that gave Robert Fulton and Robert Livingston a monopoly on the New York–New Jersey steamboat trade. Aaron Ogden, a successor, lost the monopoly when Chief Justice John Marshall ruled that the federal power to license new enterprises took precedence over New York's grant of monopoly rights. Marshall declared that Congress's power under the commerce clause of the Constitution extended to "every species of commercial intercourse," including transportation. Within a year, forty-three steamboats were plying Ogden's route.

Fig. 5.2. U.S. Census Bureau, *Historical Statistics of the United States: Colonial Times to 1957* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1960).

In defining interstate commerce broadly, the Marshall Court expanded federal powers over the economy while restricting the ability of states to control economic activity within their borders. Its action was consistent with *Dartmouth College v. Woodward* (1819), which protected the sanctity of contracts against interference by the states, and with *Fletcher v. Peck* (1810), which voided a Georgia law that violated individuals' right to make contracts. "If business is to prosper," Marshall wrote, "men must have assurance that contracts will be enforced."[5]

Document 9

Investment Money for Early Factories

Investment capital for the early factory system came from both the public and private sectors. Commercial capitalists who could not invest in commercial enterprises during the Embargo and War of 1812 found an opportunity to put their money into early factories in the United States. State governments, and, to a far lesser degree, the federal government, invested in canals, banks, railroads, and manufacturing firms to promote the economy of the area.

Document 10

From *A History of the United States*

The Bank of the United States, which had not been rechartered in 1811, had closed its doors. Without a national bank it was doubly difficult for the nation to pay for the war. Instead of being able to borrow from one central bank, the government had to deal with many. Without any Bank of the United States, state banks (private banks chartered by the states) had multiplied rapidly, each issuing its own paper money. There was no one national currency. In the dark days of the war, after the British burned Washington, many holders of these state bank notes tried to convert them to gold and silver (specie) as the banks had promised. But, lacking specie, the banks refused. As a result the value of the state bank notes declined. The bonds of the federal government sold below face value, and the national debt soared.

To deal with these hard economic problems, the federal government decided to charter a bank similar to Hamilton's bank of 1791, but with a larger capital. Again the government would hold one-fifth of the stock and would name one-fifth of the directors. Southern statesmen who had argued against the constitutionality of the old bank now suddenly changed their tune. They favored the second Bank of the United States. Madison, who had called Hamilton's bank unconstitutional, signed the new bank bill on April 10, 1816.[6]

[5]Mary Beth Norton, et al., *A People and a Nation, Vol. I: To 1877* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2005), 247.
[6]Daniel J. Boorstin and Brooks Mather Kelley, *A History of the United States* (Upper Saddle River, N.J.: Pearson Prentice Hall, 2005), 210–11.

Assimilated Cherokees

Directions: Study the following documents related to the Cherokee in the early years of the nineteenth century; then answer the questions.

Document 1

Excerpt from a Cherokee Woman's Petition (June 30, 1818)

We well remember that our country was formerly very extensive, but by repeated sales it has become circumscribed to the very narrow limits we have at present. Our Father the President advised us to become farmers, to manufacture our own clothes, & to have our children instructed. To this advice we have attended in every thing as far as we were able. Now the thought of being compelled to remove the other side of the Mississippi is dreadful to us, because it appears to us that we, by this removal, shall be brought to a savage state again, for we have, by the endeavor of our Father the President, become too much enlightened to throw aside the privileges of a civilized life. . . .

Some of our children have become Christians. We have missionary schools among us. We have heard the gospel in our nation. We have become civilized & enlightened, & are in hopes that in a few years our nation will be prepared for instruction in other branches of sciences & arts, which are both useful & necessary in civilized society.[1]

Document 2

Excerpt from a Letter from John Ross, George Lowry, Major Ridge, and Elijah Hicks in the *Essex Register* (May 20, 1824)

We have read, in the Georgia Journal, of the 6th instant, a letter from the Georgia delegation in Congress to his Excellency Geo. M. Troup, the Governor of Georgia, and also some remarks of the Editor of that paper. However great our surprise has heretofore been at the course of proceeding of this delegation, as set forth in their letter to the President of the United States, and which the Georgia delegation consider "*respectful*," but which, if it be, is different in its style and temper from what we are accustomed to observe in our intercourse with *our* chiefs; yet this surprise has been much heightened at a new attempt to deprive us of another portion of our blessings. Not satisfied with wishing the Executive of the United States violently to rupture the solemn bond of our rights to our lands, and to put at defiance the pledges which existing treaties contain, *guarantying* to us our lands, it is attempted to take from us the intellect which has directed us in conducting the several negotiations with commissioners appointed to treat with us for our lands, and with the Executive government, by the unfounded charge, that "*the last letter of the Cherokees to the Secretary of War contains internal evidence that it was never written or dictated by an Indian*." Whilst we expect to be complimented on the one hand, by this blow at our intelligence, we cannot, in justice, allow it to pass upon the other, *without a flat contradiction*. That letter, and every other letter, was not only *written*, but dictated by an Indian. We are not so fortunate as to have such help. The white man seldom comes forward in our defense. Our rights are in our own keeping; and the proofs of our loneliness, and the prejudiced eye with which every thing is looked upon which relates to us, by such a vast majority of those who should be our guardians and friends, have put us upon our

[1]Theda Perdue and Michael D. Green, eds., *The Cherokee Removal: A Brief History with Documents* (Boston: Bedford/St. Martin's Books, 1995), 125–26.

resources, and we do thank God, sincerely, and our benevolent white brothers, for there are some Christian hearts which regard us, who, seeing our bereaved and helpless state, come in to our help with letters and the lights of civilization and Christianity. We felt the necessity of our case, and we have endeavored to improve it. . . .[2]

Document 3

Elias Boudinot (1826)

[T]he nation is improving, rapidly improving in all those particulars which must finally constitute the inhabitants an industrious and intelligent people. . . .
In 1810 there were 19,500 cattle; 6,100 horses; 19,600 swine; 1,037 sheep; 467 looms; 1,600 spinning wheels; 30 wagons; 500 ploughs; 3 saw-mills, 13 grist-mills; &c. At this time there are 22,000 cattle; 7,600 horses, 46,000 swine, 2,500 sheep; 762 looms; 2,488 spinning wheels; 172 wagons; 2,945 ploughs; 10 saw-mills; 31 grist-mills; 62 Blacksmith-shops; 8 cotton machines; 18 schools; 18 ferries; and a number of public roads. In one district there were last winter upwards of 1000 volumes of good books; and 11 different periodical papers both religious and political. . . .[3]

Document 4

Excerpt from "Cherokee General Council Appeals to American People" (1830)

The people of the United States will have the fairness to reflect; that all the treaties between them and the Cherokees were made at the sole invitation and for the benefit of the whites; that valuable considerations were given for every stipulation, on the part of the United States; that it is impossible to reinstate the parties in their former situation; that there are now hundreds of thousands of citizens of the United States residing upon lands ceded by the Cherokees in these very treaties, and that our people have trusted their country to the guaranty of the United States. If this guaranty fails them, in what can they trust, and where can they look for protection?[4]

Document 5

Major Ridge (1838)

Fig. 6.1.

[2]Letter from John Ross, George Lowry, Major Ridge, and Elijah Hicks in *Sketches of Indian Character and Manners with Illustrative Anecdotes* (New York: J. & J. Harper, 1827), 255–56.
[3]Elias Boudinot, *An Address to the Whites* (Philadelphia: Geddes, 1826).
[4]"Cherokee General Council Appeals to American People," *The Cherokee Phoenix and Indians' Advocate* 3, no. 14 (July 24, 1830), 1.
Fig. 6.1. Portrait of Cherokee Chief Major Ridge, 1838. Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, LC-DIG-ppmsca-24339.

Document 6

John Ridge, Major Ridge's Son (1838)

Fig. 6.2.

1. In what ways do the documents show that many Cherokee people accepted English-American views of the land? of culture? of politics?

2. To what extent would these views have been the ideas of a minority of the eighteen thousand Cherokee of this period?

3. What do you see in the pictures of Major Ridge and his son? What does their European dress symbolize?

Fig. 6.2. Portrait of John Ridge, 1838. Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, LC-USZC4-3157.

Political Conflicts of the 1830s and Cherokee Expulsion

Part A.

Directions: Read the following documents, and summarize the key points of each source.

Document 1

Excerpt from Representative Wilson Lumpkin's Speech in Georgia (May 17, 1830)

. . . Whilst the smallest intrusion (as it is called) by the frontier citizens of Georgia on the lands occupied by the Cherokees excites the fiery indignation of the fanatics, . . . do we not find an annual increase of intruders, from these philanthropic ranks [missionaries and reformers], flocking in upon the poor Cherokees, like the caterpillars and locusts of Egypt, leaving a barren waste behind them? Yes, sir, these are the intruders who devour the substance which of right belongs to the poor, perishing part of the Cherokees.

They divide the spoil with the Cherokee rulers, and leave common Indians to struggle with want and misery, without hope of bettering their condition by any change but that of joining their brethren West of the Mississippi. . . .[1]

Document 2

Excerpt from President Andrew Jackson, First Annual Message to Congress (December 8, 1829)

This emigration [to a district west of the Mississippi] should be voluntary, for it would be as cruel as unjust to compel the aborigines to abandon the graves of their fathers and seek a home in a distant land. But they should be distinctly informed that if they remain within the limits of the States they must be subject to their laws. . . . Submitting to the laws of the States, and receiving, like other citizens, protection in their persons and property, they will ere long become merged in the mass of our population.

Document 3

From the Supreme Court's Decision in *Worcester v. Georgia* (1832)

The Cherokee Nation, then, is a distinct community occupying its own territory, with boundaries accurately described, in which the laws of Georgia can have no force, and which the citizens of Georgia have no right to enter but with the assent of the Cherokees themselves, or in conformity with treaties and with the acts of Congress. The whole intercourse between the United States and this Nation, is, by our Constitution and laws, vested in the Government of the United States.

The act of the state of Georgia, under which the plaintiff in error was prosecuted, is consequently void, and the judgment a nullity. . . .

[1]Wilson Lumpkin, *The Removal of the Cherokee Indians from Georgia* (New York: Dodd, Mead, and Company, 1907), 77.

Document 4

Chief John Ross (July 2, 1836)

The chief wrote in opposition to the Treaty of New Echota of December 1835, which legalized the Cherokees' removal to area west of the Mississippi. The treaty was signed by the U.S. Congress and a minority of the Cherokee tribal council (two hundred out of the sixteen thousand members, or .01 percent).

> Neither myself nor any other member of the regular delegation to Washington, can, without violating our most sacred engagements, ever recognize that paper as a Treaty, by assenting to its terms, or the mode of its execution. They are entirely inconsistent with the views of the Cherokee people. Three times have the Cherokee people formally and openly rejected conditions substantially the same as these. We were commissioned by the people, under express injunctions, not to bind the nation to any such conditions. The delegation representing the Cherokees, have, therefore, officially rejected these conditions themselves, and have regularly protested before the Senate and House of Representatives, against their ratification. The Cherokee people, in two protests, the one signed by 12,714 persons, and the other by 3,250 persons, spoke for themselves against the Treaty, even previous to its rejection by those whom they had selected to speak for them. . . .[2]

Document 5

Major Ridge, in Support of the Treaty (1837)

> . . . The Georgians have shown a grasping spirit lately; they have extended their laws, to which we are unaccustomed, which harass our braves and make the children suffer and cry. . . . I know the Indians have an older title than theirs. We obtained the land from the living God above. . . . Yet they are strong and we are weak. We are few, they are many. We cannot remain here in safety and comfort. I know we love the graves of our fathers. . . . We can ever forget these homes, I know, but an unbending, iron necessity tells us we must leave them.[3]

Document 6

Interpreter John G. Burnett (1838)

> . . . I saw the helpless Cherokees arrested and dragged from their homes, and driven at the bayonet point into the stockades. And in the chill of a drizzling rain on an October morning I saw them loaded like cattle or sheep into six hundred and forty-five wagons and started toward the west.[4]

[2]Theda Purdue and Michael D. Green, eds., *The Cherokee Removal: A Brief History with Documents* (Boston: Bedford/St. Martin's, 1995), 147–48.
[3]John Ehle, *Trail of Tears: The Rise and Fall of the Cherokee Nation* (New York: Anchor Books, 1988), 294.
[4]"A Letter by John G. Burnett," *Journal of Cherokee Studies* 3.3 (1978): 180–85, in Ehle, *Trail of Tears*, 393.

Document 7

Reverend Evan Jones (1838)

The Cherokees are nearly all prisoners. They have been dragged from their homes and encamped at the forts and military places, all over the nation. In Georgia especially, multitudes were allowed no time to take anything except the clothes they had on. . . . Females who have been habituated to comforts and comparative affluence are driven on foot before the bayonets of brutal men. Their feelings are mortified by vulgar and profane vociferations. It is a painful sight. The property of many has been taken and sold before their eyes for almost nothing—the sellers and buyers, in many cases, having combined to cheat the poor Indians. These things are done at the instant of arrest and consternation; the soldiers standing by, with their arms in hand, impatient to go on with their work, could give little time to transact business. The poor captive, in a state of distressing agitation, his weeping wife almost frantic with terror, surrounded by a group of crying, terrified children, without a friend to speak a consoling word, is in a poor condition to make a good disposition of his property, and in most cases is stripped of the whole, at one blow. Many of the Cherokees who a few days ago were in comfortable circumstances are now victims of abject poverty.[5]

Part B.

Directions: Use at least three documents from **Handout 9** and at least five documents from part A of this handout to answer the following questions: What were the major reasons that English Americans used to relocate the Cherokee, and why were the Cherokee divided in their responses? Remember to structure your essay around the documents and to focus on developing the main ideas and significance of the documents. Be sure to assess the authors' biases, audiences, and purposes.

[5]Grant Foreman, *Indian Removal* (Norman, Okla.: University of Oklahoma, 1953), 289 ff., in Gloria Jahoda, *The Trail of Tears* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1975), 232–33.

Manifest Destiny and the Mexican War

Directions: Use the following documents as a resource in completing a chart that lists arguments for and against American expansion to the Pacific in the 1840s, even at the expense of war with Mexico.

Document 1

Letter from Andrew Jackson to Congressman Aaron V. Brown of Tennessee (February 12, 1843)

But I am in danger of running into unnecessary details, which my debility will not enable me to close. The question is full of interest also as it affects our domestic relations, and as it may bear upon those of Mexico to us. I will not undertake to follow it out to its consequences in those respects, though I must say that, in all aspects, the annexation of Texas to the United States promises to enlarge the circle of free institutions, and is essential to the United States, particularly as lessening the probabilities of future collision with foreign powers, and giving them greater efficiency in spreading the blessings of peace.[1]

Document 2

John L. O'Sullivan (1845)

[The influential Democratic editor who gave the movement its name wrote that the American claim to new territory] is by the right of our manifest destiny to overspread and to possess the whole of the continent which Providence has given us for the development of the great experiment of liberty and federative self government entrusted to us. It is a right such as that of the tree to the space of air and earth suitable for the full expansion of its principle and destiny of growth.[2]

Document 3

Walt Whitman, Editorial, *Brooklyn Daily Eagle* (July 7, 1846)

We love to indulge in thoughts of the future extent and power of this Republic—because with its increase is the increase of human happiness and liberty. . . . What has miserable, inefficient Mexico—with her superstition, her burlesque upon freedom, her actual tyranny by the few over the many—what has she to do with the great mission of peopling the New World with a noble race? Be it ours, to achieve that mission! Be it ours to roll down all of the upstart leaven of old despotism, that comes our way![3]

Document 4

From "The Land-Hunger Thesis Challenged," Norman A. Graebner

For American expansion to the Pacific was always a precise and calculated movement. It was ever limited in its objectives. American diplomatic and military policy that secured the acquisition of both Oregon and California was in the possession of men who never defined their expansionist purposes in terms of a democratic ideal. The vistas of all from Jackson to Polk were maritime and they were always anchored to specific waterways along the Pacific Coast. Land was necessary to them merely as a right of way to ocean ports—a barrier to be spanned by improved avenues of commerce. Any interpretation of westward extension beyond Texas is meaningless unless defined in terms of commerce and harbors.[4]

[1]"Letter from Andrew Jackson to Mr. A. V. Brown, February 12, 1843," in James Parton, *Life of Andrew Jackson* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1888), 660.
[2]Richard N. Current, et al., *A Survey of American History, Volume 1: To 1877* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1991), 372.
[3]Walt Whitman, *The Gathering of the Forces* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1920), 246–47.
[4]Norman A. Graebner, "The Land-Hunger Thesis Challenged," in *The Mexican War: Was It Manifest Destiny?* ed. Ramón Eduardo Ruiz (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1963), 48.

