

Advanced Placement

U.S. History, Book 2

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

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Introduction

Advanced Placement U.S. History, Book 2 is a college-level unit for high school advanced placement students. Lessons require students to process information in order to understand continuity and change in American history. Students use a wide variety of sources to develop reasoning and critical thinking skills. Students develop an understanding of the relationships among unit themes and concepts. They analyze documents, read historical interpretations, and write thesis sentences, short essays, and document-based responses. Students use historians' skills to understand how periods in American history changed and adapted to meet the needs of the nation.

Book 2 is divided into three parts. Part 1 deals with the period of American history from 1800 to 1860 during the days of the early republic, expansion of the nation, and the beginnings of industrial growth. Part 2 examines the conflict and compromise of Civil War and Reconstruction and the political, social, and economic effects of the war on America. Part 3 looks at the development of America as an industrial nation, the formation of political reform movements such as populism and progressivism, and urbanization of America.

Assumptions and Goals

Basic assumptions define the core principles of social studies, while goals clarify how the basic assumptions may be supported.

1. History is evolutionary. To understand that process, students need to analyze how and why changes occur.
2. An understanding of history's recurring themes enlightens the students' perspectives on specific events.
3. Developing critical thinking skills is fundamental to understanding history.
4. The discipline of history requires reading, writing, and thinking skills, including analysis and synthesis.

The following lessons provide practice leading toward mastery in each of these areas.

The historical process has evolved over time and is based on recurring concepts and themes, which are supported by the development of certain skills such as reading, writing, mapping, and critical thinking. This process has resulted in the preservation of the human experience for posterity and reflects the problems and successes people and nations have encountered. Concepts represent things, thoughts, or actions which have certain characteristics in common and usually reflect some form of mental or physical

interaction. Themes demonstrate a relationship between and among concepts. Objectives identify what behavior the student is to demonstrate to indicate a standard of acceptable performance.

Objectives

1. To acquire a conceptual knowledge of history
2. To interpret and organize factual material independently as a basis for developing higher-level thinking skills
3. To study historical events and draw conclusions about them
4. To practice skills in clear communication of ideas
5. To improve essay writing skills
6. To understand personal values and their relationship to history
7. To understand the evolution of the United States

Using the Course Materials

Advanced Placement U.S. History, Book 2 is an integral part of a four-book teaching program that presents U.S. history conceptually. Since the series is designed for advanced placement classes, lessons stress underlying causes and effects rather than mere accumulation of factual data. The authors assume that teachers will assign appropriate readings and that students have, in advance, at least a textbook understanding of the content.

This manual includes thirty lessons and a variety of student handouts. Student handouts are intended as both in-class work and homework. The lessons suggest ways of using the handouts as well as answers to questions posed. Students may need additional paper to complete some handouts. The lessons are flexible, allowing adjustment according to specific educational goals, students' needs, and availability of materials and equipment. Many lessons easily lend themselves to expansion over several days of class.

The cross-reference chart on page ix facilitates evaluation of the lessons and the book as a whole. It provides an analysis of the unit's incorporation of major themes and concepts. The chart also details the lessons' development of specific critical thinking skills.

Cross-Reference Section

Concepts*

- | | |
|-------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| 1. Accommodation | 28. Interdependence |
| 2. Capitalism | 29. Internationalism |
| 3. Civil rights | 30. Isolationism |
| 4. Competition | 31. Judicial review |
| 5. Compromise | 32. Laissez-faire |
| 6. Conflict | 33. Leadership |
| 7. Conservation | 34. Liberalism |
| 8. Corruption | 35. Mechanization |
| 9. Culture | 36. Merger |
| 10. Democracy | 37. Migration |
| 11. Depression | 38. Monopolies |
| 12. Domestic policy | 39. Nationalism |
| 13. Equality | 40. Pluralism |
| 14. Expansionism | 41. Political party |
| 15. Feminism | 42. Populism |
| 16. Foreign policy | 43. Pragmatism |
| 17. Free enterprise | 44. Progressivism |
| 18. Historical change | 45. Realism |
| 19. Historical continuity | 46. Reform |
| 20. Historical interpretation | 47. Religious diversity |
| 21. Historiography | 48. Religious freedom |
| 22. Horizontal integration | 49. Science and technology |
| 23. Immigration | 50. Sectionalism |
| 24. Imperialism | 51. Separation of powers |
| 25. Identity | 52. Strict vs. loose interpretation |
| 26. Individualism | 53. Urbanization |
| 27. Industrialization | 54. Vertical integration |

Themes*

1. A democratic society encourages but does not ensure equality of opportunity and equality before the law.
2. Conflict may be resolved by compromise and change; otherwise, it may lead to violence.
3. Individuals and groups tend to interpret historical events in terms of their own experiences, values, and points of view.
4. The more complex society becomes, the greater the need for effective leadership, human interaction, and interdependence.
5. Power can be used to achieve both constructive and destructive ends.

*See cross-reference chart, page ix.

6. Through government and other organizations, society modifies and regulates the market economy in an effort to achieve economic justice, stability, freedom, and growth.
7. A time lag exists between the occurrence of a problem and identification of it, as well as between recognition and development of a possible solution.
8. Arts and literature generally reflect society.

Skills*

1. Interpret what is read by drawing inferences
2. Distinguish between fact and opinion
3. Identify and evaluate cause-and-effect relationships
4. Recognize author bias
5. Read for a variety of purposes: to evaluate, analyze, synthesize, answer questions, form an opinion, and skim for facts
6. Define relationships among categories of information
7. Identify relevant material
8. Interpret visual reflections of history
9. Evaluate diverse sources of information
10. Ask perceptive questions
11. Challenge generalizations about history in light of specific facts
12. View events from several perspectives
13. Form a simple organization of key ideas related to a topic
14. Restate major ideas of a complex topic in concise form
15. Compare and contrast historical events and trends
16. Relate specific events to recurring themes in American history
17. Recognize values implicit in a situation and issues that flow from them
18. Develop valid thesis statements
19. Arrange supportive data in chronological order and in order of importance
20. Communicate effectively both orally and in writing
21. Write a well-developed paragraph
22. Write a well-organized and well-developed essay
23. Recognize instances in which more than one interpretation of factual material is valid

*See cross-reference chart, page ix.

Cross-Reference Chart

Lesson	Concepts	Themes	Skills
1	1, 5, 6, 17, 33, 41, 46, 52	3, 4	1, 5, 7, 10, 12, 14, 18, 20
2	6, 9, 31, 33	1, 4	1, 3, 5, 7, 13, 14, 17, 20
3	3, 6, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 14, 17, 27, 33, 46	1, 3, 7	1, 2, 4, 5, 7, 12, 14, 17
4	6, 15, 17, 28, 30, 33, 39	4	1, 5, 7, 9, 10, 12, 14, 20
5	12, 17, 18, 28, 29, 48	4, 6	3, 5, 7, 10, 11, 17, 18, 20
6	12, 17, 18, 28, 29, 48	1, 2, 3, 5	1, 2, 3, 5, 8, 9, 10, 12, 15, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23
7	6, 12, 14, 16, 37, 47, 48	2, 3	1, 3, 5, 7, 9, 12, 13, 14, 17, 18, 20
8	6, 7, 26, 27, 38, 46, 50	4, 6	1, 5, 7, 9, 12, 13, 14, 17, 20
9	8	8	1, 5, 7, 14, 20
10	5, 6, 9, 11, 13, 16, 17, 19, 37	2, 7	3, 5, 7, 11, 12, 13, 14, 20
11	6, 8, 11, 12, 17, 46	1, 2, 3, 4	1, 4, 5, 7, 9, 10, 12, 14, 20
12	5, 6, 8, 11, 12, 17, 28, 46, 50	1, 2, 3, 4	1, 4, 5, 7, 8, 9, 12, 14, 17, 20
13	6, 8, 12, 17	2, 3, 4, 7	1, 3, 5, 7, 9, 12, 14, 15, 17, 20
14	6, 11, 12, 17, 18, 28, 34, 41, 50, 52	1, 2, 3, 5	3, 6, 7, 8, 10, 13, 20, 21, 22
15	4, 5, 6, 7, 12, 18, 52	1, 2, 4	1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 10, 12, 14, 18, 20, 22
16	4, 6, 11, 19, 33	2, 4	1, 5, 7, 10, 13, 14, 20
17	4, 6, 8, 11, 12, 17	1	1, 3, 5, 7, 20
18	5, 9, 10, 11, 17, 18, 33, 37, 39, 47	1, 5, 6	3, 6, 7, 10, 13, 19, 20
19	4, 5, 6, 9, 12, 33, 46	2, 5, 7	1, 5, 7, 9, 14, 20
20	4, 6, 9, 12	1, 2, 4	1, 5, 7, 11, 13, 15, 16, 20
21	3, 6, 9, 13, 17, 18, 19, 25, 27, 46, 50	1, 2, 4, 6, 7	1, 4, 7, 13, 14, 18
22	2, 3, 8, 13, 14, 19, 28, 30	1, 3, 5, 6	1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 9, 10, 12, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22
23	6, 10, 12, 40, 41, 42, 46	1, 2, 5	1, 5, 8, 12, 13, 14, 17
24	8, 10, 12, 14, 16, 29, 33, 46	4, 5, 7	1, 5, 13, 14, 17, 20
25	4, 6, 9, 13, 25, 37, 53	1, 4	1, 5, 6, 8, 9, 20
26	10, 11, 12, 33, 40, 41, 42, 46, 53	1, 4, 6	1, 5, 6, 8, 9, 20
27	14, 18, 19, 20, 21, 25, 50	3	1, 5, 7, 11, 13, 15, 16, 23
28	2, 6, 10, 26, 27, 34, 43, 44	1, 4	1, 5, 7, 13, 14, 15, 20
29	9, 18, 25, 42, 46	1, 3, 4, 6, 7	1, 5, 12, 13, 14, 17
30	6, 9, 20, 25, 45	3, 8	7, 8, 15, 17, 22

AP* U.S. History Curriculum Correlations

The lessons are also correlated to the Historical Thinking Skills and Thematic Learning Objectives outlined in the College Board's framework for the AP U.S. History curriculum. You can use these correlations to target specific skills or themes you wish to emphasize to your students. The correlations are as follows:

Historical Thinking Skills

- I. Chronological Reasoning
- II. Comparison and Contextualization
- III. Crafting Historical Arguments from Historical Evidence
- IV. Historical Interpretation and Synthesis

Thematic Learning Objectives

- Identity (ID)
- Work, Exchange, and Technology (WXT)
- Peopling (PEO)
- Politics and Power (POL)
- America in the World (WOR)
- Environment and Geography - Physical and Human (ENV)
- Ideas, Beliefs, and Culture (CUL)

In addition to identifying the main skill types and themes covered in each lesson, the correlations also include specific skills and sub-themes.

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 end of 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 established. The changing role of women in American society, the industrial revolution in America, 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 that eventually resulted in conflict.

- | | |
|-----------|---|
| Lesson 1 | The Development of Political Parties |
| Lesson 2 | The Role of the Judiciary in the
Creation of the National State |
| Lesson 3 | Women and the Family in American Society |
| Lesson 4 | Foundations of American Foreign Policy |
| Lesson 5 | The End of Homespun: The Early Industrial Revolution |
| Lesson 6 | The U.S. Government, American Settlers, and the
Cherokee: A Case Study |
| Lesson 7 | The Mexican War: Was It in the National Interest? |
| Lesson 8 | Westward Expansion: A Force for Unity or Division? |
| Lesson 9 | Henry David Thoreau and Transcendentalism |
| Lesson 10 | California's Gold Rush and the Oregon Trail |
| Lesson 11 | The Nature of Slavery in the Antebellum South |
| Lesson 12 | The Abolitionist Movements |

Lesson 1

The Development of Political Parties

Objective

- To account for the development of political parties in the United States

AP* Correlations

Skill Type II

Skill 4: Comparison

Thematic Learning Objective: Politics and Power

POL-2: Explain how and why major party systems and political alignments arose and have changed from the early Republic through the end of the 20th century

Notes to the Teacher

Although President George Washington warned against factions in his Farewell Address, political parties already existed. Differences had appeared in debates between Thomas Jefferson, secretary of state, and Alexander Hamilton, secretary of the treasury, in the first Cabinet. Jeffersonians, fearing a strong national government, preferred a narrow interpretation of the Constitution, which meant that if a power was not enumerated in the Constitution, Congress could not exercise that authority. Hamiltonians, on the other hand, believed in a loose interpretation of the Constitution that permitted Congress to use powers implied in Article 1, Section 8.18, to enact legislation necessary for carrying out its enumerated powers. Political factions existed even before the Constitution went into effect. Differences in opinion can be traced back through the Federalist/Anti-Federalist controversy to colonial disagreements over British policy.

In this lesson, students apply the philosophies of Alexander Hamilton and Thomas Jefferson by assuming their roles in a debate over public credit, the national bank, a protective tariff, the whiskey excise, and the country's proper response to the French Revolution. Prior to this lesson, distribute **Handout 1**, and assign each student to prepare for the role of either Alexander Hamilton or Thomas Jefferson.

Procedure

1. Ask how long political parties have existed in the United States. (Since America's very beginning, political positions have divided Americans. During the American Revolution, colonists took sides about the disagreement with the Crown. As regions developed, America's coastal urban population had different aspirations and goals than the people who lived in the West or South.)
2. Have small groups role-play a Cabinet meeting with the agenda proposed on **Handout 1**. A student may be assigned to play the role of George Washington. Follow with large group discussion, and highlight the most persuasive arguments against each item on the agenda.

Suggested Responses

Hamilton

1. He believed the national government should pay all debts to establish the credit of the new national government; payment of national and state debts would bind rich bondholders to the new government; state debts, also incurred in winning independence, should be the responsibility of individual states; properly funded bonds would have a stable value and could serve to increase the supply of money in circulation.
2. He favored a national bank modeled on the Bank of England; a joint venture between the federal government and private banks would help the primitive private banks to exist and supply the necessary capital for business ventures; the national bank's issuance of paper currency would create a standard for currency of private banks; he believed the Constitution gave Congress an implied power to create a national bank; such a bank would set a precedent for a strong national government and would give rich investors a chance to make money and to establish ties with the new government.
3. He advocated such a tax; he expected a revolt from western farmers who had largely ignored the Articles of Confederation; he believed that the new government had to display its power to coerce people into compliance; he approved a tax that would shift the burden of taxation to the poor.
4. He favored a tax that would promote manufacturing and self-sufficiency; he recognized the need to protect infant industries during the early industrial revolution; he did not persuade Congress of its urgency, and Congress passed a much lower revenue tariff instead.

5. He favored Britain and admired British culture and institutions; he pointed out that economic ties were stronger with Britain than with France; 90 percent of U.S. imports were from Britain, and 75 percent of U.S. exports went to Britain; the bulk of money that went to pay off the national debt came from tariffs on imports from Britain.

Jefferson

1. He agreed that credit with foreign nations depended upon payment of the foreign debt in full; he protested repayment in full to national bondholders since many bonds had been resold at a fraction of their original worth to rich speculators when the American fortunes in the war seemed doubtful; he protested a scheme to permit such immense profits to northern speculators; he opposed national government's assumption of state debts since most Southern states had paid their debts.
2. He opposed the bank because it resembled the aristocratic Bank of England; it would favor the financial interests of the Northeast and increase that region's influence in government; moreover, the Constitution did not give Congress explicit power to create a bank.
3. He opposed a tax that penalized the small farmer and that purposely provoked an opportunity to demonstrate the power of the new government at the expense of potential supporters of Jefferson; such a tax would make the West anti-administration in future elections.
4. He opposed a tax to promote industrialization; he saw farmers as the "chosen people of God"; he accepted enactment of a low tariff for revenue purposes but opposed a high protective tariff that would promote the growth of cities and factories with a dependent laboring class and a society that ran counter to the agricultural ideal.
5. He was for the French; he insisted that the French Revolution embodied the same principles for which the American Revolution had been fought; he believed "the liberty of the whole earth" depended on the survival of the French Revolutionary Republic; some supporters recommended military aid to France, but most proclaimed neutrality.

3. Ask students what each man would have most criticized about the overall philosophy of the other.

Suggested Responses

Hamilton—Jefferson failed to recognize the importance of a strong national government and the need to gain the allegiance of wealthy individuals in support of the new government.

Jefferson—Hamilton failed to respond to the growing democratic concepts in this country.

4. Ask students what each man would have seen as the greatest service his philosophy could make to the future of the country.

Suggested Responses

Hamilton—His ideas would set the country on a sound financial foundation and use the authority of the Constitution to establish a strong national government capable of coping with domestic and foreign issues.

Jefferson—His ideas would promote the rights of all individuals and protect them from an authoritarian national government.

5. Point out that the disagreement between Hamilton and Jefferson led to the development of political parties. Each man's supporters recognized the need to organize in order to gain control of the government and implement their philosophy.

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.