Document 5

From "The Mission of the United States," Albert Gallatin

. . . However superior the Anglo-American race may be to that of Mexico, this gives the Americans no right to infringe upon the rights of the inferior race. The people of the United States may rightfully, and will, if they use the proper means, exercise a most beneficial moral influence over the Mexicans and other less enlightened nations of America. Beyond this they have no right to go.[5]

Document 6

James Russell Lowell, *The Biglow Papers* (1846)

"Then—Resolve,—Thet we wunt hev an inch o'slave territory;
Thet President Polk's holl perceedins air very tory;
Thet the war's a damned war, an' them thet enlist in it
Should hev a cravat with a dreffle tight twist in it;
Thet the war is a war fer the spreadin' o' slavery;"[6]

Document 7

Abraham Lincoln (June 1, 1860)

. . . [L]ess than a year before he became president, Abraham Lincoln (1809–1865) wrote, "The act of sending an armed force among the Mexicans was unnecessary, inasmuch as Mexico was in no way molesting or menacing the United States or the people thereof; and . . . it was unconstitutional, because the power of levying war is vested in Congress, and not in the President."[7]

Document 8

From *The American Pageant*

Long-memoried Mexicans have never forgotten that their northern enemy tore away about half of their country. The argument that they were lucky not to lose all of it, and that they had been paid something for their land, did not lessen their bitterness. The war also marked an ugly turning point in the relations between the United States and Latin America as a whole. Hitherto, Uncle Sam had been regarded with some complacency, even friendliness. Henceforth, he was increasingly feared as the "Colossus of the North." Suspicious neighbors to the south condemned him as a greedy and untrustworthy bully, who might next despoil them of their soil.[8]

Document 9

From *A Survey of American History*

. . . In the United States, indecision about American territorial goals further impeded a settlement. At the outset of fighting the ambitions of Americans had been relatively modest: California and New Mexico. But with each new dazzling victory the national appetite grew until the cry "All Mexico" became a powerful slogan and movement. . . .

The "All Mexico" issue was ultimately decided by the reluctance of most Americans to take on the responsibility of governing a large non-English-speaking population with different institutions and traditions.[9]

[5]Albert Gallatin, "The Mission of the United States," in *Selected Readings in Great Issues in American History 1620–1968 from The Annals of America* (Chicago: Encyclopaedia Britannica Educational Corporation, 1969), D–25.
[6]J. Russell Lowell, *The Bigelow Papers* (Montreal: R. Worthington, 1866), 15.
[7]Thomas A. Bailey, et al., eds., *The American Pageant: A History of the Republic,* vol. 1 (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1998), 391.
[8]Ibid., 395, 398.
[9]Irwin Unger, *These United States: The Questions of Our Past,* vol. 1 (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1995), 300–301.

 Name:

Arguments for American Expansion	Arguments against American Expansion

Enlarging the National State

Part A.

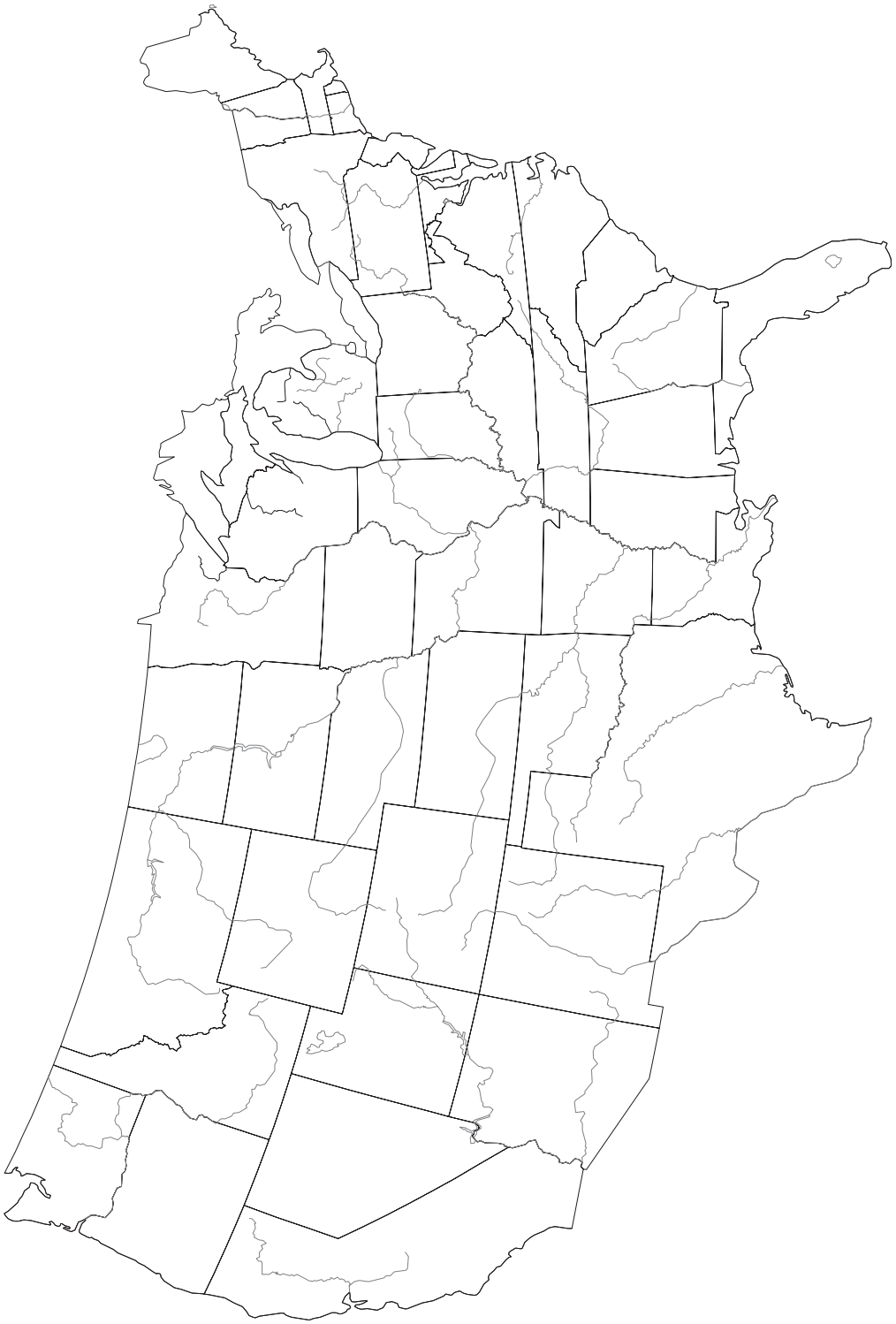
Directions: Today Americans unanimously accept the present territorial boundaries of the continental United States. That was not always the case. Opponents of expansion objected to the acquisition of each piece of land. However, the dominant theme in the country's past has always been expansion. Research each of the following acquisitions of the United States, and complete the chart to show how the United States accomplished expansion to the Pacific.

Territory	Date Acquired	Previous Owner	Circumstances of Acquisition
1. Original United States			
2. Louisiana Purchase			
3. British Cession			
4. Spanish Cession			

Territory	Date Acquired	Previous Owner	Circumstances of Acquisition
5. Texas Annexation			
6. Oregon Country			
7. Mexican Cession			
8. Gadsden Purchase			

Part B.

Directions: On the map below, locate, label, and color each of the territorial acquisitions listed in the chart in part A.



 Name:

Sectional Issues of the Antebellum Period

Part A.

Directions: Read the following overview of three sections of the antebellum United States. Then read the vignettes of three typical individuals, and complete the chart with each man's position and rationale on the issues.

Sectional Framework

East	
Political	The region developed a broad-based democracy as property qualifications for voting were either reduced or eliminated for white males.
Economic	The area's diversified economy included commerce, banking, manufacturing, forest and mining products, as well as stable, family-sized farms.
Social	A wide class structure ranged from wealthy businessmen to a few remaining indentured servants. Public schools, as well as a number of universities, had developed, and urban centers with a cultural and intellectual base were emerging.
South	
Political	An aristocratic form of government, which had existed since colonial times, was well-established by the nineteenth century.
Economic	The planter aristocracy dominated the economy and produced a staple crop with slave labor. However, most whites lived a marginal existence on small farms.
Social	Few centers of learning or urban centers existed in this agrarian setting. A small percentage of white planters ran the establishment. Yeoman farmers yearned to become planters and supported slavery to keep African Americans in a subordinate position.
West	
Political	A democratic society based on white male suffrage developed, but African Americans and women were not granted the right to vote.
Economic	Farms, owned and operated by the family, used large-scale agriculture and the new machinery of the period to produce food for eastern markets.
Social	While a few cities developed as centers of commerce, most people lived a rural life. The Northwest Ordinance placed an emphasis on education. In the early 1830s, Oberlin College became the first college to admit women and African Americans.

Typical Individuals

James Watson A manufacturer of cotton textiles in Pawtucket, Rhode Island, Watson is the son of an early factory owner who recognized the value of the cotton spinning machine for which Samuel Slater smuggled plans out of England. The elder Mr. Watson started a small mill in 1812 and, with the help of his son, James, expanded the mill threefold and began spinning, weaving, and dying cloth. James Watson sees the possibility of further expansion as transportation makes markets more readily available.

George Hicks George Hicks recently moved to Indiana from Vermont, where he had operated a small general farm. He purchased new farm machinery and two hundred acres on the Wabash River. With the help of his son, he grows wheat for sale in the East. He transports his produce via the Wabash and Erie Canal and the Great Lakes and the Erie Canal to eastern markets. With the influx of immigrants and the growth of cities in the East, Hicks is considering expanding his acreage in hopes of further increasing his profits.

Richard Fitzhugh In 1849, Richard Fitzhugh inherited a plantation from his father. The nearly three thousand acres are situated on the banks of the Savannah River in Georgia. Fitzhugh has two hundred slaves, including 150 field hands. Mr. Fitzhugh is descended from an old line of Southern plantation owners whose ancestors originally worked plantations in the tobacco lands of Virginia. He is a well-educated gentleman, having graduated from the College of William and Mary, where he learned the values and practices of the Southern code of chivalry.

 Name:

Issue	Watson	Hicks	Fitzhugh
1. The national government should pass high tariffs.			
2. The national government should encourage settlement of small farms in the West.			
3. The national government should complete the nation's Manifest Destiny and prepare the new acquisitions for eventual statehood.			
4. The national government should promote internal improvements, including roads, canals, and railroads, at government expense.			
5. The national government should abolish slavery.			
6. The national government should promote technology.			
7. The national government should promote unlimited immigration to this country.			
8. The national government should promote universal education.			

Part B.
Directions: Use your completed chart in part A to answer the following questions.

1. How did the definition of "West" change in the years 1800 to 1860?

2. What were the assets of continental expansion?

3. What negatives accompanied new territorial acquisitions?

4. How did Henry Clay's American System help to promote national unity?

5. How did the social structure change more dramatically in the North than in the South in the decades before the Civil War?

6. How would you characterize the emerging position of the West within the Union during the decades before the Civil War?

7. How did the increasing regionalization of the nation create difficulties for the national government?

Basic Principles of the Transcendental Movement

Directions: Read the following information about the basic principles of transcendentalism, and be prepared for class discussion.

1. Self-Reliance and Individualism

   The goal was to liberate individuals and to free themselves from the blind hold of custom and tradition. People were to disregard external authority.

2. Identity of Moral Laws

   The movement was stimulated by moral idealism.

3. Rejection of Sensuous Experience

   The movement criticized the dependence of knowledge based on empirical and scientific facts. Such knowledge was only probable and ended in skepticism. Transcendentalists believed in a realm over and beyond the phenomenal appearances. Poets and seers who proclaimed truth as they saw it were not interested in rational proofs. There were two worlds. The unreal world of sensation was the object of physical science. The unseen world—a religious, moral, and aesthetic universe—could be described only by poetry and philosophy.

4. Importance of and Reverence for Nature

   The movement emphasized the importance of nature and the natural world as a tool of education. The nature they worshipped was not the machine world of Newtonian physics. Transcendental nature was alive, full of growth and surprises. Nature provided a setting to bring out the best of human ability.

5. Absolute Optimism

   Transcendentalists believed in the possible perfection of humankind and the attainment of a higher form of living.

The Writings of Henry David Thoreau

Directions: Carefully read the following excerpts. Match each quotation with the basic ideal(s) of the transcendental movement that it clarifies.

Ideals

a. Self-reliance and individualism
b. Identity of moral laws
c. Rejection of sensuous experience
d. Importance of and reverence for nature
e. Absolute optimism

Quotations

_____ 1. "It is not desirable to cultivate a respect for the law, so much as for the right." (*Civil Disobedience*, 1849)

_____ 2. "Under a government which imprisons any unjustly, the true place for a just man is also in prison." (*Civil Disobedience*, 1849)

_____ 3. "We boast of our system of education, but why stop at schoolmasters and schoolhouses? We are all schoolmasters, and our schoolhouse is the universe. To attend chiefly to the desk or schoolhouse while we neglect the scenery in which it is placed is absurd. If we do not look out we shall find our fine schoolhouse standing in a cow-yard at last." (*Journal,* 15 October 1859)

_____ 4. "The value of any experience is measured, of course, not by the amount of money, but the amount of development we get out of it." (*Journal,* 26 November 1860)

_____ 5. "Men talk of freedom! How many are free to think? free from fear, from perturbation, from prejudice? Nine hundred and ninety-nine in a thousand are perfect slaves." (*Journal,* 6 May 1858)

_____ 6. "Goodness is the only investment that never fails." (*Walden*, 1854)

_____ 7. "[T]he hero is commonly the simplest and obscurest of men." (*Walking*, 1862)

_____ 8. "The best way to correct a mistake is to make it right." (Thoreau to Ralph Waldo Emerson, 24 January 1843)

_____ 9. "I love Nature partly *because* she is not man, but a retreat from him. None of his institutions control or pervade her. There a different kind of right prevails. In her midst I can be glad with an entire gladness. If this world were all man, I could not stretch myself, I should lose all hope. He is constraint, she is freedom to me. He makes me wish for another world. She makes me content with this." (*Journal,* 3 January 1853)

_____ 10. "The question is not what you look at, but what you see." (*Journal,* 5 August 1851)

_____ 11. "Carlyle said that how to observe was to look, but I say that it is rather to see, and the more you look the less you will observe." (*Journal,* 13 September 1852)

_____ 12. "Our life is frittered away by detail. An honest man has hardly need to count more than his ten fingers, or in extreme cases he may add his ten toes, and lump the rest. Simplicity, simplicity, simplicity! I say, let your affairs be as two or three, and not a hundred or a thousand; instead of a million count half a dozen, and keep your accounts on your thumb nail. In the midst of this chopping sea of civilized life, such are the clouds and storms and quicksands and thousand-and-one items to be allowed for, that a man has to live, if he would not founder and go to the bottom and not make his port at all, by dead reckoning, and he must be a great calculator indeed who succeeds. Simplify, simplify. Instead of three meals a day, if it be necessary eat but one; instead of a hundred dishes, five; and reduce other things in proportion." (*Walden,* 1854)

_____ 13. "The savage lives simply through ignorance and idleness or laziness, but the philosopher lives simply through wisdom." (*Journal*, 1 September 1853)

_____ 14. "You think that I am impoverishing myself withdrawing from men, but in my solitude I have woven for myself a silken web or *chrysalis*, and, nymph-like, shall ere long burst forth a more perfect creature, fitted for a higher society." (*Journal*, 8 February 1857)

_____ 15. "What we call wildness is a civilization other than our own." (*Journal,* 16 February 1859)

_____ 16. "No man in America has ever stood up so persistently and effectively for the dignity of human nature, knowing himself for a man, and the equal of any and all governments. In that sense he was the most American of us all." (*A Plea for Captain John Brown,* 1859)

_____ 17. "It seems to me that the god that is commonly worshipped in civilized countries is not at all divine, though he bears a divine name, but is the overwhelming authority and respectability of mankind combined. Men reverence one another, not yet God." (*A Week on the Concord and Merrimack Rivers,* 1849)

_____ 18. "I heartily accept the motto,—'That government is best which governs least;' and I should like to see it acted up to more rapidly and systematically. Carried out, it finally amounts to this, which also I believe,—'That government is best which governs not at all;' and when men are prepared for it, that will be the kind of government which they will have." (*Civil Disobedience,* 1849)

_____ 19. "The only government that I recognize,—and it matters not how few are at the head of it, or how small its army,—is that power that establishes justice in the land, never that which establishes injustice." (*A Plea for Captain John Brown,* 1859)

_____20. "[T]he imagination, give it the least license, dives deeper and soars higher than Nature goes." (*Walden*, 1854)

_____21. "Why should we be in such desperate haste to succeed, and in such desperate enterprises? If a man does not keep pace with his companions, perhaps it is because he hears a different drummer. Let him step to the music which he hears, however measured or far away." (*Walden*, 1854)

_____22. "I learned this, at least, by my experiment: that if one advances confidently in the direction of his dreams, and endeavors to live the life which he has imagined, he will meet with a success unexpected in common hours. . . . In proportion as he simplifies his life, the laws of the universe will appear less complex, and solitude will not be solitude, nor poverty poverty, nor weakness weakness." (*Walden*, 1854)

_____23. "Knowledge does not come to us by details, but in flashes of light from heaven." (*Life without Principle*, 1863)

_____24. "Let us consider the way in which we spend our lives." (*Life without Principle*, 1863)

_____25. "The mass of men lead lives of quiet desperation." (*Walden*, 1854)

_____26. "Absolutely speaking, the more money, the less virtue; for money comes between a man and his objects, and obtains them for him; and it was certainly no great virtue to obtain it." (*Civil Disobedience*, 1849)

_____27. "If a man walk in the woods for love of them half of each day, he is in danger of being regarded as a loafer; but if he spends his whole day as a speculator, shearing off those woods and making earth bald before her time, he is esteemed an industrious and enterprising citizen. As if the town had no interest in its forests but to cut them down!" (*Life without Principle*, 1863)

_____28. "If Nature is our mother, then God is our father." (*A Week on the Concord and Merrimack Rivers*, 1849)

_____29. "Why look in the dark for light?" (*A Week on the Concord and Merrimack Rivers*, 1849)

_____30. "Instead of noblemen, let us have noble villages of men." (*Walden,* 1854)

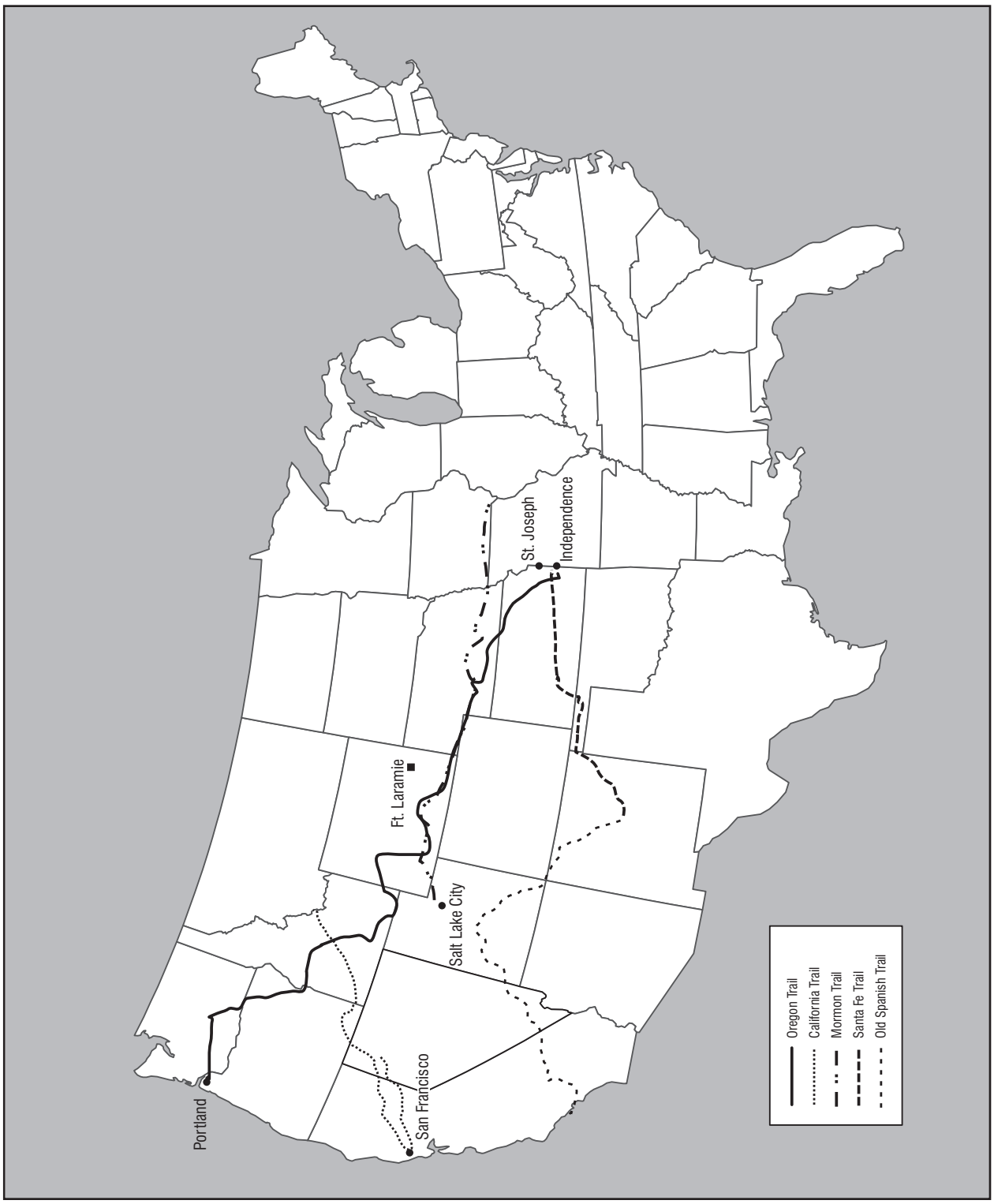
_____31. "There is a chasm between knowledge and ignorance which the arches of science can never span." (*A Week on the Concord and Merrimack Rivers*, 1849)

_____32. "I went to the woods because I wished to live deliberately, to front only the essential facts of life, and see if I could not learn what it had to teach, and not, when I came to die, discover that I had not lived." (*Walden*, 1854)

Name:

The Way West

Directions: Study the map below. Given your knowledge of U.S. geography, brainstorm what difficulties the emigrants would have faced on the Oregon Trail and on the Santa Fe Trail.



Name:

Storyboarding the Western Migration

Directions: Decide how to tell your story in a graphic format by blocking out who and what will appear in each scene. Write a caption for each panel.

Caption _____

Caption _____

Caption _____

Caption _____

Caption _____

Caption _____

The Peculiar Institution

Directions: Use your textbook, the Internet, and other resources to answer the following questions on the nature of slavery in the antebellum South.

1. What is meant by being sold "down river" or "sold south"?

2. Why was the presence of slave markets in Washington, D.C. so controversial?

3. Describe the impact of the Nat Turner Rebellion on the institution of slavery.

4. What is the "positive good" argument of George Fitzhugh?

5. Describe the management of the Butler estate and slave conditions there. How did the plantation owner, the overseer, and the slaves relate to each other?

6. How did slavery affect poor whites?

7. Describe the typical slave family and religion.

8. What was the "Weeping Time"?

9. What are some of the antislavery arguments of the time?

10. Who agreed with William Lloyd Garrison's call for the immediate emancipation of slaves?

11. How did the Indian Removal Act impact the growth of slavery in the South?

12. What was the significance of the burning of Pennsylvania Hall by an angry mob of anti-abolitionists in 1838?

13. What was the significance of the book by Harriett Jacobs, *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl*?

14. What were the reactions in the North and the South to *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass* and *Uncle Tom's Cabin*?

15. How did the Fugitive Slave Act affect the abolitionist movement?

16. What was the significance of the Dred Scott decision in terms of western settlement and rights of blacks?

17. What was Abraham Lincoln's message in his "House Divided" speech when he ran for the senate in 1858?

18. What was the most controversial part of the Compromise of 1850? Why?

A Set of Beliefs about Slavery

Directions: Research the position held by your character. Then answer each question from your character's point of view.

Proslavery Voices

1. George Fitzhugh—the "positive good" argument
2. James Henry Hammond—the mud sill theory
3. Dr. Samuel Cartwright—"Diseases and Peculiarities of the Negro Race"
4. Pierce Butler—one of the wealthiest plantation owners in the South
5. Senator Stephen A. Douglas, moderate proslave
6. White clergyman of a Southern church
7. Northern merchant, textile mill
8. Chief Justice Roger B. Taney
9. Senator John C. Calhoun, South Carolina

Antislavery or Abolitionist Voices

1. Fanny Kemble, British actress, wife of Pierce Butler
2. David Walker, radical free black
3. William Lloyd Garrison, abolitionist, newspaper publisher
4. Henry Highland Garnet, called for slaves to revolt
5. Frederick Douglass, escaped slave, lecturer
6. Angelina Grimké Weld, Southern abolitionist
7. Elijah Lovejoy, first martyr of abolitionist movement
8. Wendell Phillips, abolitionist orator
9. John Brown, abolitionist
10. Harriet Tubman, Underground Railroad

Questions

1. Do you favor slavery? How did you develop your position?
2. What is your position on the abolition of slavery?
3. Who should decide whether a state should be slave or free? Explain.
4. Should any reference to slavery be made in the Constitution? Why or why not?
5. Do you believe that the rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness pertain to slaves?
6. Some have said that slavery is a "positive good." Do you agree or disagree?
7. If people do not agree with laws, who has the right to change them—the states or the central government?
8. Do you believe that slavery may eventually destroy the nation?
9. Do you support the Fugitive Slave Act? Why or why not?

Government Actions

Directions: Describe each of the following developments. Then explain how each led to the continuation of slavery. Finally, discuss why abolitionists, in their efforts to end slavery, were unable to mobilize enough support against each development to limit or end slavery.

1. Missouri Compromise of 1820

2. Annexation of Texas of 1845

3. Popular Sovereignty as used by proslavery politicians of the 1840s and 1850s

4. The failure of the Wilmot Proviso of 1846

5. Compromise of 1850

6. Fugitive Slave Act of 1850

7. Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854

8. Lecompton Constitution of 1857

9. Dred Scott case and Supreme Court decision of 1857

Abolitionists and Their Strategies, 1840s and 1850s

Directions: Examine all of the following documents. Then summarize the key points in each one.

Document 1

From "Our Paper and Its Prospects," Frederick Douglass, *The North Star* (December 3, 1847)

It is neither a reflection on the fidelity, nor a disparagement of the ability of our friends and fellow-laborers, to assert what "common sense affirms and only folly denies," that the man who has *suffered the wrong* is the man to *demand redress,*—that the man STRUCK is the man to CRY OUT—and that he who has *endured the cruel pangs of Slavery* is the man to *advocate Liberty*. It is evident we must be our own representatives and advocates, not exclusively, but peculiarly—not distant from, but in connection with our white friends.[1]

Document 2

William Lloyd Garrison in an Excerpt from a Letter to His Wife (October 20, 1847)

Is it not strange that [Frederick] Douglass has not written a single line to me, or to any one, in this place, inquiring after my health, since he left me on a bed of illness? It will also greatly surprise our friends in Boston to hear, that, in regard to his project for establishing a paper here, to be called "The North Star," he never opened to me his lips on the subject, nor asked my advice in any particular whatever. Such conduct grieves me to the heart. His conduct […]* paper has been impulsive, inconsiderate, and highly inconsistent with his decision in Boston. What will his English friends say of such a strange somerset? I am sorry that friend [Edmund] Quincy did not express himself more strongly against this project in the Liberator. It is a delicate matter, I know, but it must be met with firmness. I am sorry to add, that our friend Saml. Brooke is at the bottom of all this, and has influenced Douglass to take this extraordinary step, as he thinks the Bugle might as well be discontinued, or merged in Douglass's paper! Strange want of forecast and judgment!—But, no more now.[2]

Document 3

"I Am an Abolitionist"

(*To the tune of "Auld Lang Syne"*)

I am an Abolitionist!
    I glory in the name:
Though now by Slavery's minions hiss'd
    And covered o'er with shame,
It is a spell of light and power—
    The watchword of the free:—
Who spurns it in the trial-hour,
    A craven soul is he!

*The letter is torn.

[1]Frederick Douglass, "Our Paper and Its Prospects," *The North Star*, December 3, 1847.

[2]William Lloyd Garrison, *The Letters of William Lloyd Garrison, Volume III: No Union with Slaveholders, 1841–1849,* ed. Walter M. Merrill (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press , 1973), 532–33.

I am an Abolitionist!
Then urge me not to pause:
For joyfully I do enlist
In FREEDOM'S sacred cause:
A nobler strife the world ne'er saw,
Th'enslaved to disenthrall;
I am a soldier for the war,
Whatever may befall!

I am an Abolitionist!
Oppression's deadly foe;
In God's great strength will I resist,
And lay the monster low;
In God's great name do I demand,
To all be freedom given,
That peace and joy may fill the land,
And songs go up to heaven!

I am an Abolitionist!
No threats shall awe my soul,
No perils cause me to desist,
No bribes my acts control;
A freeman will I live and die,
In sunshine and in shade,
And raise my voice for liberty,
Of naught on earth afraid.[3]

Document 4

Broadside from the Anti-Slavery Society (1841)

Things for Abolitionists to Do.

1. *Speak for the slave;* plead his cause everywhere, and make every body feel that you are in earnest. Get up anti-slavery discussions in debating societies, lyceums, and wherever you can get an opening, abroad and at home, in social circles and in public conveyances, wherever you find mind to be influenced, *speak for the slave*. Get others to speak for him, enlist as many as you can to take his part. Words from a full heart *sink deep*.
2. *Write for the slave*. Do you take a religious or a political paper? Write a short article for it, a fact, an argument, an appeal, a slave law, testimony as to the condition of slaves, with the name of the witness, an appeal, copy from anti-slavery papers and tracts something short and pity, a brief statement of abolition sentiments, answers to objections, anti-slavery poetry—in short, *something*, if not more than five lines, *full of liberty*, and get them into your newspaper. If every abolitionist were to do what he might in this way, our principles would be spread before more minds in three months than they have reached from the beginning of our enterprise up to now.
3. *Petition for the slave.* Begin at once to circulate petitions for the immediate abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, and in Florida, against the admission of Florida into the Union as a slave state, for the prohibition of the internal slave trade, for the recognition of Hayti as an

[3]"I Am an Abolitionist," in *The Anti-Slavery Harp: A Collection of Songs for Anti-Slavery Meetings,* comp. William W. Brown (1848; repr., Whitefish, Mont.: Kessinger Publishing, 2004), 26–27.

independent nation, for a repeal of the unconstitutional act of 1793, and for the abrogation of that unconstitutional standing rule of the U.S. House of Representatives, adopted at the last session, which lays upon the table, without debate, all petitions, &c., on the subject of slavery. Instead of relaxing effort on account of this rule, let petitions be poured into congress a hundred-fold more than ever. Let every abolitionist bestir himself also in circulating petitions to the legislature of the state in which he lives, praying to the repeal of all laws graduation rights by the *skin*.

4. *Work for the slave*. Distribute anti-slavery publications, circulate them in your neighborhood, take them with you on journeys, take them as you go to meetings, to the polls, to the stores, to mill, to school, and every where; establish an anti-slavery library; get subscribers for anti-slavery newspapers, and collect money for anti-slavery societies; gather facts illustrating the condition of slaves; search out all who have lived in slave states, get them to write out their testimony as to the food, clothing, lodging, shelter, labor, and punishments of slaves, their moral condition, the licentiousness of slave-holders, &c., &c., and forward them to some anti-slavery paper for publication; also gather and forward all the facts in your power exhibiting the *pro-slavery* of the free states; for *remember* that just in proportion as the pro-slavery of ministers, churches, lawyers, literary institutions, merchants, mechanics, and all classes in the free states, is exposed, light breaks on the path of freedom.
5. *Work for the free people of color;* see that your schools are open to their children, and that they enjoy in every respect all the rights to which as human beings they are entitled. Get merchants to take them as clerks, mechanics, apprentices, physicians and lawyers as students: if the place of worship which you attend has a negro seat, *go and sit in it,* and testify against the impiety which thus prostitutes the temples and worship of Him who has said, "If ye have respect of persons ye commit sin."[4]

Document 5

Resolutions from the National Convention of Colored Citizens, Buffalo, New York (1843)

7. *Resolved*, That this Convention recommend and encourage agricultural pursuits among our people generally, as the surest and speadiest road to wealth, influence and respectability.
8. *Resolved*, That this Convention recommend to our people the importance of aspiring to a knowledge of all the Mechanic arts of the age.
9. *Resolved*, That among the various and important measures for the improvement of our people, this Convention view the principles of Temperance as of vital import, and we urge the hearty adoption of them by our whole people. . . .
11. *Resolved*, That it *may* be possible that the scheme of American Colonization was originally established upon pure motives; but if it were, its subsequent operations show that it has been fostered and sustained by the *murderous spirit of slavery* and prejudice.
12. *Resolved*, That such being the character of the institution, it has neither the confidence or respect of the free people of color of the United States.
13. *Resolved*, That the manner in which the American Colonization Society secures its victims—to wit, by begging slaveholders to emancipate their slaves, only on condition that they will go to Liberia, shows in what low estimation it should be held by common sense, and philanthropy of the nation.[5]

[4]"Things for Abolitionists to Do" in *New England Anti-Slavery Almanac for 1841*.
[5]*Minutes of the Proceedings of the National Negro Conventions, 1830–1864*, ed. Howard Holman Bell (New York: Arno Press and the New York Times, 1969).

Document 6

"Rev. John Cross of Illinois" (1844)

This gentleman was arrested, indicted and imprisoned in Knox county jail, charged with having assisted a runaway slave—having, in fact, given shelter and food to a poor old negro woman. The jailor put him into the "inner prison"—the judge appeared anxious to do justice to so deserving a criminal—the attorney-general moved a continuance of the case till the next term, as the material witness was absent, and the Court admitted the motion. But Mr. Cross, wishing to come to trial, agreed to admit all this witness would testify. This was a stumper. The prosecutors made as graceful a retreat as the dignity of their position would admit, and Mr. Cross was discharged without the form of a trial. Mr. Cross, as soon as out of jail, published a flaring handbill, headed with a large engraving, representing an under-ground rail-road, with the train just plunging under the earth, loaded with passengers, while in the corner is seen a heavy wagon, with kidnappers stowed in bulk, and bound "for Texas."

Appended to this is the following notice: LIBERTY LINE

New Arrangement—Night and Day

The improved and splendid locomotives, Clarkson and Lundy, with their trains fitted up in the best style of accommodation for passengers will run their regular trips during the present season, between the borders of the Patriarchal Dominion and Libertyville, Upper Canada. Gentlemen or ladies who may wish to improve their health or circumstances by a northern tour, are respectfully invited to give us their patronage.

SEATS FREE, irrespective of color. Necessary clothing furnished gratuitously to such as have "*fallen among thieves*." "Hide the outcasts—let the oppressed go free."—*Bible* For seats, apply to any of the trap doors, or to the conductor of the train.

J. CROSS, Proprietor[6]

Document 7

John Parker, Excerpted from His Autobiography (1840s)

Amidst this commercial activity [in Ripley, Ohio] lived and moved the little group of old-time abolitionists. They were by name Dr. Alexander Campbell, Rev. John Rankin, Theodore, Tom, and Eli Collins, Tom McCague, Dr. Beasley, [and] Rev. James Gilliland. The undoubted leader was Rev. John Rankin.