Lesson 2

The Role of the Judiciary in the Creation of the National State

Objective

- To understand how John Marshall established the power of the Supreme Court as final arbiter of the meaning of the Constitution and applied Federalist principles in the new government

AP* Correlations

Skill Type II

Skill 5: Contextualization

Thematic Learning Objective: Politics and Power

POL-5: Analyze how arguments over the meaning and interpretation of the Constitution have affected U.S. politics since 1787

Notes to the Teacher

The Constitution of the United States assigns legislative power to a bicameral Congress, executive power to the president, and judicial power to the Supreme Court and inferior courts established by Congress. The Constitution does not state specifically what body has power to judge what is or is not constitutional. Jeffersonians, fearing the concentration of power in the national government and believing the appointed court an undemocratic stronghold of vested interests, sought to expand the powers of the democratically elected bodies of government and restrict the powers of the Supreme Court. John Marshall, a Federalist who served as chief justice of the Supreme Court from 1801 to 1835, established the principle of judicial review in *Marbury v. Madison* (1803). In later decisions, the Marshall court, in a variety of cases, did much to bring all levels of government into compliance with the Constitution. In time, the American public came to accept the views of John Marshall that the Supreme Court has the right to interpret the law of the land and subject the actions of Congress and the president to review by the judiciary.

In this lesson, students assess the significance of various events in John Marshall's life to the development of his political philosophy. They research four important cases of the Marshall court to see how John Marshall applied his philosophy to Court decisions. To conclude this lesson, students evaluate Oliver Wendell Holmes's assessment of John Marshall's importance to the Supreme Court. Provide resources such as books on constitutional law, encyclopedias, and legal guides on the day students complete this activity.

Prior to the lesson, assign students to read textbook sections about John Marshall and the important decisions of the Marshall court.

Procedure

1. Ask the following questions.
 - To what body does the Constitution specifically give the power to judge what is or is not constitutional? (This power is not specified in the Constitution.)
 - How did the Supreme Court of John Marshall bring all levels of government into compliance with the Constitution? (by establishing the principle of judicial review on the national level)
2. Distribute **Handout 2**, and have students complete it in class.

Suggested Responses

1. John Marshall learned the difficulty of conducting war without the government having power to levy taxes or raise an army.
2. The experience taught him the importance of governmental authority to command obedience, particularly in instances involving the national interest.
3. These events helped Marshall understand that a government must be able to raise a militia to maintain order, to promote the country's economic welfare, and to command the respect of foreign nations.
4. News of the French Revolution made clear a government's need for authority to maintain order.
5. John Marshall recognized the need to respect the office of the presidency even if one disagreed with the decisions of the president.
6. The XYZ Affair taught Marshall the value of having sufficient power to command the respect of foreign nations and the danger of a dictator's opportunity to take advantage of the absence of stable government.
7. Various actions taken with respect to the Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions convinced Marshall of the need for national authority to interpret the meaning of the Constitution.
8. Marshall got a chance to lead the Court in interpreting the Constitution in ways that would increase the powers of the federal government.
9. As head of the only branch of government still under Federalist control, Marshall recognized an obligation to use his power to implement Federalist principles in the new administration.

3. Distribute **Handout 3**, divide the class into small groups, and assign each group to research and report on one of the Supreme Court cases. Direct all students to take notes during the reports.

Suggested Responses

1. *Marbury v. Madison* (1803)

Case Description—William Marbury, a Federalist, received a “midnight appointment” as justice of the peace from John Adams as he left office. The new Republican president, Thomas Jefferson, instructed his secretary of state, James Madison, not to deliver the commission. When he did not receive his signed commission, Marbury asked the Supreme Court to issue a writ of mandamus directing Madison to deliver the commission.

Decision—The Supreme Court refused to issue a writ of mandamus; therefore, Marbury did not receive his commission. The Constitution gives the Supreme Court both original and appellate jurisdiction. However, the Constitution lists the instances in which the Supreme Court has original, or first, jurisdiction. All other issues come before the Supreme Court on appeals from lower courts. Although the Judiciary Act of 1789 gave the Supreme Court the right to issue writs of mandamus, this constituted an unconstitutional grant of power since it gave the Supreme Court a new case of original jurisdiction. Therefore, the Supreme Court declared that portion of the Judiciary Act of 1789 unconstitutional and announced it had no authority to give Marbury a writ of mandamus.

Significance—Although the Supreme Court, which had a Federalist majority, denied Marbury, also a Federalist, his commission, the Court established a far more important principle. Prior to *Marbury v. Madison*, the Supreme Court had been the weakest of the three branches of government. By setting a precedent for judicial review, the Supreme Court established its role as final arbiter of the meaning of the Constitution and its position of equality with the other branches of government.

2. *McCulloch v. Maryland* (1819)

Case Description—Since the establishment of the Bank of the United States in 1791, Anti-Federalists, or Republicans, argued that a national bank was unconstitutional because the Constitution did not specifically give Congress the authority to create such a bank. Federalist advocates of a strong national government used the “elastic clause” to

justify creation of the Bank. According to the preamble of the Bank charter, the Bank would aid the government in getting emergency loans, serve as a depository for tax funds, and produce advantages for trade and industry. The Bank of the United States expired in 1811, but a second Bank of the United States was chartered in 1816. Several states that opposed the Bank put taxes or special restrictions on operations of the Bank. When the cashier of the Bank of the United States in Maryland refused to pay a state tax on the Bank, Maryland brought suit against him. Maryland won a judgment against the Bank, but McCulloch, the cashier, appealed the decision to the Supreme Court.

Decision—John Marshall, in writing the majority decision of the Supreme Court, overturned the lower court’s decision and declared the Maryland tax null and void. The Court ruled that the federal government has the authority to do what is necessary and proper to carry out the enumerated powers of Congress, including the Bank of the United States. According to Marshall, “The power to tax is the power to destroy.” A state cannot take any action that will destroy an agency properly established by the federal government. Therefore, Maryland could not tax the Maryland branch of the Bank of the United States.

Significance—The decision sanctioned the federal government’s use of implied powers, established the supremacy of the national government over states, and paved the way for vast expansions of federal power in the future.

3. *Dartmouth College v. Woodward* (1819)

Case Description—Dartmouth College was chartered in 1769 as a private school to train both missionaries and Native Americans in New Hampshire. The school had a self-perpetuating board of trustees. When the second president of the college alienated students, townspeople, and some of the trustees, Republican members of the board sought to have the state legislature convert the school to a state university and add a state-appointed board of overseers with control over instruction and the hiring of faculty members. Federalist members of the board of trustees argued that the school’s charter was a contract and that the federal Constitution forbade states from impairing the obligation of contracts. The Federalist trustees sued William H. Woodward, secretary-treasurer of the new state-created governing board, to recover college records, books, and the school’s seal. When the Republican-dom-

inated state court supported the contention that the state had the right to alter the school's charter, the Federalists asked Dartmouth graduate Daniel Webster to appeal their case before the Supreme Court.

Decision—The Supreme Court overturned the decision of the state court. The charter granted to the trustees by the colonial government of New Hampshire was a valid contract that came within the meaning of Article 1, Section 10 of the United States Constitution. The state had no right to impair the obligation of the contract without the consent of both the state and the college.

Significance—The decision upheld the sanctity of contracts and of private property. This decision was important in assuring economic development and encouraging investment in new corporations. In addition, it set a precedent for the Supreme Court's overturning acts of state legislatures and state courts.

4. *Gibbons v. Ogden* (1824)

Case Description—Thomas Gibbons operated a steamboat service between New Jersey and New York City. Aaron Ogden asked a New York state court to restrain Gibbons from operating his service. Ogden had been granted a license to operate a steamboat service by the state of New York, while Gibbons had a federal license. The New York appeals court favored Ogden, so Gibbons sued in federal court.

Decision—The Supreme Court under John Marshall ruled that the monopoly granted Ogden by the state of New York was unconstitutional. Article 3 of the Constitution grants regulation of interstate commerce to Congress. Congress had exercised those powers in the Federal Coasting Act, and the New York act creating a monopoly conflicted with the federal act and the Constitution of the United States; therefore, the monopoly was unconstitutional and void.

Significance—The power to regulate interstate commerce rests with the federal government. The decision secures the concept of a common market and prevents states from impeding commerce.

4. Share the following statement by Oliver Wendell Holmes: "I do fully believe that if American law were to be represented by a single figure, sceptic and worshipper alike would agree without dispute that the figure could be but one alone, and that one John Marshall." Have students cite evidence from this lesson which supports this assessment of Marshall.

Suggested Response

John Marshall established the power of the Supreme Court as final arbiter of the meaning of the Constitution, set a precedent for the Court's use of judicial review, and, in many cases, increased the power of the national government at the expense of state and local governments. His actions were especially significant in that they came during a period when Federalists controlled only one branch of the federal government.

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. <i>Marbury v. Madison</i> (1803)			
2. <i>McCulloch v. Maryland</i> (1819)			

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

Lesson 3

Women and the Family in American Society

Objectives

- To trace changes in women's lives from the colonial period to the mid-eighteenth century
- To analyze the goals of the women's rights movement of the 1840s

AP* Correlations

Skill Type I

Skill 2: Patterns of Continuity and Change over Time

Thematic Learning Objective: Ideas, Beliefs, and Culture

CUL-2: Analyze how emerging conceptions of national identity and democratic ideals shaped value systems, gender roles, and cultural movements in the late 18th century and the 19th century

Notes to the Teacher

Women in the colonial period were important contributors to the economic success of a family. They provided food, clothing, and shelter for their husbands and children. All members of the family generally worked in close quarters, with children reared to contribute as soon as they were old enough and to learn the occupational skills of their parents. The early industrial revolution separated families by work roles, as the workplace shifted from home to large factories. Men who made the transition successfully, as skilled craftsmen or managers, moved their families into the middle class, where domestic servants gave women leisure time for charitable pursuits. In the nineteenth century, children were recognized as different from adults and were often prepared for middle-class life with a longer period of education before they assumed work roles.

Charitable work and religious beliefs often led women to participate in reform movements, including the antislavery movement. Women who had not protested laws limiting them to the domestic sphere and alienating their property rights now found that their ability to effect change was curtailed by their subservient status. Seeing antislavery speakers like the Grimké sisters shouted down, mocked, or silenced, some women realized the importance of securing equal rights as a corollary of their drive to end slavery and eventually as a goal in itself. Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Lucretia Mott launched a formal women's rights movement in 1848 with the Seneca Falls Convention.

The lesson begins with an activity to demonstrate the change in attitudes about women's roles between the colonial period and modern times. Students then focus on differences between the average colonial woman, the nineteenth century middle-class woman, and the working-class woman of the early industrial revolution. Students go on to read three primary source documents. To prepare for the lesson, have students read material in their textbook about women's life and work from the colonial period to the beginning of the women's rights movement. You will need six large sheets of newsprint and colored markers.

Procedure

1. Ask students to vote by standing if they agree with each of the following statements:
 - Women and men should have equal right to run for political office.
 - A husband should have absolute control over his wife's property.
 - Barring an egregious offense, men and women should have equal rights to custody of children in a divorce.
 - Women and men should receive equal pay for equal work.

Now ask them to imagine themselves back in the year 1775. Male students should imagine themselves as men, female students as women in that period. Repeat the statements, asking students to vote as before, but this time the way they think that their imaginary colonial persona would have voted. Ask students who voted differently the second time to explain why they did so.

2. Divide the class into six groups, and give each group a sheet of newsprint, a colored marker, and one of the following topics:
 - a. Colonial Women Settlers—Marriage and Family
 - b. Colonial Women Settlers—Work
 - c. Colonial Women Settlers—Education
 - d. Middle-Class Women 1800–1840s—Marriage and Family
 - e. Middle-Class Women 1800–1840s—Education
 - f. Working Class Women 1800–1840s—Work

Tell students that they will be focusing on the lives of free women. The lives of slave women were very different and will be dealt with in detail later.

3. Give students time to find information on their topics, consulting their textbooks, the Internet, and other resources. Have groups record information on newsprint.

Suggested Responses

Colonial Women Settlers—Marriage and Family

- large families; women usually having seven or eight children
- high mortality rate, especially in the South; 50 percent mortality for children; frequent deaths in childbirth, so was not unusual for a man to have three or four wives over his lifetime
- patriarchal households; transfer of a woman's property to her husband as soon as she married; children the property of the husband
- family and clan an important social network; in the South especially, common intermarriage between cousins
- women and children integral to the family's economy; children contributing age-appropriate chores from early years

Colonial Women Settlers—Work

- women in charge of planting, weeding, and harvesting the kitchen garden; managing the dairy and henhouse; securing fuel and water; spinning, weaving, and sewing; laundering, cleaning, and cooking; nursing the sick and caring for children
- few opportunities for work outside home except when a husband was a craftsman or shopkeeper; apprentices living in the home under his wife's care
- some midwifery; opportunities in printing, where there was a tradition of employing women; some widows running printing businesses and even becoming journalists
- under the law, married men managers of all family property, including wages of wife and children; for a widow, one-third life interest in her husband's property

Colonial Women Settlers—Education

- high literacy rate in New England, but lower for women than for men; girls in "dame" schools for the first few years, not in any type of higher education
- a few women educated well by their fathers at home
- education focusing on preparation to be wives and mothers: domestic skills; girls mostly educated by their mothers, boys by their fathers

Middle-Class Women 1800–1840s—Marriage and Family

- men more often away from home in factories and offices; women more responsible for child rearing
- children staying home longer, usually until sons had careers and daughters married

- childhood discovered as a separate stage of life; children no longer seen as miniature adults
- women envisioned as more virtuous, gentle, and devoted to family than men
- women's sphere defined as domestic, but sometimes as managers of domestic servants; emergence of Sarah Josepha Hale's *Ladies' Magazine* and *Godey's Ladies' Book* offering fashions, recipes, and advice; housekeeping guides like Catherine Beecher's *Treatise on Domestic Economy* (1841)
- families with fewer children (In 1800, the average woman had seven children; in 1900, she had only four.)
- men trained to be successful, women to be supportive and traditionally virtuous—ideas reinforced by wildly popular sentimental novels
- more time to engage in social reform and religious activities

Middle-Class Women 1800–1840s—Education

- demand for women's education beyond primary school, leading to all-female seminaries and colleges aiming to educate women for republican motherhood
- prejudice in favor of male teachers, viewed as better disciplinarians in a system that endorsed corporal punishment; less pay for women: in Connecticut in the mid-1830s, \$14.50 a month for male teachers, \$5.75 for women
- proliferation of colleges for women, especially in the South; foundation of a Cherokee Female Seminary in 1851, with courses in Latin, French, trigonometry, political economy, and literary criticism

Working-Class Women 1800–1840s—Work

- prior to the 1800s, textile manufacturing with the “putting out” system: manufacturers would leave wool with women to spin, pick up the yarn and take it to others to weave, and so on; change with the introduction of textile factories, with all workers assembled under one roof
- machine-produced textiles resulting in changes in women's work at home; no more spinning and weaving, but still sewing, mending, and altering
- Approximately 10 percent of females working outside the home as wage earners before the Civil War in teaching, domestic service, and textile manufacturing; general expectation that they would quit when married

- By 1831, women comprising 70 percent of textile workers; men in management with higher pay
 - paternalistic Lowell System attracting young women from New England farms to textile manufacturing: same-sex dormitories, mandatory churchgoing, company social activities, and curfews; nevertheless, the workers organized; by 1840s, organized workers unsuccessfully demanding a ten-hour day; late in the 1840s, replacement of New England women by French-Canadian and Irish workers; discontinuation of Lowell System
4. When student groups are finished, have them post newsprint pages on the walls of the classroom in the order listed in procedures 2 and 3. Send each group to stand by its own poster. Then start a gallery walk, moving each group around the room in a clockwise direction, giving students time to read and discuss the posters
 5. Ask students to list areas of biggest change and to describe how these changes would affect women's attitudes. (Some would cling to old traditions; others would become more independent.)
 6. Distribute **Handout 4**. Give students a chance to read the information, to annotate as they read, and to answer the questions.

Suggested Responses

1. Women are presented as willing to accept a subordinate status, yielding authority to men.
 2. Accept all reasonable responses, including acceptance of convention.
7. Ask students how and why the views of women differ today. (In the United States, women today are generally seen as men's equals, with careers and the right to vote and run for office.)
 8. Ask why some women in the 1840s might also have had different views. (Some wished to have their own voices heard and not be totally dependent on influencing men. Unmarried women might have felt they had no one to express their views.)
 9. Review with the class the information that students have read in their textbooks about the women's rights movement and its relationship with the antislavery movement.
 10. Remind students of the structure of the Declaration of Independence (an announcement of intent, a statement of general principles, a long list of complaints, and then a declaration of separation). Distribute **Handout 5**, and have students complete the exercise.

Suggested Responses

1. The format is easily recognizable. The authors wanted to draw attention to the fact that, although they were citizens, they had few rights. The Declaration of Independence was well-known and seen as an icon of striving for liberty, thus pointing up the irony of women's status.
 2. Among the complaints are the following:
 - Women had to obey laws that they had no voice in creating.
 - They had no right to their own property or wages after marriage.
 - The law gave men power over their wives and, in the event of separation, control over any children.
 - Men monopolized all access to better occupations, higher education, and religious leadership.
 - There was a double standard for morality; women were ostracized for behavior that men got away with.
 - Men claimed that the subservience of women was God's will.
 - Men tried to lessen women's self-confidence and make women accept subservience.
 3. Some women might have been frightened or discomfited by the demands of the Seneca Falls Declaration. Others might have felt liberated by such an open statement and encouraged by the sympathies of the signers.
11. Ask whether women in the United States today have achieved the Objectives that underlie the Declaration of Sentiments. (Students who think so may cite universal adult suffrage, the presence of women in all occupations including the military, equal-pay-for-equal-work laws, and custody arrangements for children of divorce. Students who disagree may cite a continuing discrepancy between men's and women's earnings, the glass ceiling in corporate boardrooms, and the relatively small number of women in government.)