While the businessmen were not abolitionists, they were antislavery. But the town itself was proslavery as well as the country around it. In fact, the country was so antagonistic to abolitionism at this time, we could only take the fugitives out of town and through the country along definite and limited routes.

There was also very active a certain group of men who made a living by capturing the runaway slaves and returning them to their masters. These men were on watch day and night along the riverbank the year round. While they captured quite a few it was remarkable how many slaves we got through the line successfully. The feeling grew so tense Rev. John Rankin and his followers left the Presbyterian church forming a new congregation who were given over to the antislavery movement.[7]

[6]"Rev. John Cross of Illinois," *The Liberator,* August 23, 1844.

[7]John O. Parker, *His Promised Land: The Autobiography of John P. Parker, Former Slave and Conductor on the Underground Railroad*, ed. Stuart Seely Sprague (New York: W. W. Norton, 1996), 97–104.

Document 8

Charles Sumner, Letter to Judge Byron Paine (August 8, 1854)

My Dear Sir: I was about to suggest to you to have the opinions of the court and the arguments of counsel in the Booth case collected and published in a pamphlet when I observed that there was a pamphlet containing the most valuable portions of them. Let me ask you to do me the favor of sending me a copy of the pamphlet to my address in Boston. I congratulate you, my dear sir, upon your magnificent effort which does honor not only to your state but to your country. The argument will live in the history of this controversy. God grant that Wisconsin may not fail to protect her own right and the rights of her citizens in the emergency now before her. To her belongs the lead which Massachusetts should have taken. Believe me, my dear sir.

With high esteem,
Faithfully yours,
Charles Sumner.[8]

Document 9

Henry "Box" Brown

Born into slavery in 1815 in Virginia, Henry "Box" Brown was determined to escape to freedom. He had himself shipped to Pennsylvania in a wooden box, disguised as dry goods. The box was delivered to James Miller McKim, a member of the Underground Railroad. Brown toured New England, lecturing and reenacting his escape to earn income and gain support for the antislavery movement. In 1851, escaping from the Fugitive Slave Law, Brown left America and traveled to England where he continued to lecture, reenact his escape, and write.

Fig. 12.1.

[8]Letter from Charles Sumner," *Letters on the Glover Incident,* <http://www.wisconsinhistory.org/wlhba/articleView.asp?id=2666> (16 February 2010).

Fig. 12.1. "The Resurrection of Henry Box Brown at Philadelphia," 1850. Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, LC-USZC4-4659

Document 10

Dred Scott and His Wife (June 27, 1857)

Fig. 12.2.

Document 11

Abraham Lincoln, Excerpted Notes Prior to His "House Divided" Speech, 1858

Why, Kansas is neither the whole, nor the tithe of the real question.

"A house divided against itself cannot stand."

I believe this government cannot endure permanently half slave, and half free.

I expressed this belief a year ago; and subsequent developments have but confirmed me.

I do not expect the Union to be dissolved. I do not expect the house to fall; but I do expect it will cease to be divided. It will become all one thing, or all the other. Either the opponents of slavery will arrest the further spread of it, and put it in the course of ultimate extinction; or its advocates will push it forward till it shall become alike lawful in all the states, old, as well as new. Do you doubt it? Study the Dred Scott decision, and then see, how little, even now, remains to be done.

That decision may be reduced to three points. The first is, that a negro cannot be a citizen. That point is made in order to deprive the negro in every possible event, of the benefit of that provision of the U.S. Constitution which declares that: "The citizens of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States."

The second point is, that the U.S. Constitution protects slavery, as property, in all the U.S. territories, and that neither congress, nor the people of the territories, nor any other power, can prohibit it, at any time prior to the formation of State constitutions.

This point is made, in order that the territories may safely be filled up with slaves, before the formation of State constitutions, and thereby to embarrass the free state [sentiment and enhance the chances of slave constitutions being adopted.]

(The third point decided is that the voluntary bringing of Dred Scott into Illinois by his master, and holding him here a long time as a slave, did not operate his emancipation—did not make him free.)[9]

Fig. 12.2. *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, June 27, 1857. Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, LC-USZ62-79305.
[9]"Abraham Lincoln's House Divided Speech," *The Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History,* <http://gilderlehrman.org> (15 September 2010).

Document 12

John Brown, Address to the Virginia Court at Charlestown, Virginia, when He Was about to Receive the Death Sentence (November 2, 1859)

I have, may it please the court, a few words to say.

In the first place, I deny everything but what I have all along admitted,—the design on my part to free slaves. I intended certainly to have made a clean thing of that matter, as I did last winter, when I went into Missouri and took slaves without the snapping of a gun on either side, moved them through the country, and finally left them in Canada. I designed to do the same thing again, on a larger scale. That was all I intended. I never did intend murder, or treason, or the destruction of property, or to excite or incite slaves to rebellion, or to make insurrection. . . .

Let me say one word further.

I feel entirely satisfied with the treatment I have received on my trial. Considering all the circumstances, it has been more generous than I expected. I feel no consciousness of my guilt. I have stated from the first what was my intention, and what was not. I never had any design against the life of any person, nor any disposition to commit treason, or excite slaves to rebel, or make any general insurrection. I never encouraged any man to do so, but always discouraged any idea of any kind.

Let me say also, a word in regard to the statements made by some to those connected with me. I hear it has been said by some of them that I have induced them to join me. But the contrary is true. I do not say this to injure them, but as regretting their weakness. There is not one of them but joined me of his own accord, and the greater part of them at their own expense. A number of them I never saw, and never had a word of conversation with, till the day they came to me; and that was for the purpose I have stated.

Now I have done.

Part 2

Civil War and Reconstruction, 1860–1876

By the mid-nineteenth century, attempts at compromise had failed; America became inflamed with a conflict that would tear the nation apart. The Southern states feared the growing economic power of the North; there was a growing awareness of a need to expand the plantation economy, with its accompanying slavery, into the West. This resulted in rebellion which soon deteriorated into open conflict. The strong leadership of Abraham Lincoln and the North's ability to finance and mobilize a large armed force resulted in a Union victory. Devastated by the war, Southerners found themselves faced with a hostile Republican Congress, which sought to punish rather than to reconcile with the rebels. The social, political, and economic effects of the war were far-reaching. The role of African Americans during the war saw the development of a desire for full citizenship, which was recognized by constitutional amendment but was not enforced due to the development of Black Codes in the post-Reconstruction South.

Growing sectionalism threatened the very survival of America as a unified nation. As the North developed industry, farming, and a marine economy, economic development in the South remained relatively static and strongly linked to slavery. As Northern population increased, the South lost control of the House of Representatives, and the Compromise of 1850 eventually resulted in a loss of the Senate as well. As the abolitionist movements grew, Southern slave owners became increasingly defensive of their lifestyle and felt they were no longer capable of preserving their way of life. The North and South were on a collision course, and the election of Abraham Lincoln in 1860 removed the last barrier to outright conflict. The differences seemed irreconcilable, and the South seceded from the Union.

The Civil War is described by military historians as the first modern war. Relying on the latest technology to move troops and using advanced technology to arm its soldiers, the North was expected to win the war. While the Confederates won the first battles, three factors contributed to and ensured a Northern victory: the Union strategy of encirclement; sustained troop mobilization; and productive resources. The war influenced the changing role of women both in the North and in the South. Working women had more employment opportunities, but at the same time greater hardships. In the South, the complex slave society was collapsing, and this affected the status and role of Southern women.

Abraham Lincoln is consistently at the top in presidential ranking polls. His presidency was not without its controversial issues, and his

election was the catalyst for Southern secession. The slavery issue, the Emancipation Proclamation, suspension of habeas corpus, declaration of martial law, implementation of the southern blockade, and the raising and commanding of the army were also factors. While Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation did not actually free any slaves immediately, it was to African Americans a powerful symbol of freedom and equality. It demonstrated that the abolition of slavery provided a moral purpose for the war and helped motivate people of color to help the Union side. While the lives of some slaves, particularly in the Deep South, changed little, others engaged in disobedience or resistance. The faith of black abolitionists that they were working toward a better society was renewed and influenced Republicans in Congress and President Lincoln to redefine the war as an antislavery crusade.

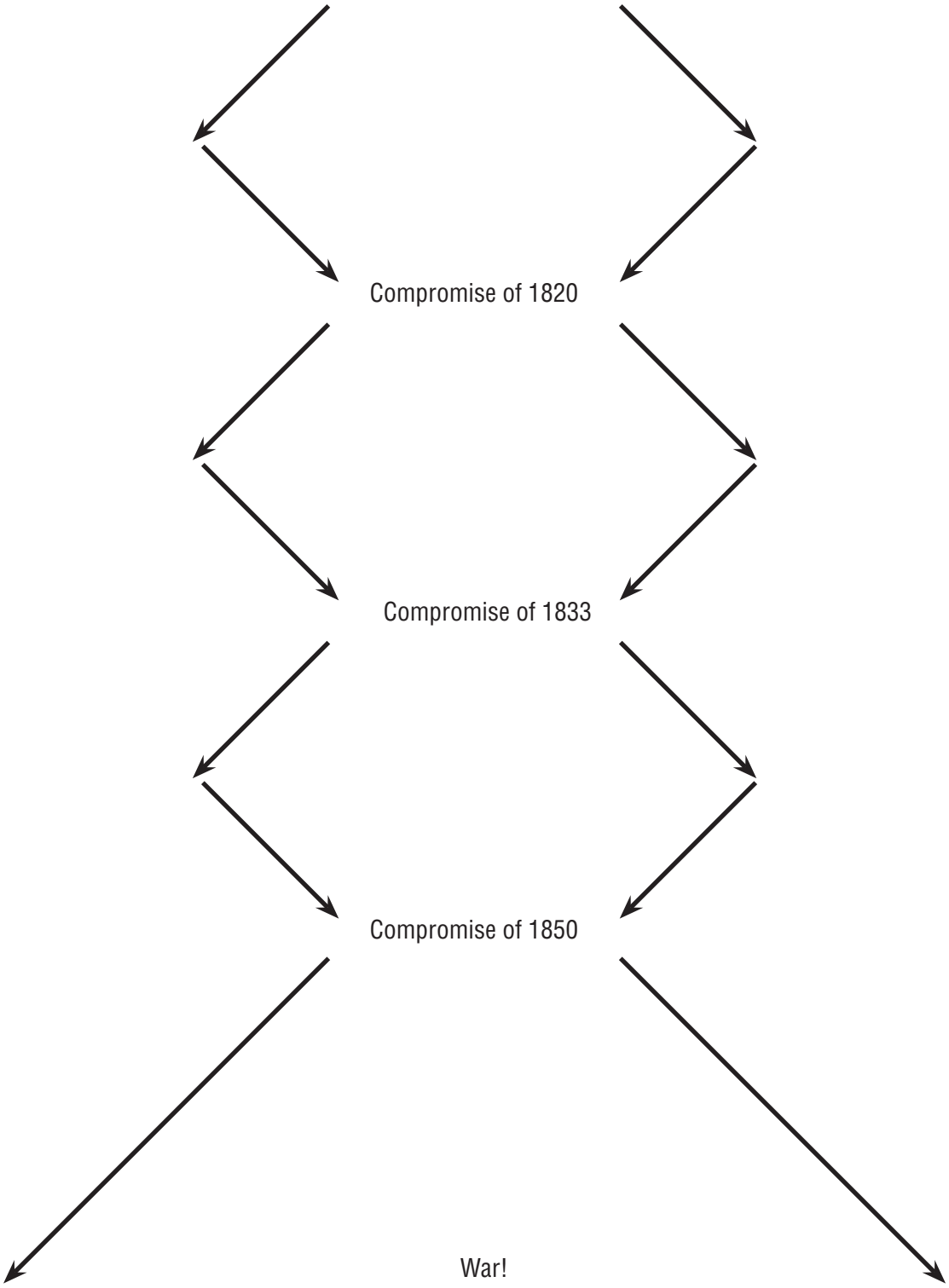
The Civil War had a tremendous effect on the United States: thousands of casualties and displaced people, the end of the plantation system, the abandonment of Southern farms by African Americans and poor whites as they moved west, changes in the economy on which the war was based, and a broad-based movement to establish a more egalitarian society. When the war was over, the main question confronting America was how the Union could be put back together again. Lincoln viewed the Confederacy as belligerent, not insurrectionist. He never recognized the legitimacy of the Confederate government, and the Reconstruction program he supported was one which restored the South to the Union. Eventually, four plans were proposed by Lincoln, by his successor Andrew Johnson, by the Radical Republicans, and by military commanders who occupied the South. The Radical Republicans viewed the Confederacy as a hostile enemy which had declared war on the Union and which had to be punished. Their plan, known as the Wade-Davis Bill, eventually was adopted.

From 1865 to 1877, the former Confederate states attempted to control the newly freed black labor force by passing restrictive laws which were later overturned by congressional action. In retaliation, some Southern whites turned to other means, including violence, to deter both black and white Republicans from exercising their civil rights and to return Southern state governments to conservative Democratic hands. This led to almost a century of suppression and second-class citizenship for African Americans in the South and eventually to the civil rights movement of the 1960s.

Name:

The Road to War

Directions: Use the graphic organizer to analyze factors that led to war between the South and the North. Include symbols and major issues.



Statistics Concerning the Union and the Confederacy in 1861

Directions: Review the following data, and answer the questions.

In 1861	Union	Confederacy
Population	22,000,000	9,000,000; one-third were slaves
Number and Kinds of Factories	100,000 dealing with the U.S. ships and arms, coal mines, and a variety of consumer goods such as blankets, candles, lumber, glass, rubber goods, shoes, and textiles	20,000; one-tenth industrial capacity of North; two major metal foundries
Factory Workers	1,000,000	100,000
Resources/Mineral Deposits	Coal, gold, iron	Some iron
Railroads	20,000 miles	3,000 miles
Bank Deposits	$189,000,000	$47,000,000
Gold Reserves	$56,000,000	$37,000,000
Average Worker's Salary in Late 1860	$1.50–3.00 per day	$1.50–3.00 per day
Army Private Soldier's Salary	$13 per month*	$11 per month
Agricultural Products	Varied: grains, hemp	Cash crops: corn, cotton, rice, sugar cane, tobacco; subsistence farming

*Two dollars were withheld each month until the end of the soldier's term of enlistment; 12.5 cents were deducted each month to support a home for old or wounded soldiers.

Source: Michael Varhola, *Everyday Life During the Civil War: A Guide for Writers, Students, and Historians* (Cincinnati: Writer's Digest Books, 1999), 6–7, 38.

1. Considering the statistics of the Union and the Confederacy in the table, explain in what ways each side could best mobilize resources to win the war.

2. What other information would you need to know to answer item 1 thoughtfully?

3. Imagine that you were a Civil War soldier. What challenges could you have experienced fighting for the Union? for the Confederacy?

4. What did each side's leaders assume to win the war?

Images of the Civil War

Directions: Use the following exercise to get a little closer to the actual experiences of men involved in the Civil War. Print and online sources will help you find the information you need.

1. The art of photography helps us to visualize the events of a war that happened long ago. Matthew Brady was one of the photographers who left a legacy of images from the 1800s. When did he live, and what did he photograph?

2. One of Brady's photographs, "Colors of the 23rd New York Infantry," shows the ravages of time but still reveals some of the spirit of the North. Find the image on the Internet, and explain what you see.

3. Find the photograph entitled "Wilderness, near Chancellorsville, VA." What do you see?

4. Find the photograph "Wounded Soldiers under Trees, Marye's Heights, Fredericksburg, after the Battle of Spotsylvania, 1864." How do you think the men in the picture felt?

5. For a last look at Brady's work, examine and respond to the photograph "Pontoon across the Rappahannock River, VA, Calvary Column."

6. Examine a much more recent painting, "The Old Flag Never Touched the Ground" by Rick Reeves. What does the painting say about the soldiers?

7. What do you think motivated these men to put up with such difficult circumstances?

8. Do you think the war would have ended more quickly if there had been television in 1862?

9. What adjectives describe the soldiers in the pictures?

10. Write a creative piece expressing your insights. You might want to create a journal entry, a letter home, a fictional obituary, a newspaper article, or a free verse poem.

Women's Experiences during the Civil War

Directions: The following passages detail women's experiences from the most common to the least common: middle-class women from the Union, farmers, working-class women, slaves, plantation owners, nurses, soldiers, and spies. Read each section, and summarize it in your own words.

1. Middle-class women from the Union

Kristin Leahy explains in her introduction to an online collection of diaries:

> Most women were affected by the war in some way. Some leapt into the war effort working for various organizations, including the Ladies Hospital Aid Society, the Union Volunteer Refreshment Saloon, and the United States Christian Commission. Others performed activities on a more personal level, such as sewing individual items to be shipped to soldiers they knew. Such women's efforts certainly attest to the idea that women fought the war in their own ways on the home front and in doing so played a crucial role in helping the war effort.[1]

Leahy goes on to describe one such woman, Mary Ashhurst, as "a typical example of an older woman's approach to helping the war effort." Ashhurst's husband was a businessman and a banker; her extensive journals describe much of her life, including events during and after the Civil War. Journal entries from 1863 make it clear that Ashhurst kept up to date with news about the war. She wrote about Vicksburg and Gettysburg, about Generals Grant and Meade.

Ashhurst worried about the possibility that the South would attack Philadelphia; she deeply admired President Lincoln, and her journal begun in 1864 expresses her happiness about his re-election. Besides staying informed and praying, Ashhurst contributed to the war effort by sewing clothes and sending them to Union soldiers.

2. Farmers

> Many women and children took to the fields in order to maintain family farms. Women had long performed farm labor, from cooking, washing and cleaning to taking part in the planting and harvesting of crops. In 1862 a Department of Agriculture report concluded that "in the civilization of the latter half of the nineteenth century, a farmer's wife, as general rule, is a laboring drudge . . . on three farms out of four the wife works harder, endures more, than any other on the place. . . ."
>
> Rural women often lived amidst great loneliness. Without even their husbands' company, these women labored on isolated farms. Women's increased responsibilities in wartime led some social critics to object that hard work would demean the fairer sex, harden their bodies, and disrupt American gender roles. Women responded that the demands of war and family represented a higher calling than such notions.[2]

[1]Kristin Leahy, "Guide to Women During the Civil War," *The Historical Society of Pennsylvania*, <http://www.hsp.org/default.aspx?id=129> (15 September 2010).
[2]Drew E. VandeCreek, "Women and Gender Roles in Civil War Illinois and the North," *Northern Illinois University Library: Illinois During the Civil War Digitization Project*, <http://dig.lib.niu.edu/civilwar/women.html> (15 September 2010).

3. Working-class women

Many women took over so-called men's work and made ammunition; as noted in the following excerpt from "Pittsburgh's Bloodiest Day," about an explosion in September 1862, the results were sometimes tragic.

> The explosions were heard all over the city. At first many thought that it was an enemy attack, but they soon realized the truth. The people of Lawrenceville were the first to reach the arsenal. The men of the village joined the arsenal workers in fighting the fire. Lawrenceville's new fire engine, which had arrived from its manufacturers only five days before, was pulled by hand through the streets of Lawrenceville to fight its first fire. The men fought desperately to put out the fire and rescue victims from the inferno. Their work was made more difficult by the 125, 000 cartridges and 175 rounds of field ammunition, that day's production, which continued to explode as the building burned. . . .
>
> For two days family members visited the arsenal trying to identify the dead. It was difficult work, for many of the bodies were burned beyond recognition. One woman was finally identified by her false teeth; another by a piece of dress that remained unscorched. In many cases there were no bodies. Several victims had been torn apart by the explosions and body parts were found throughout the arsenal grounds. One young girl's finger, all that was found of her, was identified by her ring. A foot found outside the gate was recognized by its shoe. It was even harder to give names to those who were trapped inside the laboratory. The fire was so hot that everything burned, and all that the rescuers found of the women were piles of white ash surrounded by the steel wire of the hoops they had been wearing.
>
> Gradually a list of the dead was compiled. It contained seventy-eight names, seventy-two of them women and girls. Among the victims were Robert Smith, Joseph Bollman, Kate McBride, cartridge rollers David Gilliland and Mary Murphey, Agnes and Mary Davison. On the afternoon of Thursday, September 18, in plain black coffins issued by the government, thirty-nine victims were laid to rest in a common grave in Allegheny Cemetery. At the same time, Father Gibbs buried six identified victims from his parish in the adjacent St. Mary's Cemetery.[3]

4. Slaves

> During the Civil War, [Harriet] Tubman worked for the Union army as a nurse, a cook, and a spy. Her experience leading slaves along the Underground Railroad was especially helpful because she knew the land well. She recruited a group of former slaves to hunt for rebel camps and report on the movement of the Confederate troops. In 1863, she went with Colonel James Montgomery and about 150 black soldiers on a gunboat raid in South Carolina. Because she had inside information from her scouts, the Union gunboats were able to surprise the Confederate rebels. . . .
>
> At first when the Union Army came through and burned plantations, slaves hid in the woods. But when they realized that the gunboats could take them behind Union lines to freedom, they came running from all directions, bringing as many of their belongings as they could carry. Tubman later said, "I never saw such a sight." Tubman played other roles in the war effort, including working as a nurse. Folk remedies she learned during her years living in Maryland would come in very handy.

[3]"Pittsburgh's Bloodiest Day," *Civil War Interactive*, <http://www.civilwarinteractive.com/ArticlePittsburghBloodyDay.htm> (15 September 2010).

Tubman worked as a nurse during the war, trying to heal the sick. Many people in the hospital died from dysentery, a disease associated with terrible diarrhea. Tubman was sure she could help cure the sickness if she could find some of the same roots and herbs that grew in Maryland. One night she searched the woods until she found water lilies and crane's bill (geranium). She boiled the water lily roots and the herbs and made a bitter-tasting brew that she gave to a man who was dying—and it worked! Slowly he recovered. Tubman saved many people in her lifetime. On her grave her tombstone reads "Servant of God, Well Done."[4]

5. Plantation owners

Editors Isabella D. Martin and Myrta Lockett Avary wrote the following information in their introduction to Mary Boykin Miller Chesnut's 1905 publication titled *A Diary from Dixie*:

In Mrs. Chesnut's Diary are vivid pictures of the social life that went on uninterruptedly in the midst of war; of the economic conditions that resulted from blockaded ports; of the manner in which the spirits of the people rose and fell with each victory or defeat, and of the momentous events that took place in Charleston, Montgomery, and Richmond. But the Diary has an importance quite apart from the interest that lies in these pictures.

Mrs. Chesnut was close to forty years of age when the war began, and thus had lived through the most stirring scenes in the controversies that led to it. In this Diary, as perhaps nowhere else in the literature of the war, will be found the Southern spirit of that time expressed in words which are not alone charming as literature, but genuinely human in their spontaneousness, their delightfully unconscious frankness. . . .

In making more clear the unyielding tenacity of the South and the stern conditions in which the war was prosecuted, the Diary has further importance. At the beginning there was no Southern leader, in so far as we can gather from Mrs. Chesnut's reports of her talks with them, who had any hope that the South would win in the end, provided the North should be able to enlist her full resources. The result, however, was that the South struck something like terror to many hearts, and raised serious expectations that two great European powers would recognize her independence. The South fought as long as she had any soldiers left who were capable of fighting. . . . The North, so far as her stock of men of fighting age was concerned, had done scarcely more than make a beginning, while the South was virtually exhausted when the war was half over.

Unlike the South, the North was never reduced to extremities which led the wives of Cabinet officers and commanding generals to gather in Washington hotels and private drawing-rooms, in order to knit heavy socks for soldiers whose feet otherwise would go bare: scenes like these were common in Richmond, and Mrs. Chesnut often made one of the company. Nor were gently nurtured women of the North forced to wear coarse and ill-fitting shoes, such as negro cobblers made, the alternative being to dispense with shoes altogether. Gold might rise in the North to 2.80, but there came a time in the South when a thousand dollars in paper money were needed to buy a kitchen utensil. . . .

As her Diary constantly shows, Mrs. Chesnut was a woman of society in the best sense. She had love of companionship, native wit, an acute mind, knowledge of books, and a searching insight into the motives of men and women. She was also a notable housewife, much given to hospitality; and her heart was of the warmest and tenderest, as those who knew her well bore witness. . . .

[4]Library of Congress, "Tubman During the Civil War," *America's Story from America's Library* <http://www.americaslibrary.gov/aa/tubman/aa_tubman_spy_1.html> (15 September 2010).

> Mrs. Chesnut was a conspicuous example of the well-born and high-bred woman, who, with active sympathy and unremitting courage, supported the Southern cause. Born and reared when Nullification was in the ascendant, and acquiring an education which developed and refined her natural literary gifts, she found in the throes of a great conflict at arms the impulse which wrought into vital expression in words her steadfast loyalty to the waning fortunes of a political faith, which, in South Carolina, had become a religion. . . .[5]

6. Nurses

Clara Barton established an agency to obtain and distribute supplies to wounded soldiers. In July 1862, she obtained permission to travel behind the lines, eventually reaching some of the worst battlefields of the war. She worked as a nurse during the sieges of Petersburg and Richmond. Barton delivered aid to soldiers of both the North and South. The following is an excerpt from a letter to her cousin Vira, December 12, 1862:

> It is the night before a battle. The enemy, Fredericksburg, and its mighty entrenchments lie before us, the river between—at tomorrow's dawn our troops will assay to cross, and the guns of the enemy will sweep those frail bridges at every breath.
>
> The moon is shining through the soft haze with a brightness almost prophetic. For the last half hour I have stood alone in the awful stillness of its glimmering light gazing upon the strange sad scene around me striving to say, "Thy will Oh God be done."
>
> The camp fires blaze with unwanted brightness, the sentry's tread is still but quick—the acres of little shelter tents are dark and still as death, no wonder for us as I gazed sorrowfully upon them. I thought I could almost hear the slow flap of the grim messenger's wings, as one by one he sought and selected his victims for the morning. Sleep weary one, sleep and rest for tomorrow toil. Oh! Sleep and visit in dreams once more the loved ones nestling at home. They may yet live to dream of you, cold lifeless and bloody, but this dream soldier is thy last, paint it brightly, dream it well. Oh northern mothers wives and sisters, all unconscious of the hour, would to Heaven that I could bear for you the concentrated woe which is so soon to follow, would that Christ would teach my soul a prayer that would plead to the Father for grace sufficient for you, God pity and strengthen you every one.
>
> Mine are not the only waking hours, the light yet burns brightly in our kind hearted General's tent where he pens what may be a last farewell to his wife and children and thinks sadly of his fated men.[6]

7. Soldiers

Some women—approximately four hundred—pretended to be men and enlisted in the army during the Civil War. DeAnne Blanton explains:

> It is an accepted convention that the Civil War was a man's fight. Images of women during that conflict center on self-sacrificing nurses, romantic spies, or brave ladies maintaining the home front in the absence of their men. The men, of course, marched off to war, lived in germ-ridden camps, engaged in heinous battle, languished in appalling prison camps, and died horribly, yet heroically. This conventional picture of gender roles during the Civil War does not tell the entire story. . . .
>
> Both the Union and Confederate armies forbade the enlistment of women. Women soldiers of the Civil War therefore assumed masculine names, disguised themselves as men, and hid the fact they were female. Because they passed as men, it is impossible to know with any certainty how

[5]Mary Boykin Miller Chestnut, *A Diary from Dixie*, ed. Isabella D. Martin and Myrta Lockett Avary (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1905), xiii–xxii.
[6]"Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania National Military Park: Clara Barton at Chatham," *National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior*, <http://www.nps.gov/frsp/barton.htm> (15 September 2010).

many women soldiers served in the Civil War. Estimates place as many as 250 women in the ranks of the Confederate army. . . .

The existence of soldier-women was no secret during or after the Civil War. The reading public, at least, was well aware that these women rejected Victorian social constraints confining them to the domestic sphere. Their motives were open to speculation, perhaps, but not their actions, as numerous newspaper stories and obituaries of women soldiers testified.

Most of the articles provided few specific details about the individual woman's army career. For example, the obituary of Satronia Smith Hunt merely stated she enlisted in an Iowa regiment with her first husband. He died of battle wounds, but she apparently emerged from the war unscathed. An 1896 story about Mary Stevens Jenkins, who died in 1881, tells an equally brief tale. She enlisted in a Pennsylvania regiment when still a schoolgirl, remained in the army two years, received several wounds, and was discharged without anyone ever realizing she was female. The press seemed unconcerned about the women's actual military exploits. Rather, the fascination lay in the simple fact that they had been in the army. . . .[7]

8. Spies

Rose O'Neal Greenhow came from a wealthy and influential Maryland family; from 1861 until her accidental death in 1864, she worked to assist the Confederate side.

The following is an excerpt from a letter to Jefferson Davis, 16 July 1883:

The only thing to mark the journey was the excitement and anxiety manifested by all classes to hear the news from Richmond, and especially from Lee's army, and many a sigh of relief was uttered. When I spoke of his calm confident tone, I endeavored also to empress upon every one your conviction as to the necessity of reinforcing the army by the most rigorous means.

Just as I left Richmond news of the fall of Fort Hudson had been received which was confirmed by the intelligence of the wayside. On reaching Wilmington the situation of Charleston became the engrossing subject of conversation and of interest, which was not diminshed by the accounts received from time to time by passengers who got on the principle portion of whom were from Charleston or the vacinity. Doubt and anxiety as to the result was the general tone of the people, and occasionally severe animadversions upon the conduct of the military affairs, especially instancing the supineness, in the construction of the defenses. . . . And I now resume my letter, feeling that I can confidently state the result, and only wish that I could honestly make a more cheering exposition. The impression here that Charleston is in great danger is sustained by the opinion of the Military Authorities. I saw Genrl. Beauregard who came to call upon me, and had a very long conversation with him, and he is deeply impressed with the gravity of the position. . . . He sayed that they had built a tower of some 80 feet upon some hill, which completely overlooked Charleston and his position and thus so soon as they found that he had sent off a portion of his forces south they commenced re-inforcing believing him weaker than he even was—that if he had had the force in the first instance when they landed on Morris Island he could have prevented it. *Many say that he could have done it and should do so yet, even now that his loss will be heavy*. The skirmishing continues active on both sides. They enemys shells being principally directed to Fort Wagner—I am told just now by a *reliable party* that the enemy has commenced throwing up works in the middle of the Island and have commenced to dig and that Fort Wagner

[7]DeAnne Blanton, "Women Soldiers of the Civil War," *Prologue: Quarterly of the National Archives and Records Administration* (Spring 1993): 1–2, internal footnotes omitted.

is *greatly endangered thereby*. . . . I know you to be too wise to be unduly influenced by the best founded gossip, without more substantial grounds. But of one thing be assured that every body is wide awake just now—and no one ignorant of the danger to the Palmetto City. . . . The Yankee guns are of greatly improved range. Their guns larger and ther Iron Clads far more formidable than at first[.] Some of their shells pass over Fort Sumpter. The attack is evidently in earnest and made with more method and determination, and with greatly improved practice. . . . Gov. Bonham asked me if I thought that you would intrust the affairs of the Navy to Mallory at this crisis. I replied that it was my impression that you would, save in its minor details, intrust the affairs of no one of the departments to any head however able that you were too fully possessed of the responsibilities of your position to allow them to be desided by other than your own judgement, even tho your physical health was all unequal to such an amount of labor. He said you gave him great satisfaction—He is a wonderful man, but can he stand it? . . .[8]

[8]"Rose O'Neal Greenhow Papers: Letter to Jefferson Davis, July 16, 1863," *Special Collections Library, Duke University*, <http://scriptorium.lib.duke.edu/greenhow/1863-07-16/1863-07-16.html> (15 September 2010).

Abraham Lincoln: In His Own Words

Directions: Read the following excerpts carefully. Determine the historical context of each quotation, and write a short summary. Decide whether you agree, disagree, or have mixed opinions about the quotation. Be prepared to defend your position to the class.

Excerpt 1

From the First Inaugural Address of Abraham Lincoln (March 4, 1861)

Apprehension seems to exist among the people of the Southern States, that by the accession of a Republican Administration their property and their peace and personal security are to be endangered. There has never been any reasonable cause of such apprehension. Indeed, the most ample evidence to the contrary has all the while existed and been open to their inspection. It is found in nearly all the published speeches of him who now addresses you. I do but quote from one of those speeches when I declare that—

I have no purpose, directly or indirectly, to interfere with the institution of slavery in the States where it exists. I believe I have no lawful right to do so, and I have no inclination to do so.

Excerpt 2

From Lincoln's First Inaugural Address (March 4, 1861)

I hold, that in contemplation of universal law and of the Constitution the Union of these States is perpetual. Perpetuity is implied, if not expressed, in the fundamental law of all national governments. It is safe to assert that no government proper ever had a provision in its organic law for its own termination. Continue to execute all the express provisions of our National Constitution, and the Union will endure forever, it being impossible to destroy it except by some action not provided for in the instrument itself. . . .

It follows from these views that no State upon its own mere motion can lawfully get out of the Union; that resolves and ordinances to that effect are legally void, and that acts of violence within any State or States against the authority of the United States are insurrectionary or revolutionary, according to circumstances.

Excerpt 3

From Lincoln's First Inaugural Address (March 4, 1861)

I do not forget the position assumed by some that constitutional questions are to be decided by the Supreme Court, nor do I deny that such decisions must be binding in any case upon the parties to a suit as to the object of that suit, while they are also entitled to very high respect and consideration in all parallel cases by all other departments of the Government. And while it is obviously possible that such decision may be erroneous in any given case, still the evil effect following it, being limited to that particular case, with the chance that is may be overruled, and never become a precedent for other cases, can better be borne than could the evils of a different practice. At the same time, the candid citizen must confess that if the policy of the Government upon vital questions affecting the whole people is to be irrevocably fixed by decisions of the Supreme Court, the instant they are made in ordinary litigation between parties in personal actions the people will have ceased to be their own rulers, having to that extent practically resigned their Government into the hands of that eminent tribunal. Nor is there in this view any assault upon the court or the judges. It is a duty from which they may not shrink to decide cases properly brought before them, and it is no fault of theirs if others seek to turn their decisions to political purposes.

Excerpt 4

From the Proclamation of Blockade (April 19, 1861)

Whereas an insurrection against the Government of the United States has broken out in the States of South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Florida, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Texas, and the laws of the United States for the collection of the revenue cannot be effectually executed therein conformably to that provision of the Constitution which requires duties to be uniform throughout the United States: and

Whereas a combination of persons engaged in such insurrection have threatened to grant pretended letters of marque to authorize the bearers thereof to commit assaults on the lives, vessels, and property of good citizens of the country lawfully engaged in commerce on the high seas and in waters of the United States . . . : I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, . . . deemed it advisable to set on foot a blockade of the ports within the States aforesaid, in pursuance of the laws of the United States and of the law of nations in such case provided. For this purpose a competent force will be posted so as to prevent entrance and exit of vessels from the ports aforesaid. If, therefore, with a view to violate such blockade, a vessel shall approach or shall attempt to leave either of the said ports, . . . she will be captured and sent to the nearest convenient port for such proceedings against her and her cargo as prize as may be deemed advisable.