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.

¹Catherine 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.

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?

²Alexis 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.

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?

Lesson 4

Foundations of American Foreign Policy

Objective

- To understand underlying principles of early American foreign policy

AP* Correlations

Skill Type I

Skill 2: Patterns of Continuity and Change over Time

Thematic Learning Objective: America in the World

WOR-5: Analyze the motives behind, and results of, economic, military, and diplomatic initiatives aimed at expanding U.S. power and territory in the Western Hemisphere in the years between independence and the Civil War

Notes to the Teacher

Three events during the early years of the Republic shaped American foreign policy for decades to come. In his Farewell Address, President George Washington established the concept of isolation, which was to dominate American foreign policy until well into the twentieth century. The War of 1812 illustrated the nation's willingness to violate the policy of neutrality when it became advantageous to do so. The Monroe Doctrine, which stresses America's special interests in the Western Hemisphere, remains, with some modifications, viable today. U.S. foreign policy in the early years of the Republic clearly illustrates the theme of the modern sovereign state over the last four centuries—no permanent friends, only permanent objectives.

In this lesson, students complete an exercise on early foreign policies and note trends over time. They discuss whether the United States based its early foreign policies on morality or national interest. They then assume the role of Secretary of State John Quincy Adams to assess the accomplishments and failures of American foreign policy to 1824 and write two goals for a future policy. Students may find a diplomatic history textbook helpful in completing this lesson.

Procedure

1. Ask what three events during the early years of the American Republic shaped its foreign policy for decades to come. (See Notes to the Teacher.)
2. Distribute **Handout 6**, and have students complete it.

Suggested Responses

Matching

- | | | |
|------|------|-------|
| 1. e | 5. j | 9. d |
| 2. i | 6. f | 10. b |
| 3. k | 7. l | 11. h |
| 4. c | 8. a | 12. g |

Chronological Order

- | | |
|----------------------------------|-----------------------|
| 1. Proclamation of Neutrality | 7. Embargo |
| 2. Jay Treaty | 8. War of 1812 |
| 3. Pinckney Treaty | 9. Treaty of Ghent |
| 4. Washington's Farewell Address | 10. Rush-Bagot Treaty |
| 5. XYZ Affair | 11. Adams-Onis Treaty |
| 6. Louisiana Purchase | 12. Monroe Doctrine |

3. Ask which of the events might be termed pluses and which might be minuses for American foreign policy during the early days of the Republic. (Even the most positive events had negative consequences, at least for some people. Jefferson, for example, had to waffle on his earlier strict interpretation of the Constitution to buy Louisiana. Seemingly unpopular events, such as the Jay Treaty, prompted the Spanish to offer the United States very favorable terms on the Florida border and use of the Mississippi). Stress the positives and negatives of each event.
4. Ask what trends over time might be noted in American foreign policy during the first thirty-five years of the Republic (a tendency toward isolation, the creation of more secure borders, increased respect from foreign countries, increased boldness on the part of American policy makers, and gratitude from some of the newly-independent Central and South American countries).
5. Explain that policy makers have argued endlessly over the basis of American foreign policy. One side emphasizes U.S. national interests, such as protecting independence, borders, security, power, and peace; the other side emphasizes striving to take the high road: to base policies on moral principles that could serve as models for others (human rights, for example). Discuss the positives and negatives of each of these positions, and then ask students to determine which of the two seemed to motivate early American foreign policy and why they believe that. (The protection of national interests seemed paramount when the United States issued the Proclamation of Neutrality with little regard for earlier commitments to France and when President James Monroe issued his now-famous doctrine at a time when the nation, by itself, would have been in no position to defend it.)

6. Distribute **Handout 7**, and divide the class into small groups to complete the activity. Take time to debrief the role-playing and discuss goals for future U.S. foreign policy.

Suggested Responses

1. *Foreign policy*—The policy of the time included isolation, willingness to violate neutrality in the event it became advantageous to do so, and protection of special interests in the Western Hemisphere.
2. *Philosophy*—National interests should determine foreign policy.
3. *Accomplishments*—Adams negotiated the Adams-Onís Treaty, which gave Florida to the United States and eliminated one more contender in the competition for the Oregon Country. Acquisition of Florida at least temporarily ended bickering with Spain, allowed the country to police an area of lawlessness, and provided land of great value and strategic importance. Adams’s collaboration with Monroe in the formulation of the Monroe Doctrine led to a foundation of American foreign policy for future decades. The Doctrine served notice that the Western Hemisphere would be closed to further colonization and that the United States would interpret any attempt of European nations to reestablish colonies in this part of the world as an “unfriendly act” toward the United States. Although the Monroe Doctrine was a bold warning that the United States could not have enforced alone at the time it was issued, it became an increasingly important basis for American policy in later decades when U.S. military strength matched its resolve.
4. *Vision*—Students’ answers might mention completion of America’s expansion to the Pacific and pursuit of good relations with newly independent countries in Latin America.

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–Onís 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

Lesson 5

The End of Homespun: The Early Industrial Revolution

Objective

- To account for the development of manufacturing in the early nineteenth century

AP* Correlations

Skill Type I

Skill 1: Historical Causation

Thematic Learning Objective: Work, Exchange, and Technology

WXT-2: Analyze how innovations in markets, transportation, and technology affected the economy and the different regions of North America from the colonial period through the end of the Civil War

Notes to the Teacher

The eighteenth-century economy was built around exporting a small number of staple goods and the production of necessities by local artisans. In 1800, most Americans wore homespun clothes; only the rare individual could purchase tailor-made clothes of fabrics imported from England. Local cobblers made shoes for the community, and local blacksmiths produced necessary hardware.

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. Factories gradually replaced home and shop industries in producing clothing, items for the home, and machinery for the fields. The new system brought cheaper goods and a higher standard of living, but it also contributed to problems: the loss of artisan skills; the exploitation of women, children, and immigrants; the accumulation of wealth; and the increase of urbanization and its attendant social issues.

In this lesson, students identify factors that made possible the early industrial revolution and rank these events in their order of importance in bringing an end to the “age of homespun.” Students then develop a thesis statement for the development of American industry in the years following the War of 1812.

Procedure

1. Ask students to identify the three factors that contributed to the development of a market economy by the middle of the nineteenth century (the factory system, continental expansion, and commercial

agriculture). Explain that regions and manufacturers' specialization contributed to a reshaping of the American economic system. Ask students what effect these changes would have on the lives of ordinary Americans. (Cheaper goods were produced, and many experienced a higher standard of living; artisan skills were lost; immigrants, women, and children were exploited as a labor force; accumulation of wealth widened and, as thousands moved to urban areas looking for factory work, social problems increased.)

2. Distribute **Handout 8**, and have students work in small groups to complete the exercise.

Suggested Responses

- government protection of rights to inventions
 - government support for crucial developments in transportation
 - tariffs
 - development of corporations with limited liability
 - an improved educational system
 - improved markets and cheap labor with the move from farm to city
 - the Embargo and War of 1812 stimulating a need for domestic manufactures
 - Eli Whitney's concept of interchangeable parts
 - Samuel Slater's mill
 - Oliver Evans's steam engine
 - increased immigration to provide markets and cheap labor
 - government control over interstate commerce and government protection of the sanctity of contracts (or corporate charters)
 - new sources of investment capital during the War of 1812
 - stable currency under the Second Bank of the United States
3. Ask students to rank the factors in order to assess their relative importance in promoting industrial revolution. Then have students write thesis statements to account for the early development of manufacturing in the United States. (Students' statements might read something like this: In the early years of the nineteenth century, government policies disrupted commerce with foreign nations; however, the government, at the same time, created a climate that served as a catalyst for early industrialization.)
 4. Have students share their answers, and use their responses as a springboard for class discussion.

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

¹Stephan Thernstrom, *A History of the American People*, Vol. 1 (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1984), 217.

²Letter 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

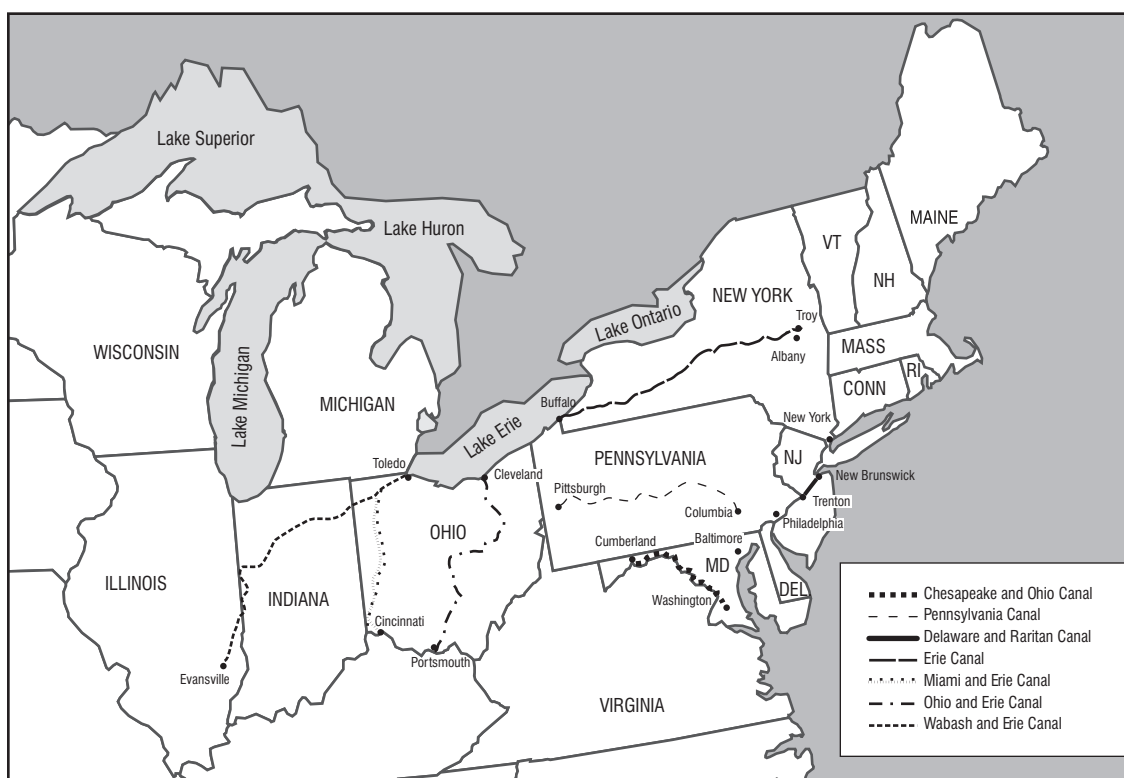


Fig. 5.1.

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

³John M. Blum, et al., *The National Experience, Part I: A History of the United States to 1877* (New York: Harcourt Brace, 1993), 202.

⁴Thomas 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

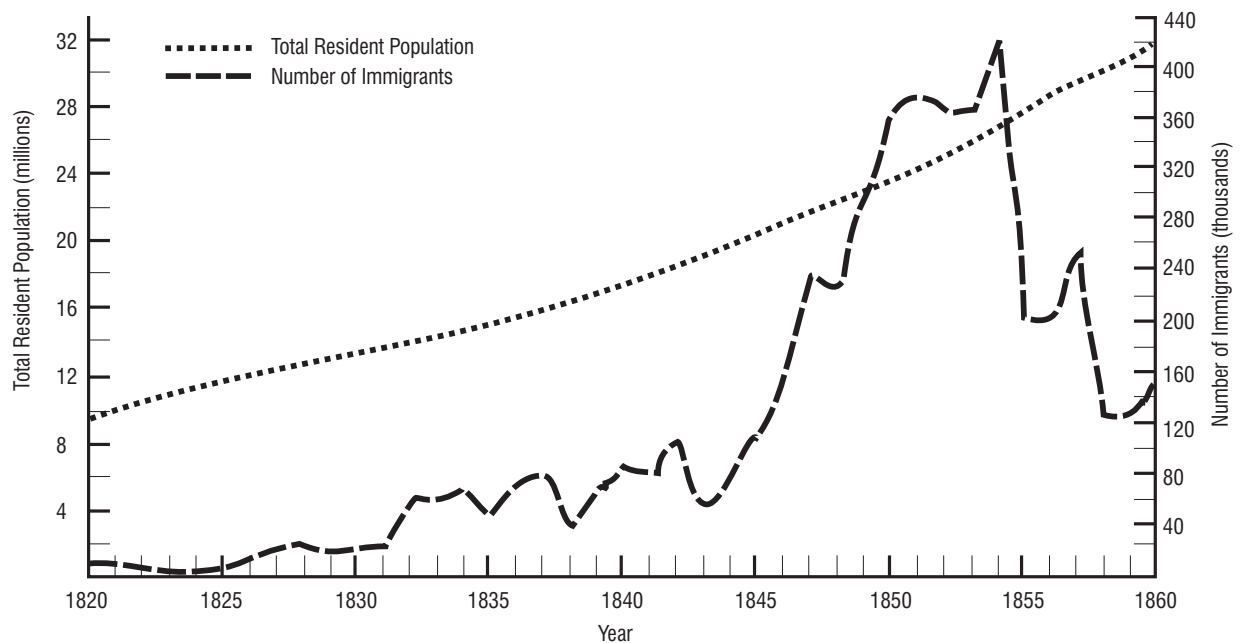


Fig. 5.2.

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

⁵Mary Beth Norton, et al., *A People and a Nation, Vol. I: To 1877* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2005), 247.

⁶Daniel J. Boorstin and Brooks Mather Kelley, *A History of the United States* (Upper Saddle River, N.J.: Pearson Prentice Hall, 2005), 210–11.

Lesson 6

The U.S. Government, American Settlers, and the Cherokee: A Case Study

Objectives

- To understand the variety of ways the Cherokee elite assimilated into the white culture, as well as the limits of this assimilation
- To assess the impact of the U.S. government's policies on the Cherokee and to analyze the role of the American settlers in these policies
- To examine the divisions among the Cherokee

AP* Correlations

Skill Type III

Skill 7: Appropriate Use of Relevant Historical Evidence

Thematic Learning Objective: Peopling

PEO-5: Explain how free and forced migration to and within different parts of North America caused regional development, cultural diversity and blending, and political and social conflicts through the 19th century

Notes to the Teacher

When European-Americans—especially English settlers—arrived and stayed in the area that eventually became the United States, there was always tension between the settlers and those who had been there, the so-called “Indians,” including people as diverse as the Cherokee, Choctaws, Iroquois, and Naragansetts. This lesson focuses on the interactions between American settlers and the Cherokee. Since the Cherokee were the most assimilated of the native nations in 1800, few people would have predicted that thirty years later President Andrew Jackson would ignore a Supreme Court order, an action that ultimately forced the removal of more than twelve thousand Cherokee from their land—which white settlers immediately took over. A small number of Cherokee willingly moved; when most were forced to do so, death and disease resulted. Furthermore, the supporters of relocation (Major Ridge, his son John, and Elias Boudinot) were assassinated in 1839.

In this lesson, students examine documents that illustrate the process of assimilation of the Cherokee elite, as well as the tensions that emerged. Then students analyze materials that illustrate reactions: the Georgian leaders, President Jackson's perspective, the Supreme Court decision, and the Cherokee responses. Finally, students examine documents that

led to the Cherokee expulsion in the infamous Trail of Tears of 1838 and conclude by using many of these sources to write a response to a document-based question.

Procedure

1. Ask students in a think-pair-share what they know or think they know about English-American assumptions about land and Native American assumptions about land.
2. Divide the class into partner groups. Distribute **Handout 9**, and allow time for students to complete it.

Suggested Responses

1. The documents emphasize Cherokee assimilation in a variety of ways.
Economics—land cultivation, industrial development, counting of objects
Culture—definition of civilization, Christianity
Politics—acceptance of treaties, United States as model, development of laws
 2. The documents seem to emphasize privileged positions.
 3. Both pictures show Native American men looking like English Americans.
3. Distribute **Handout 10**, and ask students to complete the activity in part A.

Suggested Responses

- Document 1*—Greedy people continue to divide and conquer Cherokees.
- Document 2*—The Cherokee migration westward should be voluntary; at the same time, the Cherokee, like all people living in the United States, must follow U.S. laws.
- Document 3*—The Cherokee people constitute their own nation separate from the United States. Georgian officials cannot require them to follow state laws. Legally, that can only be done by the federal government.
- Document 4*—Given that the overwhelming majority of the Cherokee never agreed to move, this treaty is illegal.
- Document 5*—The Cherokee have a longer right to the land of their forefathers than the newer settlers; yet the settlers are stronger, so it is better for the Cherokee to move.

Document 6—The Cherokee were treated like animals as they were forced to move.

Document 7—The Cherokee lost everything as they were forced to move. It was horrible to witness the forced migration.

4. Assign the document-based question presented in part B of **Hand-out 10**.

Enrichment/Extension

1. Use *U.S. Indian Policy, 1815–1860: Removal to Reservations: A Unit of Study for Grades 8–12* by David L. Ghere and Jan F. Spreeman (OAH and NCHS, 2000) for additional sources and activities; have students watch an excerpt from “Trail of Tears,” the third episode of the PBS program *We Shall Remain: America Through Native Eyes* (American Experience, 2009).
2. Have students create a dialogue among Cherokee prior to, during, and/or after their removal.
3. Have students debate whether this removal can be considered ethnic cleansing.

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

¹Theda 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)

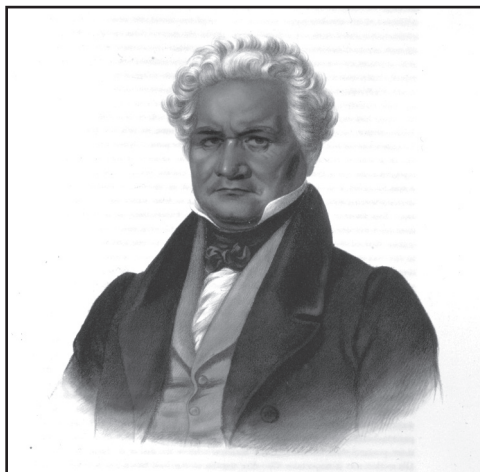


Fig. 6.1.

²Letter 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.

³Elias 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)

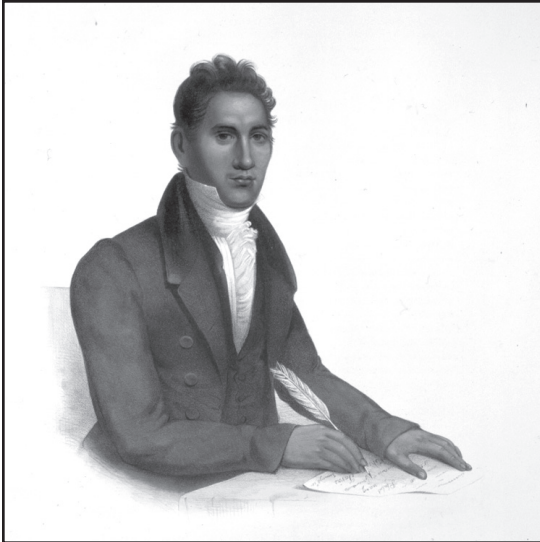


Fig. 6.2.

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?

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. ...

¹Wilson 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

²Theda Purdue and Michael D. Green, eds., *The Cherokee Removal: A Brief History with Documents* (Boston: Bedford/St. Martin's, 1995), 147–48.

³John 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.

⁵Grant 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.

Lesson 7

The Mexican War: Was It in the National Interest?

Objective

- To understand both the idealism and the realism of American policy makers at the time of the Mexican War

AP* Correlations

Skill Type III

Skill 7: Appropriate Use of Relevant Historical Evidence

Thematic Learning Objective: America in the World

WOR-5: Analyze the motives behind, and results of, economic, military, and diplomatic initiatives aimed at expanding U.S. power and territory in the Western Hemisphere in the years between independence and the Civil War

Thematic Learning Objective: Identity

ID-2: Assess the impact of Manifest Destiny, territorial expansion, the Civil War, and industrialization on popular beliefs about progress and the national destiny of the U.S. in the 19th century

Notes to the Teacher

Manifest Destiny furnished the drive and umbrella of respectability for westward expansion. However, America's national sections and, in many instances, individuals and groups had their own motives for promoting American expansion to the Pacific. Some of these motives were idealistic, while others were based on economic greed or prejudices. President James Polk's fulfillment of his campaign pledge to complete the nation's "manifest destiny" left the nation with the huge territory of the Southwest, the moral heritage of the slavery dispute, and discord with Mexico that lingers to this day.

In this lesson, students read a series of documents and compile a list of reasons for and against continental expansion in the 1840s. They then examine the values of decision makers of that era and contrast them with their own values and biases.

Procedure

1. Ask students to define *Manifest Destiny* (belief that it was the duty of Americans to extend republican institutions to the Pacific Ocean). Explain the question that arose from this desire: Would the new territories follow the traditions of the reform-minded North or the aristocratic and slavery-based traditions found in the South?

2. Divide the class into small groups, distribute **Handout 11**, and ask students to complete the activity. Then have students share responses in a large-group setting.

Suggested Responses

Arguments for American Expansion

- It lessened the possibility of future collisions with foreign powers.
- It permitted the United States to spread democratic ideals.
- It fulfilled the mission some felt to bring a superior civilization to superstitious and tyrannical Mexico.
- It permitted the United States to acquire the benefits of harbors on the Pacific and new trade with the Far East.

Arguments against American Expansion

- Americans, no matter how superior they believe their civilization to be, have no right to force their institutions on Mexicans and interfere with their rights to self-determination.
- Many believed the Mexican War was fought in order to spread the institution of slavery.
- War was unnecessary because Mexico was not menacing the United States.
- The war resulted from an unconstitutional act on the part of President Polk.
- It created a lasting bitterness among Mexicans, who came to view the United States as a greedy and untrustworthy bully.
- The Mexican War enlarged the national appetite for expansion and reinforced racist philosophies.

3. Ask students, working individually, to write paragraphs answering the following question: To what extent did the Mexican War promote the national interest? The priorities students place on various arguments for and against national expansion will determine their answers.
4. Ask students to brainstorm values in the American character portrayed by opinion makers at the time of the Mexican War. (Students should see attitudes of self-interest, greed, American supremacy, and racism, as well as a sense of an American mission in the rest of the world.)
5. Have students examine the paragraphs they wrote as part of procedure 3. Ask students to add a second paragraph discussing the values evident in their own writing and the extent to which their values resemble those of opinion makers of the 1840s.

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.

²Richard N. Current, et al., *A Survey of American History, Volume 1: To 1877* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1991), 372.

³Walt Whitman, *The Gathering of the Forces* (New York: G. P. Putnam’s Sons, 1920), 246–47.

⁴Norman 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-remembered 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

⁵Albert 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.

⁶J. Russell Lowell, *The Biglow Papers* (Montreal: R. Worthington, 1866), 15.

⁷Thomas A. Bailey, et al., eds., *The American Pageant: A History of the Republic*, vol. 1 (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1998), 391.

⁸*Ibid.*, 395, 398.

⁹Irwin Unger, *These United States: The Questions of Our Past*, vol. 1 (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1995), 300–301.

Arguments for American Expansion	Arguments against American Expansion

Lesson 8

Westward Expansion: A Force for Unity or Division?

Objective

- To understand both the assets and the liabilities of continental expansion

AP* Correlations

Skill Type I

Skill 2: Patterns of Continuity and Change over Time

Thematic Learning Objective: Identity

ID-5: Analyze the role of economic, political, social, and ethnic factors on the formation of regional identities in what would become the United States from the colonial period through the 19th century

Thematic Learning Objective: America in the World

WOR-5: Analyze the motives behind, and results of, economic, military, and diplomatic initiatives aimed at expanding U.S. power and territory in the Western Hemisphere in the years between independence and the Civil War

Notes to the Teacher

Each American acquisition of new land created a safety valve for the discontented and opened economic opportunities for settlers willing to risk the uncertainties and dangers of the frontier. By the 1840s, the old Puritan concept of creating a city upon a hill had been transformed into the idea of an American mission to spread the American experiment in freedom and liberty across the continent. In their enthusiasm, however, expansionists temporarily ignored problems, particularly slavery, which surfaced with the acquisition of new territories.

Westward expansion brought increasing specialization. While farming was the dominant occupation in all sections of the country prior to 1860, substantial regionalization occurred as the North developed a factory system, the South relied on a plantation economy, and the West developed family farms specializing in grains for eastern markets. Thus each region developed a specialty as well as a dependency on other areas. Developments in transportation made this possible; they also created a firm link between the East and West. The South, with most of its capital invested in slaves, developed far fewer factories, railroads, and canals and thus became increasingly dependent on northern supplies. Political bonds accompa-

nied economic ties. In time, the static South viewed the new east-west axis as a threat to its very existence. Even prospects of obtaining the Far West did not quiet the fears of Southern planters. Consequently, sectional interests that finally culminated in the Civil War took precedence over earlier nationalizing trends.

In this lesson, students organize essential information regarding American expansion and interpret the significance of territorial acquisitions to the country's development. To conclude the lesson, students take the perspective of typical individuals in the North, South, and West and decide what each person would have believed about eight critical issues facing the national government in the antebellum period. Note that students will need colored pencils or markers to complete **Handout 12**.

Procedure

1. Ask students the following questions:
 - How did the concept of Manifest Destiny change the Puritan concept of the city on the hill? (Americans developed the idea of an American mission to spread the American experiment in freedom and liberty across the continent.)
 - What changes did westward expansion bring to each section of the country? (The South relied on a plantation economy and slaves to support it, Northerners developed the factory system, and Westerners became the “bread basket” for the North and South.)

Explain that the extensive capital improvements in the North and West pushed their economic development beyond that of the South, which continued to invest in land and slaves and which, in turn, became increasingly dependent on the North and West for economic survival.

2. Distribute **Handout 12**, and have students complete parts A and B.

Suggested Responses

Part A.

1. *Original United States*—1783; Britain; thirteen colonies received independence and all land to the Mississippi River in the Treaty of Paris at the end of the American Revolution
2. *Louisiana Purchase*—1803; France; United States bought this land to guarantee access to the Mississippi River for Western farmers after Spain transferred control of the territory to France
3. *British Cession*—1818; Britain; Britain and the United States agreed to make the 49th parallel the border between Canada and the United States from Lake of the Woods in Minnesota to the Rockies

4. *Spanish Cession*—1819; Spain; United States received Florida in the Adams-Onís Treaty after the United States complained that Spain was not controlling Indian attacks on Americans just across the border; the United States assumed \$5 million in claims American shippers had against Spain for interference with trade during Napoleonic Wars
5. *Texas Annexation*—1845; Texas claimed status as an independent republic; United States annexed the Lone Star Republic despite the objections of Mexico, the territory's former owner
6. *Oregon Country*—1846; compromise with Britain over disputed territory; after tariff concessions to Britain, the United States arranged a compromise with Britain to divide the Oregon Country at the 49th parallel
7. *Mexican Cession*—1848; Mexico; the United States received the land in the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo after the American victory in the Mexican War; the United States paid Mexico \$15 million and assumed \$3 million in American claims against Mexico
8. *Gadsden Purchase*—1853; Mexico; the United States purchased this land for \$10 million to provide a route for a transcontinental railroad across the country's southern border

Part B.

See the Teacher Resource Page on page 62.

3. Distribute **Handout 13**, and have students complete it. Review responses.

Suggested Responses

Part A.

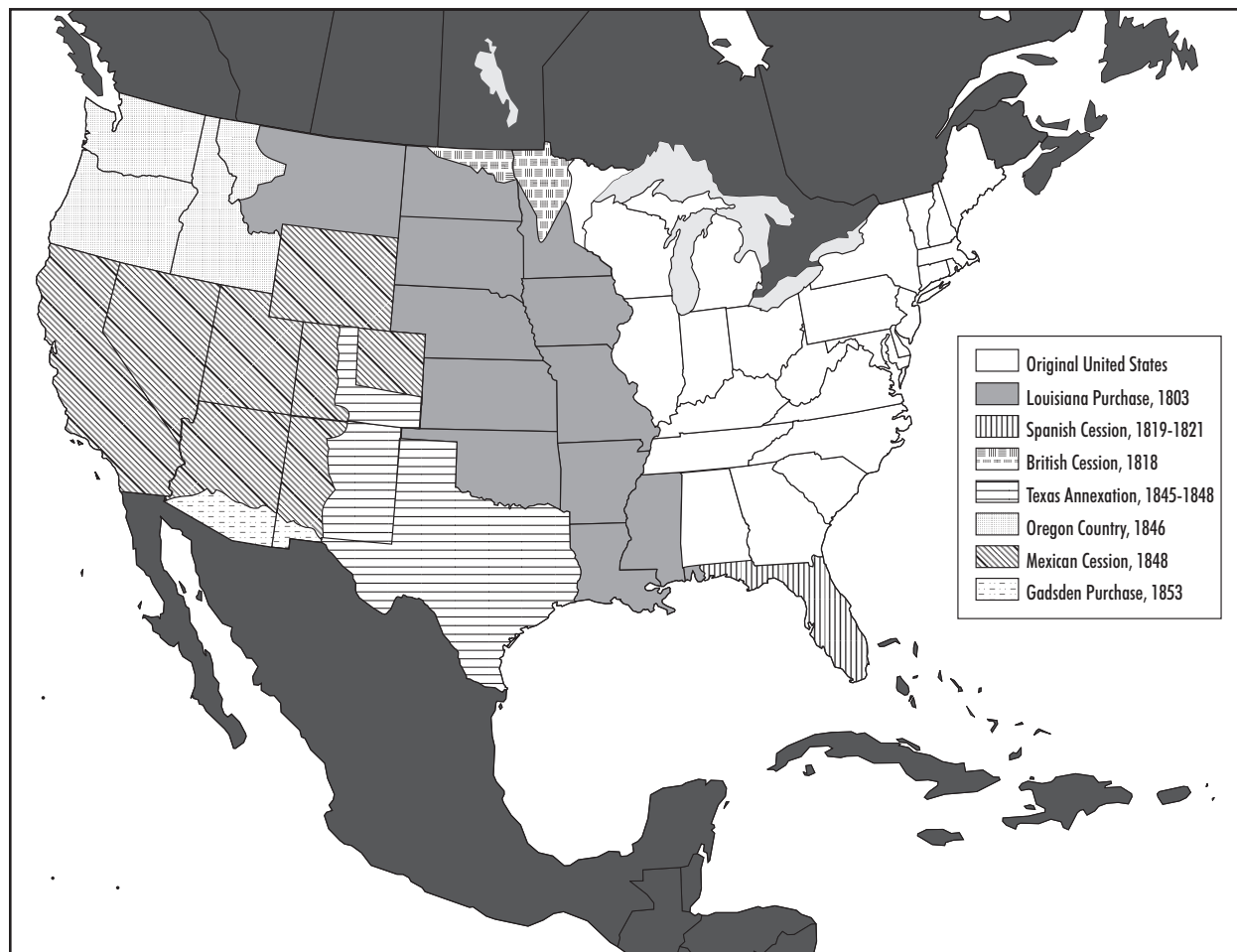
1.
 - Watson would approve to protect his infant industry from foreign competition.
 - Hicks might approve as part of a deal for internal improvements.
 - Fitzhugh would oppose because a high tariff would provoke foreign retaliation and raise the cost of essential imports.
2.
 - Watson would approve as a means of increasing his markets.
 - Hicks would approve because of the increased chances for government benefits to aid the West.
 - Fitzhugh would likely disapprove because of fear of increased antislavery sentiment.

3.
 - Watson would approve as one more way to increase settlement and create new markets.
 - Hicks would approve because of possible economic and political benefits to his region.
 - Fitzhugh would disapprove the possibility of new free states that would further isolate his proslavery South from the mainstream of American politics. Acquisition of Florida might prevent Indian raids in his area, and annexation of Texas held out the promise of additional slave territory. The Far West seemed less hospitable to slavery.
4.
 - Watson would approve because of the chance of linking him to new markets.
 - Hicks would approve because of increased access for him and his neighbors to eastern markets and goods.
 - Fitzhugh would likely disapprove because his own markets were not in the West, and most internal improvements were not located in the South. Transcontinental railroads would further cement the East-West link.
5.
 - Both Watson and Hicks would likely approve because of the marginal economic value of slaves for them and perhaps because of their moral values.
 - Fitzhugh would disapprove because of the threat to his own social values and economic foundation.
6.
 - Both Watson and Hicks would approve as a way of improving their own economic well-being.
 - Fitzhugh would view technology as a threat to the continuation of slavery in the South.
7.
 - Watson would approve new and inexpensive sources of labor and new markets for his products.
 - Hicks would approve immigration as a source of markets and new settlers for the West.
 - Fitzhugh would disapprove the influx of immigrants, who might provide competition for slaves.
8.
 - Watson might view education as desirable to provide a trained labor force, or he might wish to use children in his factories as a source of cheap labor.
 - Hicks might question the value of schools.
 - Fitzhugh would likely disapprove the idea of universal education as a threat to the institution of slavery.

Part B.

1. “West” shifted westward with each new acquisition. What was “west” in 1800, Tennessee, for example, became East with later acquisitions.
2. Benefits included new markets, new sources of raw materials, an outlet for the discontented, greater power and status for the country, and new possibilities for demonstrating the value of democracy.
3. Negatives included the reintroduction of the slavery controversy, problems with neighboring countries to the south, and new ethnic problems with increased diversity.
4. Clay’s American System aimed at creating a self-sufficient national economy in which sections became part of an interdependent whole and specialized in those activities for which they had a competitive advantage. Such a concept would strengthen the national government and break down regional isolation.
5. With industrialization and immigration, the North became more diverse in both its economic activity and its ethnic makeup. While the South became determined to protect its slavery and agrarian lifestyle, the North accepted change, and many people aimed to institute reforms to bring justice and equality for all.
6. The agrarian West became more politically and economically tied to the East as new modes of transportation increasingly linked the fortunes of the two sections and isolated the South.
7. As the interests of the East and West increasingly merged, the South felt isolated and unable to protect its interests as part of the Union. Balancing competing interests became an ever greater challenge for the federal government.