Excerpt 5

Reply to Chicago Emancipation Memorial, Washington, D.C. (September 13, 1862)

[On the Emancipation Proclamation,] I raise no objections against it on legal or constitutional grounds; for, as commander-in-chief of the army and navy, in time of war, I suppose I have a right to take any measure which may best subdue the enemy.

Excerpt 6

Letter to Erastus Corning and Others (June 12, 1863)

Ours is a case of Rebellion—so called by the resolutions before me—in fact, a clear, flagrant, and gigantic case of Rebellion; and the provision of the constitution that "The privilege of the writ of Habeas Corpus shall not be suspended, unless when in cases of Rebellion or Invasion, the public Safety may require it" is *the* provision which specially applies to our present case. This provision plainly attests the understanding of those who made the constitution that ordinary courts of justice are inadequate to "cases of Rebellion"—attests their purpose that in such cases, men may be held in custody whom the courts acting on ordinary rules, would discharge.

Excerpt 7

From a Speech on Reconstruction, Washington, D.C. (April 11, 1865)

We all agree that the seceded States, so called, are out of their proper practical relation with the Union; and that the sole object of the government, civil and military, in regard to those States is to again get them into that proper practical relation. I believe it is not only possible, but in fact, easier, to do this, without deciding, or even considering, whether these states have even been out of the Union, than with it. . . . Let us all join in doing the acts necessary to restoring the proper practical relations between these states and the Union; and each forever after, innocently indulge his own opinion whether, in doing the acts, he brought the States from without, into the Union, or only gave them proper assistance, they never having been out of it.

Assessment of Lincoln as President: The Silent Debate

Directions: Read the prompt carefully, and take one minute to respond. Then pass your paper to another student, who will have one minute to respond to your initial response. Continue trading papers until all the spaces are filled.

Prompt

Abraham Lincoln was the best president the United States has ever had and should be ranked number one in all presidential polls.

Initial Response

_____

_____

Second Response

Yes, but . . . _____

_____

Third Response

Yes, but . . . _____

_____

Fourth Response

Yes, but . . . _____

_____

Fifth Response

Yes, but . . . _____

_____

The Emancipation Proclamation and Its Meaning

Part A.
Directions: Carefully read the Emancipation Proclamation, and answer the following questions.

1. Based on this proclamation, which people became free?

2. How would these persons become free?

3. Why does the document not free slaves living in the Union?

4. Does the wording surprise you? Why or why not?

Part B.
Directions: Play a specific role as you discuss the following questions. Think about your identity and make him or her come to life (for example: name, age, specific occupation, memories, dreams, and aspirations).

Roles
1. Female house slave/servant in Virginia
2. Male house slave/servant in South Carolina
3. Female cotton picker in South Carolina
4. Male house slave/servant in Kentucky
5. Male cotton picker in Georgia
6. Female cotton picker in Louisiana
7. Escaped slave, formerly from Virginia, now living in Kansas
8. Escaped slave, formerly from Georgia, now living in Massachusetts
9. Born free African American in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
10. Republican politician from Illinois, working for President Lincoln
11. Assistant to Senator Sumner from Massachusetts
12. Assistant editor of the *Liberator* newspaper
13. Assistant editor of the *North Star* newspaper
14. Quaker, member of the Underground Railroad in Washington, D.C.

Questions
1. What does the Emancipation Proclamation mean to you?
2. What will you now do, if anything?
3. What does the declaration mean for the future of the war?

Statistics Concerning the Union and Confederacy in 1865

Directions: Review the following data, and answer the questions.

In 1865	Union	Confederacy
Population	22,000,000	9,000,000; one-third were slaves
Number of Soldiers	2,000,000 (50% of draft-age men)	1,000,000 (85% of draft-age white men)
Casualties	360,000 (110,100 in battle, rest disease or accidents)	258,000 (94,000 in battle and 164,000 from disease)
Wounded Soldiers	275,515	200,000
Costs	<30% of wealth	60% + of its wealth, 40% livestock; destroyed most railroads, bridges, industry
Average Worker's Salary in Late 1865	$2.80–3.00 per day	$1.50–3.00 per day
Army Private Soldier's Salary	$16 per month*	$20 per month

*Two dollars were withheld each month until the end of the soldier's term of enlistment; 12.5 cents were deducted each month to support a home for old or wounded soldiers.

Sources: Michael Varhola, *Everyday Life During the Civil War: A Guide for Writers, Students, and Historians* (Cincinnati: Writer's Digest Books, 1999), 6–7, 87, and Gary W. Gallagher, *The Confederate War* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997), 28–30.

1. Look at the statistics of the Union and the Confederacy in the table, and explain in what ways each side was affected by the war.

2. What other information would you need to know to answer item 1 thoughtfully?

3. Imagine that you were a soldier. What challenges would you have experienced fighting for either side?

4. Imagine you were a civilian during the war. What challenges would you have experienced on either side?

Name:

A Close Look at the Civil War

Part A.
Directions: Create a map of the United States, and then locate and label the following items.

The Union and the Confederacy

- The twenty-three states that were part of the Union in 1861
- The four border states within the Union
- The eleven states of the Confederacy in 1861
- West Virginia joined the Union in 1863
- The capital of the Union: Washington, D.C.
- The capital of the Confederacy: Richmond, Virginia

Key Battles

- Fort Sumter, Charleston, South Carolina
- Manassas Junction, near Washington, D.C./First Battle of Bull Run
- Shiloh, Mississippi
- New Orleans, Louisiana
- Yorktown and Seven Pines, Virginia
- Antietam, Maryland
- Fredericksburg, Virginia
- Chancellorsville, Virginia
- Gettysburg, Pennsylvania
- Vicksburg, Mississippi
- Atlanta, Georgia
- Appomattox, Virginia

Part B.
Directions: Use the map you created in part A to help you answer the following questions.

1. What were the Confederate strategies?

2. What were the Union strategies?

3. Why were battles fought where they were?

4. What geographic advantages did the Union have?

Presidential and Congressional Reconstruction Plans

Directions: Research one of the following plans of Reconstruction. Use your textbook, the Internet, and other resources to identify the key elements of the plan. Be prepared to share your work with the class, and take notes as other students present information.

Element	Abraham Lincoln	Wade-Davis Bill
1. Year of plan		
2. Attitude toward war and Reconstruction		
3. Provisions of plan		
4. Opposition to plan		
5. Successes and failures of plan		

 Name:

Element	Andrew Johnson	Military Reconstruction
1. Year of plan		
2. Attitude toward war and Reconstruction		
3. Provisions of plan		
4. Opposition to plan		
5. Successes and failures of plan		

Resistance to Reconstruction

Directions: Use your textbook, the Internet, and other resources to complete the following chart concerning events that occurred during the Reconstruction of the former Confederate states.

Event	Date	Nature of Event	Results
1. Passage of Black Codes (apprentice laws, contract laws, and vagrancy laws)			
2. Founding of the Ku Klux Klan			
3. Force Acts			
4. Election of 1872			
5. Colfax Massacre			

Event	Date	Nature of Event	Results
6. Founding of the White League			
7. Coushatta Massacre			
8. Mississippi Plan			
9. *United States v. Cruikshank*			
10. Civil Rights Act of 1875			
11. Election of 1876			

Part 3

Urbanization, Industrialization, and Reform, 1876–1900

The period between the end of the Civil War and the end of the nineteenth century was marked by the growth of America's industries, the growth of political parties, and the closing of the frontier. Immigrants from European nations crossed the Atlantic in search of a better life and provided a ready-made work force. Coal, steel, and manufacturing moved America from an agricultural nation to an industrial one. Immigrants settled in the lush farmlands of the Great Plains and closed the gap between the eastern United States and the coastal west. Corruption at the highest levels of government encouraged the development of a philosophy of change, and the Populists and Progressives came to dominate political movements in America. New philosophies of social reform such as Social Darwinism and the Social Gospel took aim at the need for social change and justice.

At the end of Reconstruction, some individuals propagated the idea that the Southern economy was changing and embracing advancements in technology and industrialization; however, the South was still laboring under a heavy agricultural economy that was subservient to Northern business interests. As Reconstruction ended in 1877, Redeemer governments took the place of federal troops and erected barriers to racial equality which would be in place for many years to come.

In the late nineteenth century, a group of men—Andrew Carnegie, John D. Rockefeller, Cornelius Vanderbilt, George Westinghouse, George Pullman, and others—began to amass large amounts of wealth by changing the nature of American capitalism. They discarded the earlier idea of laissez-faire capitalism and developed monopolistic capitalism to meet their own economic interests, as well as their perception of society's needs. These men argued that such a change was appropriate for the United States as a whole and would meet the needs of workers and consumers alike.

The Agricultural Revolution of the nineteenth century permanently altered the lives and outlook of farmers. Costly farm equipment forced them to specialize and commercialize their operations; they found themselves increasingly at the mercy of forces they could neither understand nor control. Railroads, bankers, middlemen, monopolists, and government officials all appeared to conspire against farmers. Farmers tried various measures to counteract and cope with their changed circumstances. Out of these efforts came the Populist movement. Organizations like the Grange

and the Farmer's Alliance, and movements like the Greenback Party, sought to prod state legislatures to regulate railroads, grain elevators, and warehouses. Some progress was made, but reversals in federal court cost farmers most of their gains and did little to assuage continuing unrest in rural America.

From the first term of Ulysses S. Grant to the term of William McKinley, America prospered and failed by equal measure during what has come to be called the Gilded Age. Corruption in political and business dealings was commonplace, and economic rise and fall composed business as usual. This era included bank failures, massive labor disputes, political corruption, underhanded business dealings, and controversy over U.S. currency. The Northern economy boomed after the Civil War, while the agricultural economy of the South was destroyed. In the North and West, railroad and factory construction raced to conclusion to move goods and materials across the country. Banks became overextended to support this economic boom; when foreign markets collapsed in the early 1870s, economic panic struck the country and led to a halt in construction, the cutting of wages, a drop in real estate values, and vanishing corporate profits. Coupled with labor disputes by workers drawn to union movements which were springing up across the country, this panic caused widespread economic damage.

During the nineteenth century, the United States changed dramatically. By the 1880s, its major businesses competed industrially with its two greatest European rivals: Great Britain and Germany. The landscape of American life changed from a nation of small towns to one with large metropolises where people from different backgrounds interacted with one another. Despite the rhetoric of a free society and one based on hard work for individual success, U.S. cities were as class-ridden as those of Europe and perhaps more segregated. This is apparent in terms of occupation structure, as well as in housing and amenities. Given the need for workers and resources, it should be of little surprise that the growth of cities coincided with the expansion of industrialization.

The election of 1896 in many ways was a defining moment in the history of the United States. It was the first election in which a candidate who appealed primarily to the agrarian sectors of the country could not muster enough votes to be elected to office. The election pitted two powerful political figures. The Republican candidate, William McKinley from Ohio, strongly supported protective tariffs. The Democratic candidate, William Jennings Bryan, a Populist from Illinois and later Nebraska, opposed protective tariffs and militantly supported free silver.

A speech was delivered at the 1893 World Columbian Exposition in Chicago by an obscure historian named Frederick Jackson Turner. Within fifteen years, Turner's thesis on the closing of the American frontier catapulted him to a position as an eminent American historian and eventually to the presidency of the American Historical Association. His thesis exerted a tremendous amount of influence on historical research. The thesis

is simple: America has been changed and transformed by westward expansion beginning with colonial settlement. Early settlers came to America as Europeans, but environmental conditions forced them to adapt and change their way of life to survive in the wilderness. Slowly, Americans began to develop a completely different culture and, over a relatively short period of time, shaped a distinctly American society. When the frontier was declared closed after the 1890 census, many historians believed that America would continue to evolve and become an international and imperialistic power.

Just as transcendentalism influenced American intellectual thought in the early and mid-nineteenth century, pragmatism, another uniquely American school of intellectual thought, influenced it at the end of the century. Pragmatism corresponded with the literary and artistic movement of realism and is usually associated with the social and political movement of Progressivism. Pragmatists argued for individualism free from philosophical constraints. The main point of pragmatism was to understand ideas by testing both theoretical and practical consequences. An idea was defined by John Dewey, one of the leading pragmatists, as a plan of action relative to the solution for a given problem. Pragmatism provided industrial America with a rationale that seemed to give citizens a means of developing a new morality more capable of dealing with problems than older theological agrarian philosophies.

Toward the end of the nineteenth century, the American individualism supported by the pragmatists took on a new form. The country saw the rise of urban centers and the emergence of the monopoly as an industrial and economic function. These changes, along with new scientific discoveries and theories, led to the formation of new social movements known as Social Darwinism, the Gospel of Wealth, and the Social Gospel. Loosely based on the writings of Charles Darwin, but heavily influenced by the writings of Herbert Spencer, Social Darwinism provided a rationale suitable to the needs of an industrial age and was grounded in scientific theory. According to Spencer, humans could not progress unless society did not impede the deterministic impact of evolution. People could progress and advance in American society if they were willing to work and had the necessary abilities. Industrialist and philanthropist Andrew Carnegie promoted the idea of a Gospel of Wealth. Carnegie's philosophy championed the sanctity of private property; at the same time, he believed that the wealthy have an ethical responsibility to see that their fortunes are used to benefit the public welfare. The idea of the Social Gospel was developed by Walter Rauschenbusch, a Baptist minister who believed that the principles of Christianity should be applied to society.

While American society was transforming itself, its artists and writers focused their work on the industrialization and resulting urbanization of America. Works of realism came to dominate American literature and artistic expression during the second half of the nineteenth century. Writers were churning out novels and short stories depicting the realities of life.

Many artists concentrated on depicting city life. Soon, writers and authors abandoned the idealized and romanticized views of earlier generations and began to try to improve humanity's lot by showing how the horrors of city life affected the urban poor.

Henry Grady and the New South

Directions: Read the following information about Henry Grady and the excerpt from his speech. Determine the three main themes of Grady's speech.

A graduate of the University of Georgia, Henry Grady showed talent as a writer at an early age and decided to pursue a career in journalism. In 1874, Grady became a part owner and the managing editor of the *Atlanta Constitution*. He used the newspaper as a platform for his political views and those of the Atlanta Ring, a loosely connected group of proindustry Democrats. Grady advocated industrial development and diversified agriculture as a way to solve the social and economic problems that confronted the South after the Civil War. Grady's stand was not popular with farmers, who believed that he was oppressing agriculture and refused to follow his advice to plant crops other than cotton in order to produce additional revenue and higher cotton prices. Grady also tried to promote an image of racial harmony in the South, which was at odds with the reality of black disenfranchisement and exploitation.

Speech to the New England Club in New York (1886)

We have established thrift in city and country. We have fallen in love with work. We have restored comfort to homes from which culture and elegance never departed. We have let economy take root and spread among us as rank as the crabgrass which sprung from Sherman's cavalry camps, until we are ready to lay odds on the Georgia Yankee as he manufactures relics of the battlefield in a one-story shanty and squeezes pure olive oil out of his cotton seed, against any down-easter that ever swapped wooden nutmegs for flannel sausage in the valleys of Vermont. . . .

But what of the negro? Have we solved the problem he presents or progressed in honor and equity toward solution? Let the record speak to the point. No section shows a more prosperous laboring population than the negroes of the South, none in fuller sympathy with the employing and land-owning class. He shares our school fund, has the fullest protection of our laws and the friendship of our people. Self-interest, as well as honor, demand that he should have this. Our future, our very existence depend upon our working out this problem in full and exact justice. . . .

. . . The relations of the southern people with the negro are close and cordial. . . . Ruffians have maltreated him, rascals have misled him, philanthropists established a bank for him, but the South, with the North, protests against injustice to this simple and sincere people. To liberty and enfranchisement is as far as law can carry the negro. The rest must be left to conscience and common sense. . . .

. . . The South found her jewel in the toad's head of defeat. The shackles that had held her in narrow limitations fell forever when the shackles of the negro slave were broken. Under the old regime the negroes were slaves to the South; the South was a slave to the system. The old plantation, with its simple police regulations and feudal habit, was the only type possible under slavery. Thus was gathered in the hands of a splendid and chivalrous oligarchy the substance that should have been diffused among the people, as the rich blood, under certain artificial conditions, is gathered at the heart, filling that with affluent rapture but leaving the body chill and colorless.

The old South rested everything on slavery and agriculture, unconscious that these could neither give nor maintain healthy growth. The new South presents a perfect democracy, the oligarchs leading in the popular movement—a social system compact and closely knitted, less splendid on

the surface, but stronger at the core—a hundred farms for every plantation, fifty homes for every palace—and a diversified industry that meets the complex need of this complex age.

The new South is enamored of her new work. Her soul is stirred with the breath of new life. The light of a grander day is falling fair on her face. She is thrilling with the consciousness of growing power and prosperity. As she stands upright, full-statured and equal among the people of the earth, breathing the keen air and looking out upon the expanded horizon, she understands that her emancipation came because through the inscrutable wisdom of God her honest purpose was crossed, and her brave armies were beaten.

Name:

Business Terms

Directions: Use your textbook, the Internet, and other resources to define the following terms, and identify at least one problem that may have developed in the past as a result of each.