Suggested Responses, Handout 12, Part B



Enlarging the National State

Part A.

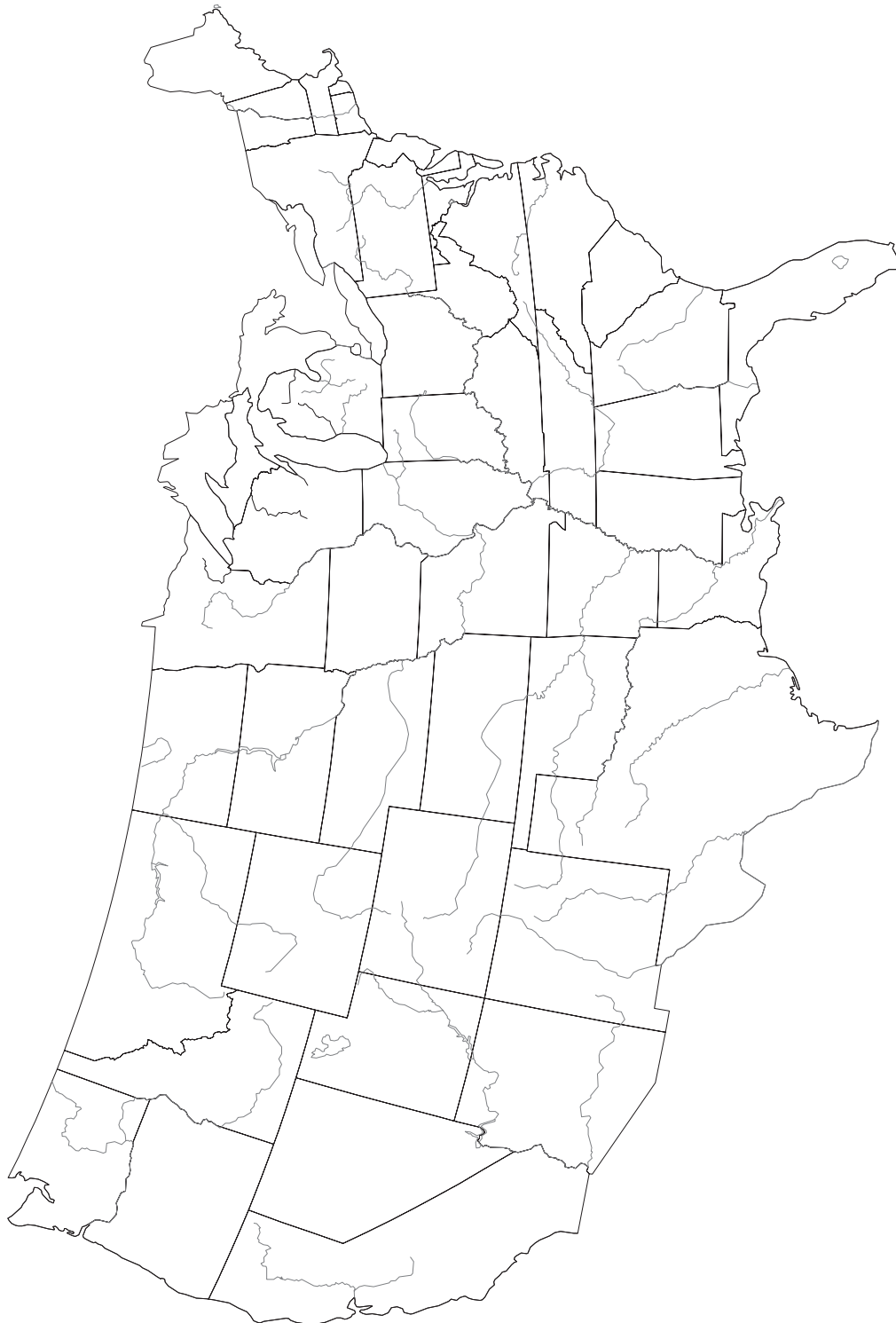
Directions: Today Americans unanimously accept the present territorial boundaries of the continental United States. That was not always the case. Opponents of expansion objected to the acquisition of each piece of land. However, the dominant theme in the country's past has always been expansion. Research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



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.

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?

Lesson 9

Henry David Thoreau and Transcendentalism

Objective

- To identify the major principles of transcendentalism as they appear in the writings of Henry David Thoreau

AP* Correlations

Skill Type II

Skill 5: Contextualization

Thematic Learning Objective: Ideas, Beliefs, and Culture

CUL-5: Analyze ways that philosophical, moral, and scientific ideas were used to defend and challenge the dominant economic and social order in the 19th and 20th centuries

Notes to the Teacher

The first true American contribution to philosophy and intellectual thought was transcendentalism. The transcendentalists offered no real specific set of beliefs; they did offer a systematic way of going about understanding the world and humankind's place in it. The transcendentalists were not philosophers; they were poets, novelists, social critics, and reformers. The two most important figures in the American transcendentalist movement were Ralph Waldo Emerson and Henry David Thoreau. Prior to the lesson, have students read information in their textbooks about the American transcendentalist movement.

In this lesson, students read summaries of the basic principles or ideals of the transcendental movement and match them with excerpts from the writings of Henry David Thoreau. Then students select their favorite quotations and explain them to the rest of the class. The lesson closes with a discussion about connections between Thoreau's ideas and the historical events of his time.

Procedure

1. Distribute **Handout 14**, and have students read the basic principles of transcendentalism and discuss them as a class.
2. Write the word *transcendentalism* on the board, and ask students to summarize individually what they think it means (the rejection of John Locke and empiricism; the use of intuition instead of science to discover truth, poetry, and philosophy). Have paired students compare and contrast their answers before discussing responses as a class.

3. Distribute **Handout 15**, and ask students to read the quotations and identify the basic principle clarified in each one. This assignment can be completed individually or used as a group activity. Tell students they must be prepared to defend their answers. Review responses.

Suggested Responses

1. a, b	9. d	17. a	25. a, b
2. a, b	10. a, c	18. a	26. a, b
3. d	11. a, c	19. b	27. a, b, d
4. a, b	12. a	20. a, c, d, e	28. d
5. a	13. a, e	21. a, b	29. c
6. b, e	14. a, b, e	22. a, b, e	30. e
7. a, e	15. d	23. a	31. c, d
8. b	16. c	24. a, b	32. a, d

4. Have students identify five favorite quotations from the excerpts on **Handout 15**. Tell students to prepare to discuss why they selected each one and what meaning it has for them. Students' responses will vary with this activity.
5. Have students discuss connections between Thoreau's ideas (transcendentalism) and historical events during the antebellum and Civil War periods. Lead students to see that the moral idealism of transcendentalism connects clearly with the movement to abolish slavery. Thoreau was a politically aware individual; he was opposed to slavery and to the Mexican-American War, a stance reflected in his essay "Civil Disobedience." In some ways a political activist, he even spent a night in jail for refusing to pay taxes to a government whose actions he disapproved. He spoke openly in support of John Brown. Transcendentalist ideas helped to create a philosophical climate in the North; this climate was a key factor in support for the Civil War and in the war's outcome.

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)

Lesson 10

California's Gold Rush and the Oregon Trail

Objectives

- To understand how the opening of the Oregon Trail and the Gold Rush affected the growth and development of the United States
- To analyze the impact of these events on indigenous people in the Far West

AP* Correlations

Skill Type I

Skill 1: Historical Causation

Thematic Learning Objective: Peopling

PEO-5: Explain how free and forced migration to and within different parts of North America caused regional development, cultural diversity and blending, and political and social conflicts through the 19th century

Notes to the Teacher

Levi Strauss opened a dry goods shop during the Gold Rush and found that there was a great demand among the miners for sturdy men's pants. He and a partner began to manufacture pants from denim (heavy, canvaslike cloth) with extra detailing to fit the needs of the miners: double seams, metal rivets, and extra pockets designed for carrying heavy gold nuggets.

During the Mexican War (1846–48) that followed the annexation of Texas, John C. Frémont, a U.S. Army officer, urged American ranchers in the north to declare independence from Mexico. They proclaimed California to be a republic. The territory south of this "Bear Flag Republic" was taken by American forces, and the whole was officially ceded to the United States by the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo which ended the war in 1848. California became a state two years later under the Compromise of 1850.

The Oregon Territory, which included Oregon, Washington, Idaho, and part of Montana, had been claimed by both Britain and the United States. James K. Polk campaigned under the slogan "Fifty-Four Forty or Fight" in 1844 but wasn't willing to go to war with Britain at the same time he was fighting Mexico. The border was eventually settled at the 49th parallel by a treaty in 1846, and peace between Canada and the United States has been maintained since.

Indians along the Oregon Trail suffered from loss of grazing lands, from depletion of the buffalo and other sources of food, and from diseases brought by whites. In spite of the prohibition against slavery, Indians were used as slaves in California mines from 1849 to 1851. When they suffered attacks by white miners who resented the fact that the Indian laborers gave an unfair advantage to the established miners, the Indians were then sent to be field workers and house servants. The Indian population in California fell from 200,000 to 30,000 in just a few years.

A storyboard, a concept originally used in movies and television, is a series of panels sketching out the sequence of scenes and major events to be filmed. Graphic novels also use storyboards to plan out the sequence of the story in a quick manner.

In this lesson, students consider how events in the past shape our lives today. They study a map of major trails to Oregon and California and hypothesize about the difficulties travelers of the time would face. Students work in groups to research the Oregon Trail experience and the Gold Rush and create storyboards based on their findings. To conclude, students participate in a discussion of the effects of these events.

Bring in or wear (or have a student wear) a traditional pair of blue jeans with double seams and rivets to demonstrate the clothing's connection with the Gold Rush. In addition, bring in one or more graphic novels like *Maus* or *Persepolis* as well as chart paper and markers, colored pencils, or crayons. Make more than enough copies of **Handout 17** in case students need extra storyboard panels.

Procedure

1. Hold up or model a pair of jeans. Ask students to look carefully at how the clothing is constructed. Share information about Levi Strauss, and ask how the design of the pants was particularly suitable for gold miners. Tell students that this new clothing style is one of many changes that came about as a result of the Gold Rush. In this lesson, the class will review two major population shifts westward—the Gold Rush and the opening of the Oregon Trail.
2. Ask students to explain how California and Oregon were added to the United States. (California became part of the United States after the Mexican War. Oregon, which became the states of Washington and Oregon, was added as part of a settlement with Great Britain over a boundary dispute in the Northwest.) Why were people so eager to get there? (Emphasize the Depression of 1837 and population growth in the East.)

3. Distribute **Handout 16**, and give students a few minutes to complete the activity.

Suggested Responses

- The Oregon Trail would involve a distance of more than two thousand miles, possibly hostile Indians, fording rivers, and getting over the Rocky Mountains.
 - The Santa Fe Trail involved about two thousand miles, serious threat of attacks by Comanches and Apaches, fording rivers, and hostile terrain including canyons, mountains, and the Mojave Desert.
4. Tell students that they will design storyboards for a graphic history of two events in the West: the migration along the Oregon Trail and the California Gold Rush. Explain the concept of a storyboard, and show students an example of a graphic novel. Distribute **Handout 17**.
 5. Divide the class into groups to create a storyboard on one of the following topics. If students are having difficulty, give them the hints in parentheses.
 - Preparing for a journey on the Oregon Trail (What supplies did one bring? How much did it cost? How did people transport what they needed?)
 - Life along the Oregon Trail (wagon trains, roles of men and women, sickness, difficulties of terrain, crossing rivers)
 - Indian attitudes toward Overlanders on the Oregon Trail (early and later)
 - The Grattan Massacre (sometimes called the Mormon Cow Massacre)
 - The Donner Party (why shortcuts don't always work!)
 - The discovery of gold near Sacramento (the roles of John Sutter, James W. Marshall, and Sam Brannan)
 - Getting to California (Oregon, California, Santa Fe and Mormon Trails; around Cape Horn; across the Isthmus of Panama)
 - The technology of gold extraction (placer mining, sluicing, dredging, hard rock mining)
 - Life in a gold mining town (demographics, providing necessities, incidents of violence)
 - Treatment of Chinese and Hispanic miners (taxes, laws, violence and lynchings)
 - Effects of the Gold Rush on California Indians (enslavement, other forms of forced labor, demographic changes)
 - Impact of the Gold Rush on the environment (effects of heavy mining technology)

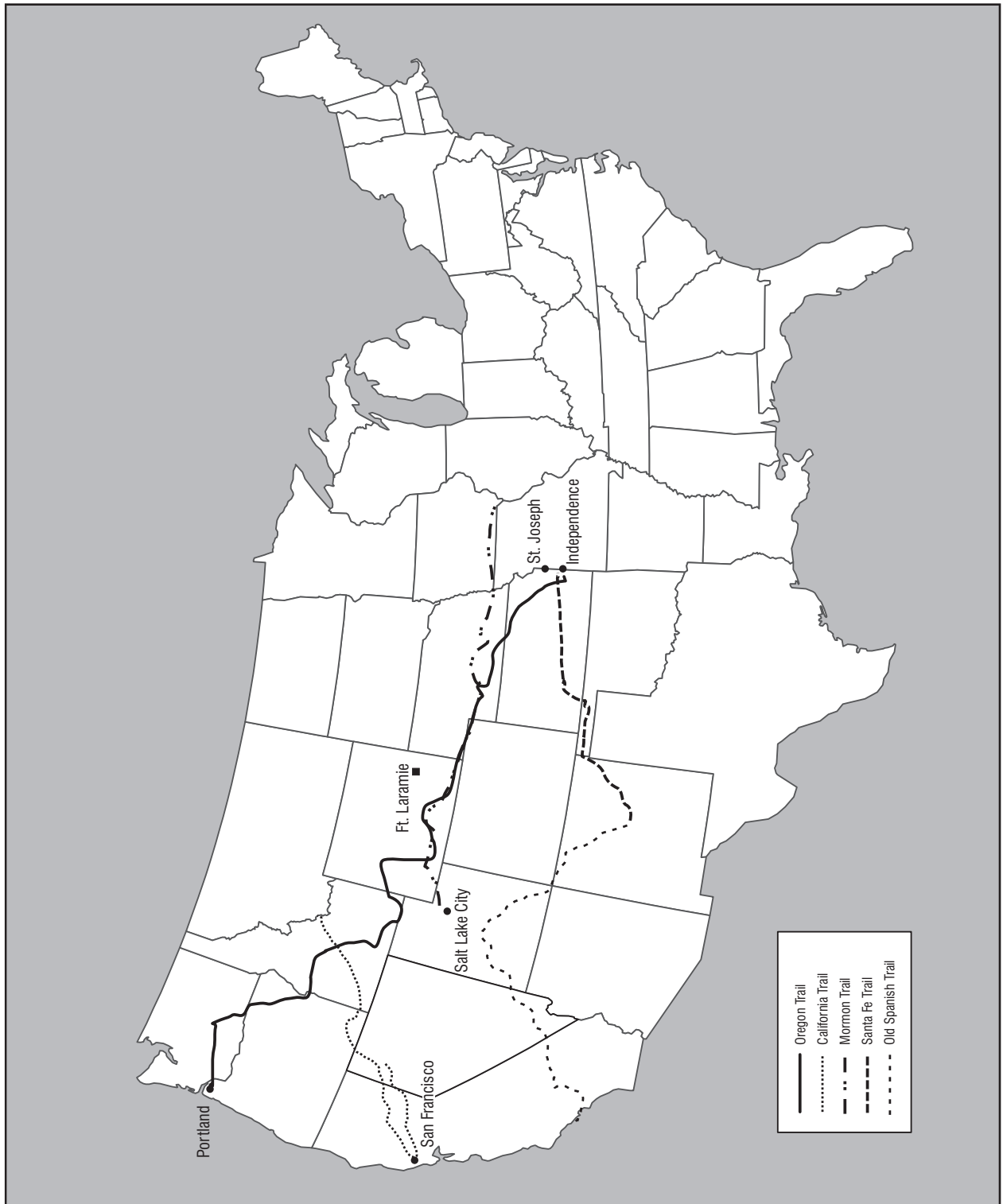
6. Give students time to plan and create their storyboards. Be sure each group has a textbook and other research material or computer access. Give each group chart paper and markers or crayons. Have them plan the storyboards on **Handout 17** and then draw them on the larger chart paper.
7. Put the chart papers up around the classroom. Give each group time to explain its storyboard and tell what information they discovered in their research and included in their panels.
8. Have students summarize the ways in which westward migration and the Gold Rush affected the development of the United States and its citizens.

Suggested Responses

- California's population rose dramatically and was remarkable for its diversity. In 1847, 7,000 Californios (native-born Mexicans) and 6,000 others lived there. During the Gold Rush, Sonorans from Mexico, Irish, French, Latin Americans, and Chinese emigrated there.
- San Francisco grew into a major city and port with a diverse population.
- Discrimination against Californios, Hispanics, and Chinese included ethnicity-based taxes and led to the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882, reflecting nativist sentiment.
- There was an increased incentive for the building of a trans-continental railroad.
- There was a cultural change from the Puritan ethic to get-rich-quick attitudes.
- New industries were born: Levi Strauss's jeans, wine-growing, Wells-Fargo shipping and mail delivery.
- There was extreme damage to the environment from mining after placer mining gave way to dredgers and hydraulic hoses.
- The admission of California to the Union under the Compromise of 1850 was at the price of the Fugitive Slave Law, which brought the nation closer to civil war.
- The addition to U.S. wealth was substantial, \$594 million in gold ingots in ten years.
- The Indian populations of both California and the Oregon Trail route were devastated.

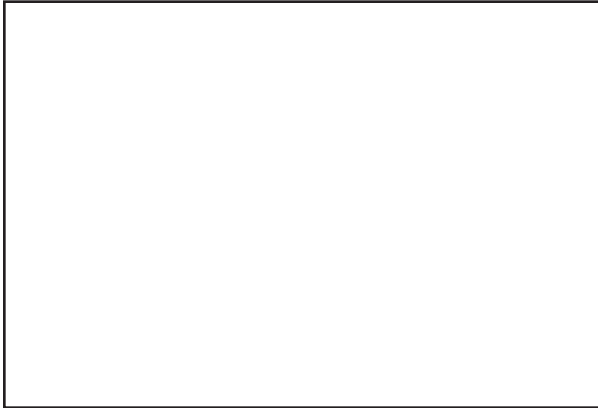
The Way West

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.

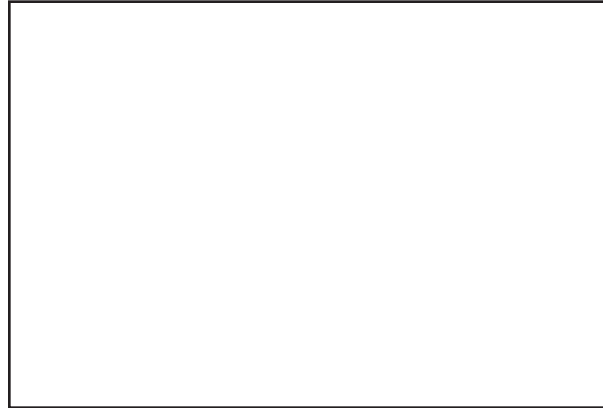


Storyboarding the Western Migration

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 _____

Lesson 11

The Nature of Slavery in the Antebellum South

Objective

- To understand the impact of slavery in the South and how the North responded to this “peculiar institution”

AP* Correlations

Skill Type II

Skill 4: Comparison

Thematic Learning Objective: Politics and Power

POL-3: Explain how activist groups and reform movements, such as antebellum reformers, civil rights activists, and social conservatives, have caused changes to state institutions and U.S. society

Notes to the Teacher

Before the Nat Turner Rebellion in 1831, very few Southerners gave much thought to slave rebellions. After defeat of a proposal to emancipate their slaves, the South hardened its position on slavery, and opposition to slavery in the South waned. Slavery became the “peculiar institution” that the Old South became determined to preserve.

During the antebellum period, slaves were considered property with no individual rights. Ideas justifying slavery included the “positive good theory” and the “mud sill theory.” Southern clergymen preached that slaves should obey their masters and that the Bible supported slavery. In 1857, a Southern dominated Supreme Court, led by Chief Justice Roger B. Taney, declared in the Dred Scott decision that neither slaves from Africa nor their descendants were citizens of the United States. Slave codes were in place throughout the South. Often slaves would resort to various forms of resistance. Slaves also turned to religion and the ideas that slavery was a test and that one day God would lead the slaves out of bondage, just as Moses led the Jews to the Promised Land.

Despite clear Southern support for slavery, only a quarter of Southern whites possessed slaves, and few had more than twenty.

In this lesson, students research attitudes toward slavery in the antebellum South and North. Students conduct a class discussion on the life of slaves and role-play opponents and supporters of slavery.

Procedure

1. Distribute **Handout 18**, and have students conduct research to answer the questions.
2. Ask about the status of slaves in the South prior to the Civil War. (See Notes to the Teacher.) Review responses to **Handout 18**.

Suggested Responses

1. Slaves in the Upper South—Virginia, North Carolina, and Maryland—were sold into the Lower South—Louisiana, Alabama, and Mississippi.
2. The sale of slaves and the presence of holding pens were vivid reminders to visitors, especially foreigners, that this nation, founded on the principles of liberty and justice for all, did not include slaves in this equation.
3. Following Nat Turner’s rebellion, the South was panic-stricken. White mobs throughout the region attacked and murdered more than two hundred blacks who were thought to have participated in the rebellion. The Virginia legislature briefly debated abolishing slavery; when this failed, the South seemed resolved to defend this “peculiar institution” without looking back.
4. Fitzhugh argued that the slaves were like children who must be governed by parents. Without the master’s help, slaves would revert to barbaric ways; therefore, slavery actually saves them from extinction.
5. Roswell King Jr., manager of the estate, used a system of rewards and punishment to control the slaves. He found that his slaves were content because he allowed them to plant and raise their own crops and that by being fair to them he had a higher yield in his crops than others nearby.
6. Poor white men were considered superior to blacks and Indians and often supported slavery.
7. There was little or no protection of slave families. The threat of being sold was constantly on the minds of all. Female slaves had no protection from sexual advances. The offspring of such unions were considered slaves. Among slaves, the Christian religion suggested that their condition was a test of faith.
8. The Weeping Time refers to the largest sale of slaves in the history of America when Pierce Butler was forced by huge debts to auction more than four hundred slaves.
9. It was inhumane, slaves were treated like property, women were exploited sexually, slaves had no individual rights, slaves were brutalized by beatings and mutilations, families had no

protection under the law, and “All men are created equal” clause of Declaration was not applied to slaves.

10. Few agreed with him because Garrison’s views were too radical even for most abolitionists of the day.
 11. The Indian Removal Act opened up new land for white settlers.
 12. The Anti-Slavery Convention of American Women met in this center of abolitionist sentiment along with three thousand other reformers. The next day the building was burnt to the ground. Most people in the North were indifferent to slavery and preferred not to deal with it.
 13. This book was the first open discussion of the sexual abuse of slave women.
 14. These books outraged Southerners. Frederick Douglass and Harriet Beecher Stowe converted many to the abolitionist cause.
 15. Some abolitionists felt justified in using violence to resist slavery because returning escaped slaves to the South was unacceptable.
 16. The Dred Scott decision declared that blacks had no rights because they came to the United States in a condition of servitude. The Missouri Compromise line was declared unconstitutional; therefore, slaves could be taken by their masters to any western territory because they were property.
 17. Lincoln believed that the Dred Scott decision would lead to the legalization of slavery since slaves could be lawfully taken to free states.
 18. The Fugitive Slave Law was the most controversial because it required citizens to assist in the recovery of escaped slaves. Many Northern states responded by passing personal liberty laws to protect the rights of escaped slaves. Abolitionists felt that it was now legitimate to use violence. John Brown’s use of violence at Harper’s Ferry and his call for a slave rebellion were not condemned in the North by abolitionists.
3. In preparation for a role-playing exercise, have each student select one of the proslavery or abolitionist characters. Distribute **Handout 19**, and have students answer the questions for their characters.
 4. Have each student introduce his or her character with about thirty seconds of background information. Then, acting as moderator, ask questions and have students respond in character. It might be advantageous to have the class assemble their desks in a circle. Debrief by reviewing students’ responses and discussing the presentations.

Suggested Responses

Proslavery Voices

1. George Fitzhugh was against the abolition of slavery on the grounds that slavery is a “positive good” which uplifts slaves and protects them from reverting to their barbaric ways. Fitzhugh would support states’ rights over national government rule. He was a strong supporter of the institution of slavery.
2. James Henry Hammond supported the mud sill theory. Like most Southerners, he supported states’ rights and would not believe that slaves had natural rights since they were not equal to whites and could not exist without their support. Slavery was a “positive good” beneficial to blacks and to America, which reaped benefits from a permanent slave class.
3. Dr. Samuel Cartwright stated that two diseases common among the Negro race caused slaves to run away and caused rascality. He used the respectability of the medical profession to lend credence to his position.
4. Pierce Butler was the largest slave holder in the South and the son of the senator who wrote the first fugitive slave law. Extreme in his position, he did not seem to be bothered by the condition of slaves on his plantation.
5. Stephen A. Douglas, a moderate supporter of slavery and popular sovereignty in the Nebraska territory, courted Southern approval so that an intercontinental railroad would be built through Illinois, thereby causing the unraveling of the Missouri Compromise and the tragedy of “Bleeding Kansas.”
6. White clergymen of the South supported the institution of slavery, justified on the grounds that it was a “positive good” and it is mentioned in the Bible.
7. Northern merchants and textile mill owners supported slavery because the cotton trade made business profitable for them. If slavery was abolished, masses of freed slaves would migrate north looking for jobs, destroying the United States.
8. Chief Justice Roger B. Taney wrote in the opinion on the Dred Scott case that slaves and their descendants were not citizens of the United States and therefore had no rights. He believed that the framers of the Declaration did not include them as being “created equal” since they did not participate in its writing.
9. John C. Calhoun, a supporter of the “positive good” theory, helped craft the Compromise of 1850, which included the controversial Fugitive Slave Law.

Antislavery or Abolitionist Voices

1. Fanny Kemble thought she could convince Pierce Butler to free his slaves. After viewing firsthand the horrors of slavery, she wrote a journal of her experiences. It was the most detailed account of slave conditions by someone sympathetic to abolition.
2. David Walker, born a free black, was considered very dangerous because he wanted slaves to rebel. A pamphlet he wrote, "Appeal," was read by slaves.
3. William Lloyd Garrison followed the doctrine of Moral Suasion, a nonviolent and passive approach. He believed in immediate emancipation of all slaves.
4. Henry Highland Garnet, a former slave and abolitionist, at first felt that abolition would come through white people using political means. Later he adopted one of the most radical positions, calling for slaves to revolt.
5. Frederick Douglass, an escaped slave, became a leading spokesperson for abolitionism.
6. Angelina Grimké Weld knew of the horrors of slavery and spoke out against them. She said that there was no neutral ground on slavery.
7. Elijah Lovejoy was the first martyr of the abolitionist movement. His printing press was repeatedly destroyed; he died during one such attack. In the North, Whigs and Democrats did not want to discuss the issue of abolition. Those who did were subject to attack by anti-abolitionist mobs.
8. Wendell Phillips believed that the enemy was not only the slave owner, but also the person of good will who did not want to talk about slavery. Phillips helped to destroy the conspiracy of silence.
9. John Brown justified the use of violence in attacking slavery. He became nationally known when he participated in the murder of proslave settlers in Pottawatomie, Kansas. Later he attacked a federal arsenal at Harpers Ferry in an attempt to start a war against slavery in Virginia.
10. Harriet Tubman led many people to freedom through the Underground Railroad, earning the nickname "Moses."

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?

Lesson 12

The Abolitionist Movements

Objectives

- To understand the impact of the U.S. government's policies on the evolution of the abolitionist movements in the 1840s and 1850s
- To evaluate abolitionists' different approaches

AP* Correlations

Skill Type I

Skill 1: Historical Causation

Skill Type III

Skill 7: Appropriate Use of Relevant Historical Evidence

Thematic Learning Objective: Politics and Power

POL-3: Explain how activist groups and reform movements, such as antebellum reformers, civil rights activists, and social conservatives, have caused changes to state institutions and U.S. society

Notes to the Teacher

The 1840s and the 1850s were key decades in terms of the federal government's involvement in the continuation of slavery. Laws of this period, including the Kansas-Nebraska Act and the Fugitive Slave Act, created policies that both continued slavery in southern states and expanded it to some newly developed western states. In addition, the Supreme Court's decision in the Dred Scott case had major consequences.

At the same time, abolitionists were developing broad-based movements that aspired to end slavery and promote equality. Men and women across the country were engaged in a variety of strategies, including slave-initiated rebellions and propaganda. The use of such varied approaches created conflict among groups of abolitionists; given this tension, it may be better to consider these efforts as several movements rather than as a unified movement.

In this lesson, students examine the role of the federal government and investigate strategies used by different abolitionists. To conclude, students debate the merits and drawbacks of the four most important abolitionist approaches.

Procedure

1. Ask students to brainstorm all possible ways to end slavery, both individually and collectively. Record students' responses for discussion, and work with students to prioritize possibilities in terms of short-term strategies and long-term ones.

2. Divide the class into partner groups. Distribute **Handout 20**. Have students refer to their textbooks as needed to complete the handout.

Suggested Responses

1. *Missouri Compromise of 1820*—This development admitted Missouri as a slave state and Maine as a free state; it kept the balance between slave and free states in the Senate; proslavery politicians wanted Missouri to have slaves and kept tensions among politicians in the 1840s and 1850s.
2. *Annexation of Texas of 1845*—This development admitted Texas as a slave state; it tipped the balance toward slave states; proslavery forces were well mobilized.
3. *Popular Sovereignty as used by proslavery politicians of the 1840s and 1850s*—Citizens could vote in new territories whether to have slavery; citizens in these areas tended to favor slavery, while noncitizens did not; the rhetoric of democracy limited opposition to slavery.
4. *The failure of the Wilmot Proviso of 1846*—Southern state leaders threatened to secede if this proviso (which would have banned slavery from the lands to be acquired from Mexico) passed; economic and political power of plantation owners limited a real discussion of this idea in Congress.
5. *Compromise of 1850*—This reflected an acceptance of Henry Clay's ideas: California was entering as a free state; the slave trade (not slavery) was being abolished in the District of Columbia; the citizens of the territories of New Mexico and Utah were deciding the future of slavery by popular sovereignty; a Fugitive Slave Act was being passed; slavery was continuing and potentially spreading; there was a threat to secede if specific interests were not met.
6. *Fugitive Slave Act of 1850*—It became a federal crime to help runaway slaves, and escaped slaves could be arrested in free states; the federal government played a larger role in the continuation of slavery; politicians were threatened to keep certain interests.
7. *Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854*—This allowed Kansas and Nebraska to enter as states under popular sovereignty, thus ending the Missouri Compromise; slavery was now able to expand westward.
8. *Lecompton Constitution of 1857*—Kansas voters were able to decide whether more slaves could enter (not to decide on slavery itself); slaveholders' interests were protected; antislavery activists were excluded from positions of authority.

9. *Dred Scott case and Supreme Court decision of 1857*—Scott sued for freedom after the death of his owner on grounds that he had lived in a free state; the majority of the Supreme Court ruled against him, arguing that Scott was not a citizen and was property; the decision was infuriating to abolitionists.
3. Distribute **Handout 21**, and allow students time to complete it.

Suggested Responses

- Document 1*—Former slaves need to have their own newspaper.
 - Document 2*—Whites should lead abolitionist movement.
 - Document 3*—Work for freedom; spread propaganda by singing a song that can be easily taught and followed.
 - Document 4*—Abolitionists work for slaves in a number of ways: speaking, petitioning, and organizing.
 - Document 5*—Work to improve slaves' conditions in the United States; sending them to Liberia does not solve the problems here.
 - Document 6*—Create safe places for escaped slaves and their supporters through use of the Underground Railroad.
 - Document 7*—Develop a positive relationship between Christians and abolitionists.
 - Document 8*—Use the law to help free slaves.
 - Document 9*—Abolitionist groups developed clever ways to help slaves reach freedom.
 - Document 10*—Images of Dred Scott and his wife illustrate their calm determination to become free people.
 - Document 11*—Future problems will develop, given the majority opinion in the Dred Scott case.
 - Document 12*—Abolishing slavery does not have to involve hurting people.
4. Review the divergent abolitionist approaches:
 - individual (Charles Sumner, Abraham Lincoln)
 - collective (John Cross, John Parker)
 - white-led (William Lloyd Garrison)
 - black/slave-led (Frederick Douglass, Colored National Convention)
 - peaceful (John Cross, John Parker, Frederick Douglass)
 - violent (result of John Brown's actions)
 - legal (Charles Sumner, Abraham Lincoln)
 - movement-based (John Cross, John Parker, Anti-Slavery Society, Anti-Fugitive Slave Act)

Explain that some of these positions overlap; they can be understood as a continuum with violence on one end and legal solutions on the other.

5. Organize groups of two to three students. Assign each group one of the four key approaches: legal and white-led approach that tries to work within the system; nonviolent and broad-based coalition of all those opposed to slavery; black-led movement of former slaves; and violent approaches by slaves themselves, former slaves, or white sympathizers. Allow time for debaters to prepare their positions.
6. Instruct students to prepare questions based on a role as slaves.
7. Allow time for students to debate the approaches and to answer questions. Debrief in the form of a class discussion or an individual assessment.

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.

¹Frederick Douglass, “Our Paper and Its Prospects,” *The North Star*, December 3, 1847.

²William 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 disenthral;
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 pithy, 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 speediest 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, Proprietor⁶

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.

⁷John 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.