1. Classical liberalism

2. Rugged individualism

3. Cartel

4. Merger

5. Vertical integration

6. Horizontal integration

7. Monopoly

Name:

Monopolies: A Sampling of Opinions

Part A.

Directions: Read the documents, and summarize their major points in your own words. Determine what business or labor problems these entrepreneurs might have faced because of their opinion about monopolies.

Document 1

Excerpt from Andrew Carnegie

This, then, is held to be the duty of the man of wealth: To set an example of modest, unostentatious living, shunning display or extravagance; to provide moderately for the legitimate wants of those dependent upon him; and, after doing so, to consider all surplus revenues which come to him simply as trust funds, which he is called upon to administer, and strictly bound as a matter of duty to administer in the manner which, in his judgment, is best calculated to produce the most beneficial result for the community—the man of wealth thus becoming the mere trustee and agent for his poorer brethren, bringing to their service his superior wisdom, experience, and ability to administer, doing for them better than they would or could do for themselves.[1]

Document 2

Excerpt from John D. Rockefeller

It is too late to argue about advantages of industrial combinations. They are a necessity. And if Americans are to have the privilege of extending their business in all the States of the Union, and into foreign countries as well, they are a necessity on a large scale, and require the agency of more than one corporation. Their chief advantages are: (1) command of necessary capital; (2) extension of limits of business; (3) increase of number of persons interested in the business; (4) economy in the business; (5) improvements and economies which are derived from knowledge of many interested persons of wide experience; (6) power to give the public improved products at less prices and still make a profit for stockholders; (7) permanent work and good wages for laborers.[2]

Document 3

Excerpt from George Pullman

It was not the intention to sell workmen homes in Pullman, but to so limit the area of the town that they could buy homes, at convenient distances from the works, if they chose to do so. If any lots had been sold in Pullman it would have permitted the introduction of the very baneful elements which it was the chief purpose to exclude from the immediate neighborhood or the shops and from the homes to be erected about them.

The plan was to provide homes in the first place for all people who should desire to work in the shops, at reasonable rentals, with the expectation that as they became able, and should desire to do so, they would purchase lots and erect homes for themselves within convenient distances, or avail themselves of the opportunity to rent homes from other people who should build in that vicinity. As a matter of fact, at the time of the strike, 563 of the shop employees owned their homes, and 461 of that number are now employed in the shops; 560 others at the time of the strike lived

[1]Andrew Carnegie, "The Gospel of Wealth," in *The Gospel of Wealth and Other Timely Essays* (New York: The Century Co., 1901), 15.
[2]U.S. Industrial Commission, *Preliminary Report on Trusts and Industrial Combinations* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1900), 796.

outside, and in addition an estimated number of from 200 to 300 others employed at Pullman were owners of their homes. The company neither planned nor could it exercise any municipal powers in Pullman. It was in fact within the boundaries of what was legally called the village of Hyde Park; was several miles distant from the actual village as settled at that time. The people lived there first under the ordinances of the village of Hyde Park, and now live under the ordinances of the city of Chicago, and not at any time under the regulations of the company. The relations of those employed in the shops are, as to the shops, the relations of employees to employer, and as to those of them and others living in the homes, the relations are simply and only the relations of tenant to landlord. The company has not now and never has had any interest whatever in the business of any of the stores or shops in the town; they are rented to and managed by outside parties, free of any control by the company. The people living in the town are entirely free to buy where they choose, and as a matter of fact the large disbursements in wages at Pullman, amounting to an average of $2,360,000 a year from September, 1880, to July, 1894, has created a great competition for the trade of Pullman in the small surrounding towns, as well as in Chicago, the natural result of which would be to bring the prices of all merchandise down to a minimum.[3]

Document 4

Excerpt about George Westinghouse

In 1866 he perfected two inventions—a device for replacing derailed cars upon the track and a reversible steel railroad frog. His attempt to make steel castings brought him to Pittsburgh where he arranged with a steel firm to manufacture the articles while he sold them. He conceived the idea for the air brake before his arrival in Pittsburgh, and received hist first air-brake patent on April 13, 1869. Westinghouse Air Brake Co. was organized the following July. He next invented an automatic telephone exchange system in 1877 though his patents expired before they were accepted. Westinghouse engaged William Stanley to assist him in electrical development in 1885 and organized the Westinghouse Electric Co. the next year after purchasing the Gaulard and Gibbs transformer patents for the distribution of electricity by alternating currents and began the manufacture of electric lighting apparatus.

After a decade of bitter controversy, the alternating current system was adopted and in that period, Westinghouse purchased and developed the inventions of Nicola Tesla that made practicable the use of alternating current to drive electric motors. He built the generators to supply the Chicago World's Fair and then furnished the first ten generators to the Niagara Falls Power Company for transmitting Niagara Falls power. . . .[4]

[3]*The Strike at Pullman: Statements of President Geo. M. Pullman and Second Vice-President T. H. Wickes before the U.S. Strike Commission* (n.p., 1894), 2–3.

[4]"George Westinghouse 1846–1914," *Carnegie Library of Pittsburgh,* <http://www.carnegielibrary.org/research/pittsburgh/patentees/westing.html> (15 September 2010).

Document 5

Excerpt about Cornelius Vanderbilt

In the 1860s he became aware that the big growth in the future for the transportation industry was not by way of water but by way of rail. So he became interested in railroad transportation, which was then still in its infancy. But instead of building new railroads, he took the easier route of buying existing railroads. He acquired the Long Island Railroad followed by the New York and Harlem Railroad and the Hudson River Railroad. In 1867 he also acquired the Central Railroad and merged it with the other railroads he already owned. As he had done with his shipping ventures, he focused on improving service and on upgrading capital equipment while maintaining low fares. He eventually merged all his initial acquisitions into what became known as the New York Central Railroad. It is estimated that he made $25 million in the first five years from his railroad ventures.[5]

Document 6

Excerpt about Jay Gould

In an age of scandal and corruption, Jay Gould was regarded as a master of bribery and insider stock manipulation. He paid off President Grant's brother-in-law to learn the president's intentions about government gold sales; he bribed members of New York's legislature; and he tried to corner the gold market. But Gould was much more than a robber baron. At a time when the rules of modern American business were just being written, he was one of the architects of a consolidated national railroad and communication system. One of his major achievements was to lead Western Union to a place of dominance in the telegraph industry. [6]

Part B.

Directions: Use the excerpts in part A to answer this question: In what ways was the development of monopolies in the late nineteenth century beneficial to the U.S. economy, and in what ways was it harmful? Structure your essay around the documents, and focus on developing main ideas. Be sure to assess the authors' biases, audiences, and purposes.

[5]"Vanderbilt, Cornelius [1794–1877]," *The New Netherland Institute*, <http://www.nnp.org/nni/Publications/Dutch-American/vanderbiltc.html> (15 September 2010).

[6]"The Rise of Big Business: Jay Gould," *Digital History*, <http://www.digitalhistory.uh.edu/database/article_display.cfm?HHID=203> (15 September 2010).

 Name:

Populism: History and Impact

Directions: Answer the following questions.

1. In which presidential campaign did the Populists first appear?

2. What groups made up the Populist movement?

3. In what sections of the country did the Populists gain their greatest support?

4. List ten political and economic reforms the Populists proposed in their platform.

5. To what extent did Populists continue to focus on grievances of earlier movements?

6. What percent of the total popular vote in 1892 did each party gain?
   a. Republicans

   b. Democrats

   c. Populists

Name:

7. How do these percentages explain why the Democrats adopted several Populist planks and nominated the Populist candidate as their own nominee in 1896?

8. How did William Jennings Bryan's "Cross of Gold" speech prove to be both a strength and a weakness of the Populists?

9. How did Republicans try to project a universal appeal in their 1896 platform?

10. What role might each of the following have played in the outcome of the election of 1896?
    a. Panic of 1893

    b. Republican party's $16 million campaign fund compared to $1 million available to Democrats

    c. Some factory owners paid off their workers on Election Day and told them not to return to work on Wednesday if Bryan won; others threatened to pay their workers in fifty-cent pieces instead of dollars if Bryan won.

Name:

The Populist Party of the 1890s

Part A.

Directions: Study the cartoon, and answer the questions.

A Party of Patches

Fig. 23.1.

1. Why did these groups come together in a single party?

2. How does the cartoon explain weaknesses of the Populist coalition?

3. Why would a party with numerous issues agree to focus on the single issue of inflation?

4. Why did the anticipated victory of Bryan never materialize?

5. Why did conditions of the farmers improve in the years after 1896 despite William Jennings Bryan's loss in the election?

6. What Populist proposals later found their way into the mainstream of American political thought?

Fig. 23.1. Bernhard Gillam, "A Party of Patches," *Judge,* June 6, 1891. The Granger Collection, New York.

Part B.

Directions: Read the following passages, and answer the questions.

From *The Age of Reform: From Bryan to F. D. R.*

Populism was the first modern political movement of practical importance in the United States to insist that the federal government has some responsibility for the common weal; indeed, it was the first such movement to attack seriously the problems created by industrialism. The complaints and demands and prophetic denunciations of the Populists stirred the latent liberalism in many Americans and startled many conservatives into new flexibility. Most of the "radical" reforms in the Populist program proved in later years to be either harmless or useful. . . .

. . . [W]e may enumerate the dominant themes in Populist ideology as these: the idea of a golden age; the concept of natural harmonies; the dualistic version of social struggles; the conspiracy theory of history; and the doctrine of the primary of money. . . .

. . . [Populists] would like to restore the conditions prevailing before the development of industrialism and the commercialization of agriculture.[1]

From *The Populist Mind*

. . . Populism was indeed a response to the times, but it was also something more: It was an attempt to transcend those times and, in the act of transcending the existing social context, to pose an alternative conception for the development of America.

. . . Thus, Populists contended, government must be a responsive tool, one which can actively intervene in the economy to regulate matters affecting the public interest, and when necessary own outright monopolies of this character, and can just as actively aid the underprivileged and work for a more equitable distribution of wealth.[2]

1. How do the interpretations of the Populists characterize the movement differently?

2. To what extent does each interpretation have merit?

3. What conclusions can you draw from this lesson on the role of third political parties in American politics?

[1]Richard Hofstadter, *The Age of Reform: From Bryan to F. D. R.* (New York: Vintage, 1955), 61–62.
[2]Norman Pollack, *The Populist Mind* (New York: Bobbs-Merrill, 1967), xxx, xliv.

Name:

A Gilded, Not Golden Age

Part A.

Directions: Use your textbook, the Internet, and other resources to complete the following chart. List at least three experiences or accomplishments of each president, and be prepared to rank the presidents from strongest to weakest.

President	Term in Office	Political Party	Experiences or Accomplishments	Weak or Strong?
Ulysses S. Grant				
Rutherford B. Hayes				

 Name:

President	Term in Office	Political Party	Experiences or Accomplishments	Weak or Strong?
James A. Garfield				
Chester A. Arthur				
Grover Cleveland				

Name:

President	Term in Office	Political Party	Experiences or Accomplishments	Weak or Strong?
Benjamin Harrison				
William McKinley				

Name:

Part B.

Directions: Use your textbook, the Internet, and other resources to match each president with the correct quotation below.

_____ 1. "I have made it a rule of my life to trust a man long after other people gave him up, but I don't see how I can ever trust any human being again."

_____ 2. "Men may die, but the fabrics of free institutions remain unshaken."

_____ 3. "War should never be entered upon until every agency of peace has failed."

_____ 4. "Sensible and responsible women do not want to vote."

_____ 5. "We Americans have no commission from God to police the world."

_____ 6. "The civil service can never be placed on a satisfactory basis until it is regulated by law."

_____ 7. "It is the desire of the good people of the whole country that sectionalism as a factor in our politics should disappear."

a. Chester A. Arthur
b. Grover Cleveland
c. James A. Garfield
d. Ulysses S. Grant
e. Benjamin Harrison
f. Rutherford B. Hayes
g. William McKinley

Name:

Statistical Data on City Life

Directions: Study the two tables and the description of city life, and answer the questions that follow.

Document 1

Population of Largest Cities in 1860 and 1910

City	1860	1910
New York, New York	813,600	4,766,883
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania	565,529	1,549,008
Brooklyn, New York	266,660	(now a part of New York City)
Baltimore, Maryland	212,418	558,485
Boston, Massachusetts	177,840	670,535
New Orleans, Louisiana	168,675	339,075
Cincinnati, Ohio	161,044	363,591
St. Louis, Missouri	160,773	687,029
Chicago, Illinois	109,260	2,185,283
Buffalo, New York	81,310	423,715
Newark, New Jersey	71,940	347,469
Washington, D.C.	61,122	331,069
San Francisco, California	56,802	416,912
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania	49,221	533,905
Detroit, Michigan	45,619	465,766
Milwaukee, Wisconsin	45,246	373,857
Cleveland, Ohio	43,417	560,663
Total Urban Population	6,217,000	54,300,000

Table 25.1.

Document 2

Percentages of City Dwellers as Compared to the Entire Population

A city is defined as a place where 2,500 or more people lived.

Year	Percentage
1860	19.8
1870	25.7
1880	28.2
1890	35.1
1900	39.7
1910	45.7

Table 25.2.

Table 25.1. Source: U. S. Censuses of 1850, 1860, and 1910.
Table 25.2. Source: Charles N. Glaab, *The American City: A Documentary History* (Homewood, Ill.: Dorsey Press, Inc., 1963), 173.

Document 3

Discussion of Urban Life

But the crowding had only begun to approach its limits. New York property owners met housing pressure from immigration in the 1860s and 1870s by razing old houses and replacing them with four- and six-story tenements. These buildings were usually 80 feet long and contained four apartments to a floor. Each building could hold a minimum of 16 to 24 families. Usually, however, tenants shared an apartment or sublet rooms, so a single building would often contain nearly 150 people. A 200-by-1,000-foot block filled with these buildings might contain 2,500 families. The population density of such neighborhoods was rarely equaled in even the most crowded European cities. Inside the structures living conditions were abominable. Rooms were miniscule, some barely 8 feet wide. Only those few rooms facing the front or rear had direct light and ventilation. Indoor plumbing was almost nonexistent; privies were located in cellars or along the alleys. There were no kitchens, and a wood-burning stove was the only source of heat.[1]

1. What reasons could explain the number and the expansion of large cities?

2. What reasons could explain the geographical distribution of large cities in the United States?

3. What reasons could explain the decline of nonurban dwellers in this period?

4. What reasons could explain the crowded conditions for most urban residents?

5. If conditions were as poor as described and the cities as crowded as the numbers show, why did more and more people settle there?

[1]Howard P. Chudacoff and Judith E. Smith, *The Evolution of American Urban Society Sixth Edition* (Upper Saddle River, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 2005), 128.

 Name:

Party Platforms in 1896

Directions: Research the platforms of Republicans and Democrats during the election campaigns of William McKinley and William Jennings Bryan, and complete the chart. Be prepared to present your conclusions to the class.

Topic	Republicans	Democrats
1. Monetary policy		
2. Tariffs/taxes		
3. Immigration		
4. Trusts/ monopolies		

 Name:

Topic	Republicans	Democrats
5. Territories/ statehood		
6. Civil service reform		
7. Foreign policy		
8. Other		

 Name:

Turner's American Frontier

Directions: Locate a copy of "The Significance of the Frontier in American history" by Frederick Jackson Turner. Read it, and answer the following questions.

1. What has been the greatest development of U.S. history?

2. How has American expansion been different from European expansion?

3. How is the American frontier different from the European frontier?

4. How does Turner describe the first American colonists?

5. How did the colonists become American?

Name:

6. How has the American frontier evolved? (In other words, what are the geographic progressive stages of American evolution?)

7. What questions or challenges did the Atlantic frontier settlers face?

8. What was the main attraction for frontier expansion?

9. What Eastern and Old World influences exhibited themselves on the frontier?

10. What is the future for America?

 Name:

Critics of the Turner Thesis

Directions: Read each of the following excerpts, and summarize the main ideas.

Document 1

From "Political Institutions and the Frontier," Benjamin F. Wright Jr.

. . . However different their life during the period of frontier existence may have been from that of the older communities, they showed no substantial desire to retain its primitive characteristics when they established laws and constitutions of their own choice. To be sure they ordinarily, although not invariably, adopted the more democratic practices where there was variation in the East, but even in this respect they never varied from some well-established seaboard model. . . . In short, the result of the developments in the newer section seems to have been somewhat to accelerate the rate of growth of the democratic movement, not to change its direction. . . .

. . . But as they [frontier settlers] showed no desire to tinker with the institution of property or to allow their legislatures to pass laws violating the sanctity of contracts, so too they did not extend political powers to women or to Negroes.

[It is] my belief that the conception of the "transforming influence" of the frontier, as it appears in Turner's essays, is largely a myth. Indeed, I believe that a much better argument can be made out that the hardships of pioneer living transformed a large proportion of the restless and discontented who migrated to the free and promised lands into men ambitious to be prosperous citizens in the image of the bankers and merchants and landowners back home. . . .[1]

Document 2

From "Sections—or Classes?" Louis M. Hacker

. . . The free lands of the West were not important, however, because they made possible the creation of a unique "American spirit"—that indefinable something that was to set the United States apart from European experiences for all time—but because their quick settlement and utilization for the extensive cultivation of foodstuffs furnished exactly those commodities with which the United States, as a debtor nation, could balance its international payments and borrow European capital in order to develop a native industrial enterprise. Thus, in the first place, agriculture, primarily the agriculture of those Western areas of which Turner made so much, was really a catspaw for industry; once having served its purpose, that is to say the capitalist development of the nation, it could be neglected politically and ultimately abandoned economically. In the second place, the presence of the frontier helps to explain the failure of American labor to preserve a continuous revolutionary tradition: class lines could not become fixed as long as the free lands existed to drain off the most spirited elements in the working and lower middle-class populations . . . and to prevent the creation of a labor reserve for the purpose of thwarting the demand of organized workers.