⁸Letter from Charles Sumner, *Letters on the Glover Incident*, <<http://www.wisconsinhistory.org/wlha/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.
“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 plantation economy, with its accompanying slavery, into the West. This resulted in rebellion and 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, one 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 the Constitution but was not enforced due to the developments in the post-Reconstruction South.

- Lesson 13 Compromise and Conflict: The Road to War
- Lesson 14 North vs. South: Mobilization, Resources, and Soldiers' Experiences
- Lesson 15 Women's Experiences during the Civil War
- Lesson 16 Assessment of Lincoln's Presidency
- Lesson 17 Emancipation and the Role of African Americans during the Civil War
- Lesson 18 Social, Political, and Economic Effects of the Civil War
- Lesson 19 The Politics and Policies of Reconstruction
- Lesson 20 Resistance to Reconstruction:
 The Redeemer Governments and Terrorism

Lesson 13

Compromise and Conflict: The Road to War

Objective

- To understand why the Compromises of 1820, 1833, and 1850 delayed, but did not prevent, outbreak of the Civil War

AP* Correlations

Skill Type I

Skill 4: Historical Causation

Thematic Learning Objective: Politics and Power

POL-6: Analyze how debates over political values (such as democracy, freedom, and citizenship) and the extension of American ideals abroad contributed to the ideological clashes and military conflicts of the 19th century and the early 20th century

Notes to the Teacher

In the decades following 1790, the North and South, originally about equal in population and wealth, grew apart. As the North became more populous, the South lost control of the House of Representatives. The wealthier North developed industry, farming, and commerce using free labor, while the relatively static South maintained its plantation agriculture resting on slave labor. Growing sectionalism threatened the very survival of the United States as one nation. The Compromise of 1850 cost the South control of the Senate; finally, the presidency itself seemed lost forever after the election of Abraham Lincoln in 1860.

As the country added new states and abolitionists became more vocal, the South became increasingly frustrated and emotional in defense of its lifestyle. For a time, the tariff forced on the South by the North served as a convenient scapegoat for the South; however, as the North became increasingly determined to impose its moral values, the South, now a minority section, no longer felt capable of protecting its lifestyle. In the years immediately following the Compromise of 1850, the crisis between the North and South set the two sections on a collision course. The ties that had bound the nation together, including churches, families, and political parties, became unraveled under the pressure generated by crises of the 1850s. With the election of a sectional president in 1860, differences seemed irreconcilable, and the South chose to secede.

In this lesson, students view critical events in the debate over slavery and sectional conflict from the perspective of both North and South. They interpret the significance of various factors in bringing the sections to war. Finally, students create presentations explaining the causes of the Civil War.

Procedure

1. Ask students what factors contributed to the growing conflict between the North and the South (an increase in the North's population resulting in the South's loss of control of the House of Representatives; the Compromise of 1850; the presidency itself after the election of Abraham Lincoln in 1860). Explain how these occurrences resulted in a pervasive feeling in the South that it could no longer protect its lifestyle.
2. Distribute **Handout 22**, and ask students to complete the graphic organizer.

Suggested Responses

1820 crisis—application of Missouri for admission to the Union; uneven balance of free states and slave states; free states control the Senate; Maine admitted as a free state to preserve balance; 36° 30' to divide slave and free areas in Louisiana Territory

1833 crisis—South Carolina's Ordinance of Nullification; threatening secession when the Tariff of 1832 reduced only modestly the highly objectionable Tariff of Abominations; tariff to be lowered over ten-year period; president to be allowed use of Force Bill to guarantee compliance

Crisis of 1850—acquisition of California and the rest of the Mexican Cession; issue of slavery in the territories, as well as other slavery controversies; California in the union as a free state; fugitive slave law strengthened; rest of Mexican Cession under popular sovereignty; slave trade (not slavery) prohibited in District of Columbia; Texas receipt of \$10 million in exchange for land, most of which went to New Mexico

Symbols might include before-and-after maps, cartoons, or other visuals for the tariff controversy.

Issues of 1850s include stronger fugitive slave law, publication of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, Ostend Manifesto, Kansas-Nebraska Act, "Bleeding Kansas," Dred Scott decision, Lincoln-Douglas debates, John Brown's Raid, the election of 1860, and secession.

3. Divide the class into four groups to prepare presentations on the following projects. Encourage frequent collaboration among groups so that the finished presentations have cohesion. See the Teacher Resource Page on pages 106–7 for possible themes for the mini-debates.
 - Prepare illustrations to clarify points on the road to war. These might be drawings, before-and-after maps, cartoons, or other visuals. In the presentation, present the facts of the controversies and compromises.
 - Write a script, and prepare one member of the group to present the Northern reasoning in a mini-debate on the issues involved in the road to war. For example, role-play a particular Northerner editor. Try to be as creative as possible and still retain authenticity.
 - Write a script, and prepare one member of the group to present the Southern reasoning in a mini-debate on the issues involved in the road to war. For example, represent a typical planter of the times. Strive for authenticity and creativity to convey your points.
 - Act as present-day historians well-versed on causes of the Civil War. Conduct the class session in an orderly manner with appropriate time allotments for each group. Make a final interpretive assessment of the most important reasons for the outbreak of war, present possible ways war might have been avoided, explain how delays resulting from the compromises affected the outcome of the war, and discuss why the war may be seen as the most significant chapter in our nation's history. Plan how to handle questions at the end of the presentations.
4. Have students make their presentations. Invite groups to critique their own performances.

Possible Debate Themes

Fugitive Slave Law

North—The Fugitive Slave Law, included in the Compromise of 1850, puts the federal government in the immoral position of helping slave owners retrieve runaway slaves.

South—The Fugitive Slave Law, strengthened in the Compromise of 1850, helps Southern planters regain property illegally taken from them.

Uncle Tom's Cabin

North—Harriet Beecher Stowe has portrayed my moral values in the context of a popular novel on slavery.

South—*Uncle Tom's Cabin*, written by a Northerner unacquainted with the reality of Southern plantation life, presents a false, cruel, and intentionally misleading account of slavery.

Ostend Manifesto

North—In proposing the Ostend Manifesto, officials of Franklin Pierce's administration have gone beyond their authority and extended a moral evil.

South—The Ostend Manifesto, in proposing the acquisition of Cuba, would bring the benefits of American civilization to the Cuban people.

Kansas-Nebraska Act

North—The proposed Kansas-Nebraska Act, which introduces the concept of popular sovereignty into an area previously closed to slavery, violates the Compromise of 1820 and threatens to extend an evil institution into a free territory.

South—The Kansas-Nebraska Act would quite properly permit individuals to exercise constitutional rights to move property from one place to another.

"Bleeding Kansas"

North—"Bleeding Kansas" is an unfortunate consequence of a self-seeking politician's placing his personal goal to win the presidency above the best interest of the nation.

South—Except for fanatical abolitionists intent on violence, the issue of slavery in Kansas could have been resolved by the ballot box.

Dred Scott v. Sanford

North—The Supreme Court, with Roger Taney trying to impose his Southern views on the nation, has legally sanctioned the ownership of slaves as legitimate property.

South—The Supreme Court has finally confirmed what the Constitution has always held: that a slave is a piece of property, and the mere movement of that property does not alter ownership.

Lincoln–Douglas Debates

North—While Lincoln is right in opposing the extension of slavery into the western territories, he still accepts the evil institution of slavery in the states.

South—We oppose the position on slavery in the territories of both candidates in the Illinois senatorial race because neither accepts the property concept handed down by the final authority of the Constitution.

John Brown's Raid

North—The federal government has erred in the apprehension and execution of an individual dedicated to the removal of a morally evil institution.

South—John Brown's fate should serve as an example to others who might contemplate repeating such a rebellious and treasonous act.

Election of Lincoln

North—Lincoln's election offers hope that the extension of slavery into the territories will be prohibited; perhaps Mr. Lincoln and Congress will reach the conclusion that slavery is a moral evil that must be eradicated.

South—The election of Lincoln, the representative of a sectional rather than a national party, now places the entire power of the central government in the hands of a section dedicated to the eradication of the Southern way of life.

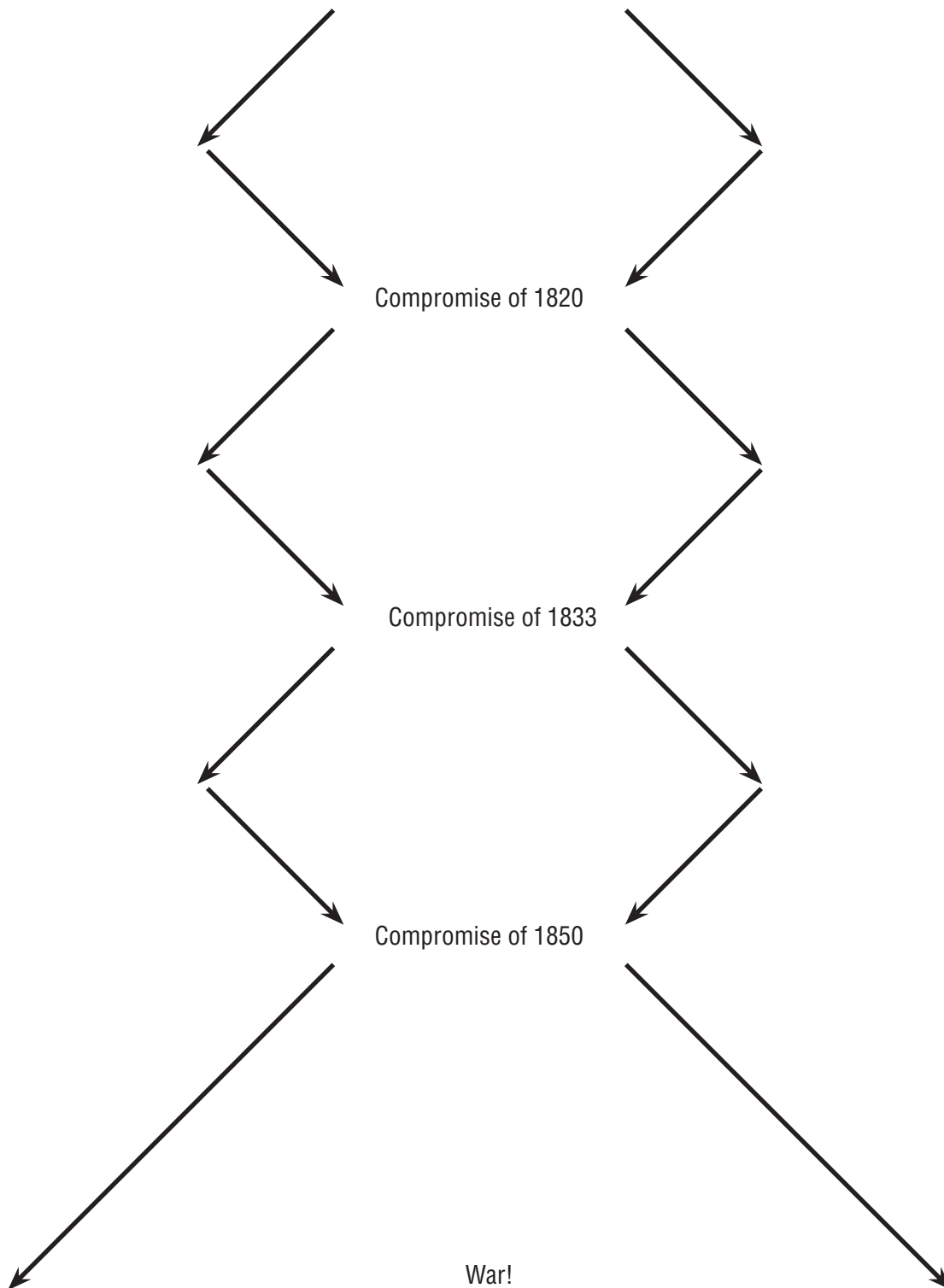
Secession

North—The secession of South Carolina and her sister states finally removes the evil that has dominated our thinking and our actions for a generation and clears the way for the fulfillment of the American dream.

South—The election of Lincoln marks the final effort to persecute the South and leaves no choice but to secede to protect the Southern way of life.

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.



Lesson 14

North vs. South: Mobilization, Resources, and Soldiers' Experiences

Objectives

- To examine differences in Union and Confederate resources at the beginning of the war and to assess how these, along with different strategies, contributed to Union gains
- To assess the impact of the war on soldiers

AP* Correlations

Skill Type II

Skill 4: Comparison

Thematic Learning Objective: Work, Exchange, and Technology

WXT-2: Analyze how innovations in markets, transportation, and technology affected the economy and the different regions of North America from the colonial period through the end of the Civil War

Notes to the Teacher

Most historians describe the U.S. Civil War, 1861–65, as the first modern war, that is a war that relied on the latest technology to move troops and ultimately for the side with the most advanced technology, including arms and gunpowder, at its disposal—the North—to win. The divergent strategies used by generals and politicians, as well as the resources that each side had, led to very different results. While the Confederacy won the first battles, the tide changed as a result of three combined factors: the Union strategy of encirclement, sustained troop mobilization, and productive resources.

In this lesson, students examine strategy and mobilization through statistical analysis and wartime photographs. They explore the statistics for both the Union and the Confederacy on the eve of the war so as to understand better the situation in 1861. In so doing, students define the reasons why the Confederates won the first battles and the varied reasons why Union armies gradually turned the tide of war. Students conclude the lesson by comparing photographs of soldiers and completing a written assignment based on one of the photographs. Note that students will need access to the Internet to complete **Handout 24**.

Procedure

1. Ask students in a think-pair-share what they know or think they know about Confederate and Union war strategies. Record students' responses for later consideration.
2. Distribute **Handout 23**, and allow students time to answer the questions.

Suggested Responses

1. North: use available resources; South: get help from elsewhere
 2. more details on readiness of each side; possibility of assistance
 3. similar challenges, except that the South had fewer resources
 4. South: short war with surprise attacks; North: long war with mobilized resources
3. Review the strategies used by each side; refer to text, and cite particular battles and the key elements of divergent strategies.
 4. Distribute **Handout 24**, and provide students with access to the Internet. Ask them to complete the activity. Follow with an open-ended discussion, and have volunteers share their work.

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.

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.

Lesson 15

Women's Experiences during the Civil War

Objectives

- To examine the roles of women during the war
- To assess the impact of the war on women's changing roles in society in both the Union and the Confederacy

AP* Correlations

Skill Type II

Skill 4: Comparison

Thematic Learning Objective: Ideas, Beliefs, and Culture

CUL-2: Analyze how emerging conceptions of national identity and democratic ideals shaped value systems, gender roles, and cultural movements in the late 18th century and the 19th century

Notes to the Teacher

Despite the continuation of the myth created by Margaret Mitchell in *Gone With the Wind* and its depiction of the end of an era that, in one form or another, most women—whether rich or poor—adapted to the war, the reality was very complicated. Privileged women in the North were probably the least affected by the war, but working women all over the Union and the Confederacy had both more employment opportunities and greater hardships. In the South, the complex slave society with its norms and assumptions was collapsing; this affected the status and role of Southern women.

In this lesson, students examine various women and their experiences from 1861 to 1865: farmers, plantation owners, nurses, slaves, soldiers, society women, spies, and workers. Like men, women played many supportive and participatory roles in the war; unlike men, due to societal expectations, women had to perform some of these roles, particularly as soldiers and spies, secretly. Students look at a variety of documents that illustrate diverse opportunities for women and some of the choices they made. Students conclude this lesson by answering an open-ended essay question.

Procedure

1. Ask students to brainstorm what the beginning of the war meant for women. Inquire how a woman's background would have affected her outlook and choices during the war. Record students' responses for later consideration.
2. Pair students, and distribute **Handout 25**. Ask students to read the information and summarize it in their own words. Share responses.

Suggested Responses

1. In the North, women provided a range of practical and emotional support.
 2. In men's absence, women kept farms going as best as they could.
 3. In men's absence, women worked in factories; often, conditions led to tragic accidents as in this case in Pittsburgh.
 4. With the help of abolitionists, slaves ran away.
 5. Many wealthy Southern women had complicated and mixed feelings about the end of their society and coped as best as they could.
 6. Women volunteered as nurses.
 7. Some women disguised themselves as men to become soldiers.
 8. Some women used their talents to work as spies.
3. Instruct students to write a five-paragraph essay in response to the following question:

What were three ways that women chose to improve and/or change their societal positions during the Civil War?

Explain that the essays should include an analysis of why some coping strategies worked better than others.
 4. Allow class time for peer editing of rough drafts.

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

¹Kristin Leahy, "Guide to Women During the Civil War," *The Historical Society of Pennsylvania*, <<http://www.hsp.org/default.aspx?id=129>> (15 September 2010).

²Drew 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 Avery 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. . . .

⁴Library 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

⁵Mary Boykin Miller Chestnut, *A Diary from Dixie*, ed. Isabella D. Martin and Myrta Lockett Avery (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 1863:

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 impress 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 diminished by the accounts received from time to time by passengers who got on the principle portion of whom were from Charleston or the vicinity. 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 Genl. 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 said 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

⁷DeAnne 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).