The historical growth of the United States, in short, was not unique. With settlement achieved —that is to say, the historic function of extensive agriculture performed, class (not sectional!) lines solidified, competitive capitalism converted into monopolistic capitalism under the guidance of the money power, and imperialism the ultimate destiny of the nation—the United States once again was returning to the main stream of European institutional development. . . .[2]

[1]Benjamin F. Wright Jr., "Political Institutions and the Frontier," in *The Turner Thesis: Concerning the Role of the Frontier in American History,* 3rd ed., ed. George Rogers Taylor (Lexington, Mass.: D. C. Heath and Company, 1972), 64, 66.
[2]Louis M. Hacker, "Sections—or Classes" in *The Turner Thesis,* 55–56.

Name:

Document 3

From "The Frontier and American Institutions—A Criticism of the Turner Theory," George Wilson Pierson

For how shall we account for the industrial revolution by the frontier? Do American music and architecture come from the woods? Did American cattle? Were our religions born of the contemplation of untamed nature? Has science, poetry, or even democracy, its cradle in the wilderness? Did literature grow fertile with innovation in the open spaces? Above all, what happens to intellectual history if the environment be all?[3]

Document 4

From "The American Frontier—Frontier of What?," Carlton J. H. Hayes

The American frontier is a frontier of European or "Western" culture. This culture, however modified by or adapted to peculiar geographical and social conditions in America or elsewhere, is still, in essential respects, the culture and hence a continuous bond of the regional community of nations on both sides of the Atlantic. . . . Despite the growth in latter years of an anarchical nationalism and isolationism on one hand, and of a utopian universalism on the other, the Atlantic community has lost none of its potential importance for us and for the world. We must look anew to it and strengthen our ties with it, if we are to escape the tragedy of another world war and ensure the blessings of liberty and democracy to future generations. To this end the historical guild in America can immeasurably contribute by extending the use of the comparative method, by emphasizing the continuity of history, and by stressing cultural and social, equally with political and economic, history.[4]

[3]George Wilson Pierson, "The Frontier and American Institutions: A Criticism of the Turner Theory," in *The Turner Thesis*, 70.
[4]Carlton J. H. Hayes, "The American Frontier—Frontier of What?" in *The Turner Thesis,* 110–11.

Name:

American Pragmatism

Directions: Research three key figures in the development of American pragmatism, and complete the chart.

Name	Personal Information	Major Works	Main Ideas
1. Charles Sanders Peirce			
2. William James			
3. John Dewey			

 Name:

Social Philosophies of the Late Nineteenth Century

Directions: Read the following excerpts, answer the questions that follow, and be prepared for class discussion.

William Graham Sumner: Social Darwinism

Certain ills belong to the hardships of human life. They are natural. They are part of the struggle with Nature for existence. We cannot blame our fellow-men for our share of these. My neighbor and I are both struggling to free ourselves from these ills. The fact that my neighbor has succeeded in this struggle better than I constitutes no grievance for me. Certain other ills are due to the malice of men, and to the imperfections or errors of civil institutions. These ills are an object of agitation, and a subject of discussion. The former class of ills is to be met only by manly effort and energy; the latter may be corrected by associated effort. The former class of ills is constantly grouped and generalized, and made the object of social schemes. . . . The second class of ills may fall on certain social classes, and reform will take the form of interference by other classes in favor of that one. The last fact is, no doubt, the reason why people have been led, not noticing distinctions, to believe that the same method was applicable to the other class of ills. The distinction here made between the ills which belong to the struggle for existence and those which are due to the faults of human institutions is of prime importance. . . .

Under the names of the poor and the weak, the negligent, shiftless, inefficient, silly, and imprudent are fastened upon the industrious and prudent as a responsibility and a duty. On the one side, the terms are extended to cover the idle, intemperate, and vicious, who, by the combination, gain credit which they do not deserve, and which they could not get if they stood alone. One the other hand, the terms are extended to include wage-receivers of the humblest rank, who are degraded by the combination. The reader who desires to guard himself against fallacies should always scrutinize the terms "poor" and "weak" as used, so as to see which or how many of these classes they are made to cover.

The humanitarians, philanthropists, and reformers, looking at the facts of life as they present themselves, find enough which is sad and unpromising in the condition of many members of society. They see wealth and poverty side by side. They note great inequality of social position and social chances. They eagerly set about the attempt to account for what they see, and to devise schemes for remedying what they do not like. In their eagerness to recommend the less fortunate classes to pity and consideration they forget all about the rights of other classes; they gloss over all the faults of the classes in question, and they exaggerate their misfortunes and their virtues. They invent new theories of property, distorting rights and perpetrating injustice, as any one is sure to do who sets about the re-adjustment of social relations with the interest of one group distinctly before his mind, and the interests of all other groups thrown into the background. . . . The man who has done nothing to raise himself above poverty finds that the social doctors flock about him, bringing the capital which they have collected from the other class, and promising him the aid of the State to give him what the other had to work for. In all these schemes and projects the organized intervention of society through the State is either planned or hoped for, and the State is thus made to become the protector and guardian of certain classes. . . . Their schemes, therefore, may always be reduced to this type—that A and B decide what C shall do for D. . . . In all the discussions attention is concentrated on A and B, the noble social reformers, and on D, the "poor man." I call C the Forgotten Man, because I have never seen that any notice was taken of him in any of the discussions. . . . Here it may suffice to observe that, on the theories of the social philosophers to whom I have referred, we should get a new maxim of judicious living: Poverty is the best policy.

Name:

> If you get wealth, you will have to support other people; if you do not get wealth, it will be the duty of other people to support you. . . .
>
> We each owe it to the other to guarantee rights. Rights do not pertain to *results*, but only to *chances*. They pertain to the *conditions* of the struggle for existence, not to any of the results of it; to the *pursuit* of happiness, not to the possession of happiness. It cannot be said that each one has a right to have some property, because if one man had such a right some other man or men would be under a corresponding obligation to provide him with some property. Each has a right to acquire and possess property if he can. . . . Rights should be equal, because they pertain to chances, and all ought to have equal chances so far as chances are provided or limited by the action of society. This, however, will not produce equal results, but it is right just because it will produce unequal results—that is, results which shall be proportioned to the merits of individuals.

1. What does Sumner say about the ills of human life?

2. What are the major mistakes in thinking on the part of the so-called social reformers?

3. Who is the Forgotten Man, according to Sumner?

4. What is the difference between rights and results?

5. Do you believe that Sumner is a Social Darwinist and an accurate representative of his philosophy?

Source: William Graham Sumner, *What Social Classes Owe to Each Other* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1883), 17–18, 21–24, 163–64.

Name:

Andrew Carnegie: The Gospel of Wealth

The problem of our age is the proper administration of wealth, that the ties of brotherhood may still bind together the rich and poor in harmonious relationship. The conditions of human life have not only been changed, but revolutionized, within the past few hundred years. In former days there was little difference between the dwelling, dress, food, and environment of the chief and those of his retainers. The Indians are today where civilized man then was. When visiting the Sioux, I was led to the wigwam of the chief. It was like the others in external appearance, and even within the difference was trifling between it and those of the poorest of his braves. The contrast between the palace of the millionaire and the cottage of the laborer with us today measures the change which has come with civilization. This change, however, is not to be deplored, but welcomed as highly beneficial. It is well, nay, essential, for the progress of the race that the houses of some should be homes for all that is highest and best in literature and the arts, and for all the refinements of civilization, rather than that none should be so. Much better this irregularity than universal squalor. Without wealth there can be no Maecenas. . . .

The price which society pays for the law of competition, like the price it pays for cheap comforts and luxuries, is also great; but the advantages of this law are also greater still than its cost—for it is to this law that we owe our wonderful material development, which brings improved conditions in its train. But, whether the law be benign or not, . . . It is here; we cannot evade it; no substitutes for it have been found; and while the law may be sometimes hard for the individual, it is best for the race, because it insures the survival of the fittest in every department. We accept and welcome, therefore, as conditions to which we must accommodate ourselves, great inequality of environment; the concentration of business, industrial and commercial, in the hands of a few; and the law of competition between these, as being not only beneficial, but essential for the future progress of the race. . . .

Objections to the foundations upon which society is based are not in order, because the conditions of the race is better with these than it has been with any other which has been tried. Of the effect of any new substitutes proposed we cannot be sure. The Socialist or Anarchist who seeks to overturn present conditions is to be regarded as attacking the foundation upon which civilization itself rests, for civilization took its start from the day when the capable, industrious workman said to his incompetent and lazy fellow, "If thou dost not sow, thou shalt not reap," and thus ended primitive Communism by separating the drones from the bees. One who studies this subject will soon be brought face to face with the conclusion that upon the sacredness of property civilization itself depends—the right of the laborer to his hundred dollars in the savings-bank, and equally the legal right of the millionaire to his millions. . . . To those who propose to substitute Communism for this intense Individualism, the answer therefore is: The race has tried that. All progress from that barbarous day to the present time has resulted from its displacement. Not evil, but good, has come to the race from the accumulation of wealth by those who have the ability and energy that produce it. . . .

[There is] only one mode of using great fortunes; but in this we have the true antidote for the temporary unequal distribution of wealth, the reconciliation of the rich and the poor—a reign of harmony, another ideal, differing, indeed, from that of the Communist in requiring only the further evolution of existing conditions, not the total overthrow of our civilization. It is founded upon the present most intense Individualism, and the race is prepared to put it in practice by degrees whenever it pleases. Under its sway we shall have an ideal State, in which the surplus wealth of the few will become, in the best sense, the property of the many, because [it is] administered for the common good; and this wealth, passing through the hands of the few, can be made a much more potent force for the elevation of our race than if distributed in small sums to the people themselves.

Name:

Even the poorest can be made to see this, and to agree that great sums gathered by some of their fellow-citizens and spent for public purposes, from which the masses reap the principal benefit, are more valuable to them if scattered among themselves in trifling amounts through the course of many years. . . .

Poor and restricted are our opportunities in this life, narrow our horizon, our best work most imperfect; but rich men should be thankful for one inestimable boon. They have it in their power during their lives to busy themselves in organizing benefactions from which the masses of their fellows will derive lasting advantage, and thus dignify their own lives. The highest life is probably to be reached, not buy such imitation of the life of Christ as Count Tolstoi gives us, but, while animated by Christ's spirit, by recognizing the changed conditions of this age, and adopting modes of expressing this spirit suitable to the changed conditions under which we live, still laboring for the good of our fellows, which was the essence of his life and teaching, but laboring in a different manner.

This, then, is held to be the duty of the man of wealth: To set an example of modest, unostentatious living, shunning display or extravagance; to provide moderately for the legitimate wants of those dependent upon him; and, after doing so, to consider all surplus revenues which come to him simply as trust funds, which he is called upon to administer, and strictly bound as a matter of duty to administer in the manner which, in his judgment, is best calculated to produce the most beneficial results for the community—the man of wealth thus becoming the mere trustee and agent for his poorer brethren, bringing to their service his superior wisdom, experience, and ability to administer, doing for them better than they would or could do for themselves. . . .

In bestowing charity, the main consideration should be to help those who will help themselves; to provide part of the means by which those who desire to improve may do so; to give those who desire to rise the aids by which they may rise; to assist, but rarely or never to do all. Neither the individual nor the race is improved by almsgiving. . . . He is the only true reformer who is as careful and as anxious not to aid the unworthy as he is to aid the worthy, and, perhaps, even more so, for in almsgiving more injury is probably done by rewarding vice than by relieving virtue. . . .

Thus is the problem of rich and poor to be solved. The laws of accumulation will be left free, the laws of distribution free. Individualism will continue, but the millionaire will be but a trustee for the poor; intrusted for a season with a great part of the increased wealth of the community, but administering it for the community far better than it could or would have done for itself. The best minds will thus have reached a stage in the development of the race in which it is clearly seen that there is no mode of disposing of surplus wealth creditable to thoughtful and earnest men into whose hands it flows, save by using it year by year for the general good. This day already dawns. Men may die without incurring the pity of their fellows, still sharers in great business enterprises from which their capital cannot be or has not been withdrawn, and which is left chiefly at death for public uses; yet the day is not far distant when the man who dies leaving behind him millions of available wealth, which was free for him to administer during life, will pass away "unwept, unhonored, and unsung," no matter to what uses he leaves the dross which he cannot take with him. Of such as these the public verdict will then be: "The man who dies thus rich dies disgraced."

Such, in my opinion, is the true gospel concerning wealth, obedience to which is destined some day to solve the problem of the rich and the poor, and to bring "Peace on earth, among men good will."

Source: Andrew Carnegie, "The Gospel of Wealth," in *The Gospel of Wealth and Other Timely Essays* (New York: The Century Co., 1901), 1–2, 4–6, 12–15, 17–19.

Name:

1. What is the problem with society, according to Carnegie? How does he account for major changes within society?

2. Who were the Maecenas?

3. What does Carnegie say about human competition and the accumulation of wealth?

4. What is the best way to rectify the differences between the rich and the poor?

5. Is charity good or bad for society?

Walter Rauschenbusch: The Social Gospel

The social movement is the most important ethical and spiritual movement in the modern world, and the social gospel is the response of the Christian consciousness to it. Therefore it had to be. The social gospel registers the fact that for the first time in history the spirit of Christianity has had a chance to form a working partnership with real social and psychological science. It is the religious reaction on the historical advent of democracy. It seeks to put the democratic spirit, which the Church inherited from Jesus and the prophets, once more in control of the institutions and teachings of the Church. . . .

If theology is to offer an adequate doctrinal basis for the social gospel, it must not only make room for the doctrine of the Kingdom of God, but give it a central place and revise all other doctrines so that they will articulate organically with it.

This doctrine is itself the social gospel. Without it, the idea of redeeming the social order will be but an annex to the orthodox conception of the scheme of salvation. It will live like a negro servant family in a detached cabin back of the white man's house in the South. If this doctrine gets the place which has always been its legitimate right, the practical proclamation and application of social morality will have a firm footing. . . .

The Kingdom of God is humanity organized according to the will of God. Interpreting it through the consciousness of Jesus we may affirm these convictions about the ethical relations within the Kingdom: (a) Since Christ revealed the divine worth of life and personality, and since his salvation seeks the restoration and fulfilment of even the least, it follows that the Kingdom of God, at every stage of human development, tends toward a social order which will best guarantee to all personalities their freest and highest development. This involves the redemption of social life from the cramping influence of religious bigotry, from the repression of self-assertion in the relation of upper and lower classes, and from all forms of slavery in which human beings are treated as mere means to serve the ends of others. (b) Since love is the supreme law of Christ, the Kingdom of God implies a progressive reign of love in human affairs. We can see its advance wherever the free will of love supersedes the use of force and legal coercion as a regulative of the social order. This involves the redemption of society from political autocracies and economic oligarchies; the substitution of redemptive for vindictive penology; the abolition of constraint through hunger as part of the industrial system; and the abolition of war as the supreme expression of hate and the completest cessation of freedom. (c) The highest expression of love is the free surrender of what is truly our own, life, property, and rights. A much lower but perhaps more decisive expression of love is the surrender of any opportunity to exploit men. No social group or organization can claim to be clearly within the Kingdom of God which drains others for its own ease, and resists the effort to abate this fundamental evil. This involves the redemption of society from private property in the natural resources of the earth, and from any condition in industry which makes monopoly profits possible. (d) The reign of love tends toward the progressive unity of mankind, but with the maintenance of individual liberty and the opportunity of nations to work out their own national peculiarities and ideals.

The Kingdom of God is not confined within the limits of the Church and its activities. It embraces the whole of human life. It is the Christian transfiguration of the social order. The Church is one social institution alongside of the family, the industrial organization of society, and the State. The Kingdom of God is in all these, and realizes itself through them all. During the Middle Ages all society was ruled and guided by the Church. Few of us would want modern life to return to such a condition. Functions which the Church used to perform, have now far outgrown its capacities. The Church is indispensable to the religious education of humanity and to the conservation of religion, but the greatest future awaits religion in the public life of humanity.

Source: Walter Rauschenbusch, *A Theology for the Social Gospel* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1917), 4–5, 131, 142–45.

Name:

1. What is so significant about the social gospel movement, according to Rauschenbusch?

2. Why are Christians obliged to follow the principles of the social gospel movement?

3. What is the supreme law of Christ?

4. How should the church relate to society?

5. How is Rauschenbusch's approach different from that of Carnegie?

 Name:

Works of Art from the School of American Realism

Directions: Use the Internet or print sources to examine the following works of art. Explain what each depicts, and state what you see as the artist's meaning.

Title and Artist	Analysis	Interpretation
1. *The Gulf Stream,* Winslow Homer		
2. *The Gross Clinic,* Thomas Eakins		
3. *New York City,* George Bellows		

Title and Artist	Analysis	Interpretation
4. *Stag at Sharkey's,* George Bellows		
5. *Tennis at Newport,* George Bellows		
6. *McSorley's Bar,* John Sloan		
7. *Nighthawks,* Edward Hopper		

Acknowledgments

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Lesson 23, Handout 37
For use of the cartoon "A Party of Patches" by Bernhard Gillam in *Judge*, June 6, 1891. The Granger Collection, New York.