Lesson 16

Assessment of Lincoln's Presidency

Objective

- To assess the presidency of Abraham Lincoln through an examination of excerpts from his writings and speeches

AP* Correlations

Skill Type III

Skill 7: Appropriate Use of Relevant Historical Evidence

Thematic Learning Objective: Politics and Power

POL-6: Analyze how debates over political values (such as democracy, freedom, and citizenship) and the extension of American ideals abroad contributed to the ideological clashes and military conflicts of the 19th century and the early 20th century

Notes to the Teacher

Presidential ranking polls consistently rank George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, Theodore Roosevelt, Franklin D. Roosevelt, and Abraham Lincoln in the top five. Lincoln is almost always ranked number one. Why does Lincoln always get the top spot? Washington, Lincoln, and Franklin D. Roosevelt were all in office during times of great stress. In 1860, some believed that Lincoln would make a terrible president, as evident from some states' immediate secession from the United States upon his election to office. The Lincoln presidency was not without its controversial elements, such as secession, the slavery issue, the Emancipation Proclamation, suspension of habeas corpus, declaration of martial law, implementing the southern blockade, and the raising and command of an army. These issues continue to feed debates over the Lincoln presidency.

In this lesson, students read and discuss excerpts from the speeches and writings of Abraham Lincoln. They conclude with a silent debate on the following prompt: "Abraham Lincoln was the best president the United States has ever had and should be ranked number one in all presidential polls."

Procedure

1. Ask students to list who they think were the three best presidents in U.S. history. Ask them to share their responses with the class. Record the various names. Tell students that Abraham Lincoln consistently ranks number one in polls about American presidents.

2. Divide the class into small groups. Distribute **Handout 26**, and assign one excerpt to each group. Have students read the excerpts, explain the historical context, and write short summaries. Then they are to determine whether they agree or disagree with Lincoln.
3. Reconvene into a large group setting, and have groups present their findings to the class. Direct all students to take notes as the presentations are made.

Suggested Responses

1. The argument over the abolition of slavery had been a political issue since before the ratification of the U.S. Constitution. The Missouri Compromise (1820), the Wilmot Proviso (1846), the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo (1848), the Compromise of 1850, and the Kansas-Nebraska Act (1854) all attempted to decide the fate of slavery. Lincoln argued that by his election the southern states had nothing to fear. He had no intention of interfering with slavery in the states where it already existed; however, he did intend to prevent the spread of slavery into any new territories.
2. There had been several threats of secession since the creation of the republic. Lincoln argued that the southern states had no legal or constitutional right to secede.
3. The Supreme Court, under Roger B. Taney, ruled in the Dred Scott decision that blacks could not be citizens and therefore had no right to sue in court and Congress had no authority to outlaw slavery, as slavery was protected under the Fifth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution. Lincoln believed that this was an erroneous decision and was not to serve as a precedent and could be made a political issue on the part of Americans. Lincoln believed that the Dred Scott decision was a political one, and that, he believed, nullified much of its authority.
4. Lincoln declared a blockade of the southern ports involved with the rebellion. He never asked Congress for a declaration of war, because he believed that this would recognize the legitimacy of the Confederacy. The southern blockade runners argued that Lincoln was engaged in piracy, without a declaration of war. The Supreme Court ruled in favor of the president, declaring that a blockade was a legitimate power as commander-in-chief.

5. The federal government issued the First Confiscation Act (1861), which allowed the Union Army to confiscate property used by the Confederate forces, including slaves. The Second Confiscation Act (1862) freed slaves held by Confederate leaders if they did not surrender within sixty days, but it applied only to those areas already occupied by the Union Army. Lincoln opposed both these measures and had earlier revoked military orders from Generals John C. Fremont and David Hunter, who issued orders which freed slaves under their control. Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation in 1863 as a war measure. He freed the slaves in the states in rebellion but left the institution alone in the border states and those parts under Union control.
 6. There were many rebellious elements working to undermine the Union cause in Maryland. In 1861, Lincoln suspended habeas corpus in Maryland and other border states. Roger B. Taney ruled in the case of *Ex parte Merryman* that the president did not have the authority to suspend habeas corpus; according to the Constitution, suspension was one of Congress's enumerated powers. Lincoln ignored the decision of Taney and the Supreme Court, and in March 1863 Congress passed the Habeas Corpus Act, which officially suspended the act for the president.
 7. Late in 1863, Lincoln proposed a reconstruction plan, known as the ten percent plan, which would allow states to reenter the Union if ten percent of their voters, as counted in the election of 1860, took an Oath of Allegiance, pledged to abide by emancipation, and formed the new government and legislature needed to write a new state constitution. Republicans in Congress opposed this proclamation; they feared that it was too lenient and Southerners would be able to reestablish their old social structures. Also, many believed that the South needed to be punished. In 1864, Congress passed the Wade-Davis Bill, which outlined much tougher readmission policies. Lincoln pocket vetoed this bill.
4. Distribute **Handout 27**. Divide the class into groups of five students. Give students exactly one minute to respond to the prompt at the top of the handout. Have students pass their papers to the right, and allow one minute for writing the next response to the prompt. Continue until the handouts are back in the hands of their original owners. Have students read and discuss the various responses.

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 it 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 . . . _____

Lesson 17

Emancipation and the Role of African Americans during the Civil War

Objectives

- To examine the effect of the Emancipation Proclamation on slaves both in the Confederacy and in the Union, as well as its effect on the course of the war
- To understand the various roles of freed and enslaved African Americans during the war

AP* Correlations

Skill Type III

Skill 7: Appropriate Use of Relevant Historical Evidence

Thematic Learning Objective: Politics and Power

POL-6: Analyze how debates over political values (such as democracy, freedom, and citizenship) and the extension of American ideals abroad contributed to the ideological clashes and military conflicts of the 19th century and the early 20th century

Notes to the Teacher

While the Emancipation Proclamation did not actually free any slaves immediately, it was, nonetheless, a powerful symbol of freedom and equality. Not only did the Proclamation demonstrate that the underlying purpose of the war was now a moral one, but also it helped motivate countless people of color to help the Union side. While some slaves' lives barely changed at all, more and more slaves engaged in subtle acts of day-to-day disobedience or resistance; others left their enslaved lives for the unknown: freedom somewhere else. Others, black abolitionists in the North, put renewed faith in working toward a better society; many of these people were well placed to influence Republican policy and the Lincoln administration to redefine the war as an antislavery crusade.

In this lesson, students will need access to the complete text of the Emancipation Proclamation. They examine key aspects of the proclamation and the immediate effect it had on the war effort. Students then role-play various people in a roundtable discussion about the meaning of the document.

Procedure

1. Distribute **Handout 28**, and allow students time to complete part A.

Suggested Responses

1. The document freed slaves living in the states of the Confederacy who were fighting against the Union.
 2. Military occupation would free the slaves.
 3. Lincoln probably wanted to keep the support of politicians of those four states, perhaps to avoid more rebellion.
 4. Accept all reasonable responses. Make sure students provide specific reasons to support their answers.
2. Use part B of the handout to set up a roundtable discussion. Allow students time to create identities for themselves so that the discussion will be as meaningful as possible. Then lead the discussion.
 3. Have students reflect on the discussion in writing.

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?

Lesson 18

Social, Political, and Economic Effects of the Civil War

Objectives

- To predict the consequences of the war in terms of immediate effects on economy, polity, and society
- To assess the impact of the war on the reunited United States

AP* Correlations

Skill Type I

Skill 1: Historical Causation

Thematic Learning Objective: Politics and Power

POL-6: Analyze how debates over political values (such as democracy, freedom, and citizenship) and the extension of American ideals abroad contributed to the ideological clashes and military conflicts of the 19th century and the early 20th century

Notes to the Teacher

By all accounts, the Civil War had a tremendous effect on the United States: thousands of casualties, thousands of displaced people, the end of the plantation system, thousands of people on the move, an economy that had been war-based, and a large broad-based movement to set up a more egalitarian society. Some of these effects could be more easily dealt with than others, but the consequences were serious for those who desired a return to the antebellum status quo. Unsurprisingly, the war's legacy was seen differently, depending on one's place in society.

In this lesson, students make predictions about the problems likely to develop as a result of the war and some possible solutions to them. Then, in an inner-outer seminar, students act as advisors to President Abraham Lincoln. To conclude, students map key aspects of the war and work with multiple-choice questions.

Procedure

1. Ask students to brainstorm what they predict would have been major effects of the Civil War. Record responses, and work with students to place them in categories: personal, social, political, or economic. Have students evaluate the effects as positive, neutral, or negative.

2. Tell students that their job is to make recommendations to President Lincoln to solve the problems resulting from the Civil War. Explain the framework of the inner-outer seminar. One person, perhaps the teacher, plays the role of Lincoln. Half the class forms an inner circle around him, the other half an outer circle. First, students in the inner circle share and discuss possible solutions to problems after the Civil War, while those in the outer circle take notes. Then the groups switch positions, and the new members of the inner circle evaluate suggestions made by the previous group.
3. Conduct the seminar.
4. Distribute **Handout 29**, and have students work in pairs to complete it.

Suggested Responses

1. The Confederacy was harder hit than the Union; its economy and society were depleted; there was a high percentage of casualties.
 2. More data about industries, agriculture, and home life would help; point out research possibilities.
 3. Students may highlight that Union soldiers had poor food and medical conditions and had to wait for battles; Confederate soldiers had the same problems. The soldiers also saw many of their comrades die and suffered horrible conditions.
 4. Some may note the Union civilians lived through shortages and loss of relatives but also experienced new work opportunities; Confederate civilians had the same problems in a more extreme fashion.
5. Distribute **Handout 30**, and have students complete the activity. Students will need blank maps for this assignment.
 6. Have students work in pairs to create a challenging multiple-choice question that contains five responses. Suggest working with cause and effect, comparison, or change and continuity over time; questions should connect to previous work about the Civil War. Instruct students to write each question and answers on an index card. Have them rotate the cards to conclude the lesson with a review.

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?

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

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

Lesson 19

The Politics and Policies of Reconstruction

Objective

- To organize information on the different plans of Reconstruction following the Civil War

AP* Correlations

Skill Type II

Skill 4: Comparison

Thematic Learning Objective: Politics and Power

POL-6: Analyze how debates over political values (such as democracy, freedom, and citizenship) and the extension of American ideals abroad contributed to the ideological clashes and military conflicts of the 19th century and the early 20th century

Notes to the Teacher

The biggest issue following the Civil War, and in some instances during the war, was how the Union would be put back together once the fighting ended. The answer to this question depended on one's view of the nature of the conflict. President Abraham Lincoln viewed the Confederacy in terms of belligerents, not insurrectionists. He never recognized the legitimacy of the Confederate government; thus, for him, Reconstruction was a kind of restoration. Members of the president's party had different views of the war. The Radical Republicans, who opposed the president's attitude and policies toward the South, viewed the Confederacy as a hostile enemy. They believed that the South had declared war on the Union. While the president's Reconstruction plan was one of quick reconciliation, the one proposed by the Republican Congress was one of punishment and retaliation.

The first plan for Reconstruction of the South, the Ten Percent Plan, was Lincoln's. The second, the plan of the Republican-controlled Congress, was known as the Wade-Davis Bill. The third plan, Andrew Johnson's, was essentially like Lincoln's plan. The fourth plan was that of Military Reconstruction.

In this lesson, students research the plans for Reconstruction and present their findings to the class.

Procedure

1. Ask whether students see the Civil War as an actual war or more as a rebellion. Then ask what would be the proper way of reintegrating the Southern states into the Union. After open discussion, explain that there were several different proposals for readmitting the Southern states into the Union. Each plan was structured to reflect the views of its proponent.
2. Distribute **Handout 31**, and divide the class into four groups. Assign each group one of the four proposals for Reconstruction, and have students use print and online resources to locate information. Then have groups present their findings.

Suggested Responses

Abraham Lincoln

1. 1863; known as the Ten Percent Plan
2. Lincoln did not believe that the Southern states had the right to secede and believed the war was a rebellion that needed to be put down, the sooner the better.
3. Once 10 percent of those who voted in the election of 1860 took a pledge of allegiance, agreed to abide by emancipation, elected state governments, and created a constitution which abolished slavery, a state would be recognized. By 1864, the states of Tennessee, Louisiana, and Arkansas had already done this; the goal of this plan was to shorten the war and further the cause of emancipation.
4. Republicans in Congress believed Lincoln's plan would only further the cause of the planter aristocracy and return blacks to the state they were in before the war.
5. Congress never adopted this plan.

Wade-Davis Bill

1. 1864; proposed by Benjamin Wade (OH) and Henry Winter Davis (MD), who opposed Lincoln's plan as too lenient
2. The Republican-controlled Congress regarded Southern secession as a declaration of war and believed that there should be punishment instead of reconciliation.
3. Fifty percent of Southerners must swear an Iron-Clad Oath of Loyalty to the Union in which they pledged that they never willingly took arms against the Union and did not participate in the rebellion; then the state could call a constitutional convention. Only those taking the oath could vote, and the constitution had to ban slavery. Only whites could vote, although about a third of the Republicans favored allowing blacks to vote. This plan passed both houses of Congress.

4. The opposition held that the wording of the proposal implied that the Southern states had seceded, which Lincoln denied; it banned slavery, which it constitutionally could not do; it also alienated states that had already adopted the reconciliation plan under Lincoln's terms. Lincoln used the pocket-veto.
5. The proposal was much harsher than Lincoln's plan. Congress believed that Lincoln was exercising unconstitutional authority and held that it was the role of Congress to oversee reconstruction. Lincoln again used the pocket veto.

Andrew Johnson

1. 1865; known as the Presidential Reconstruction Plan
2. Johnson agreed with Lincoln about the inability of the South to secede from the Union. Johnson was a Union man and the only Southerner from the Senate not to resign upon the secession of Tennessee. Johnson was as much opposed to slavery as he was to the aristocracy that owned slaves, he championed middle-class working whites, and he believed it was the slave-owning aristocrats who caused the Civil War, so they were to be punished after the war ended. In that respect, he agreed with the Radical Republicans.
3. Johnson appointed provisional governors from the South who had been loyal to the Union. He favored constitutional conventions, allowing only those who took Lincoln's Loyalty Oath. Confederate officers above the rank of lieutenant and those possessing taxable property exceeding \$20,000 were not permitted to vote. The conventions had to declare ordinances of secession illegal, repudiate the Confederate debt, and ratify the Thirteenth Amendment.
4. Republicans believed Johnson's plan was too lenient, and by abolishing the three-fifths compromise, it would add substantial political power to the Southern states; any policy to do this must also enfranchise blacks to counter this addition of political power.
5. Congress never adopted this plan, and in the mid-term elections of 1866, congressmen believed they earned a mandate from the voters to implement their own plan of Reconstruction.

Military Reconstruction

1. 1867 and 1868
2. The Republican-controlled Congress regarded Southern secession as a war and believed that there should be punishment instead of reconciliation.

3. In 1867, the plan divided the ten unreconstructed states into five military districts. Tennessee had already ratified the Fourteenth Amendment. The existing governments were provisional and subject to the overriding authority of the occupation forces, which would call constitutional conventions. A new constitution must include black suffrage and ratify the Fourteenth Amendment; those barred by the amendment could not vote in the election but could vote in the future. Once states did this, they would be readmitted into the Union.
4. Congress viewed the successes in the 1866 elections as a mandate for congressional Reconstruction, but there was no enforcement power. The 1868 plan required generals of each military district to register eligible voters for election of the delegates to the constitutional convention.
5. The Compromise of 1877 ended Military Reconstruction and allowed the Redeemer Southern governments to restore many of the prewar social, political, and economic policies.

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		

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		

Lesson 20

Resistance to Reconstruction: The Redeemer Governments and Terrorism

Objective

- To research and analyze the events that led to the end of Reconstruction and the re-establishment of Democratic control in the Redeemer governments in the South

AP* Correlations

Skill Type III

Skill 6: Historical Argumentation

Thematic Learning Objective: Politics and Power

POL-6: Analyze how debates over political values (such as democracy, freedom, and citizenship) and the extension of American ideals abroad contributed to the ideological clashes and military conflicts of the 19th century and the early 20th century

Notes to the Teacher

This generation of high school students has been painfully aware of the issue of terrorism. Daily headlines refer to terrorist bombings and other attacks, the hunt for terrorists, and the trials of suspects; a family vacation may begin with airport searches and other reminders of potential threat. In this lesson, students recognize that the experience of an earlier period, the end of Reconstruction, parallels our own time.

This lesson considers the Reconstruction period from 1865 to 1877. The former Confederate states first attempted to control the newly freed black labor force through restrictive laws similar to those that had governed free blacks and slaves in the antebellum period. When Congress responded with federal laws opposing these “black codes,” many Southern whites turned to other means, including violence, to deter both black and white Republicans and to return the Southern state governments to conservative Democratic hands.

The traditional view of Reconstruction, based to some extent on romantic post–Civil War novels and films such as *Gone with the Wind* and *Birth of a Nation*, characterized Northerners who came south as wily carpetbaggers, Southern Republicans as greedy scalawags, and the freedmen as incompetent or threatening stereotypes. With the civil rights movement in

the 1960s and the work of revisionist historians led by C. Vann Woodward, the nuances and complexity of Reconstruction have become much clearer.

In this lesson, students consider the contemporary issue of terrorism and its impact on their world. (It is important to remind students that terrorists can be homegrown as well as foreign nationals.) They then examine the impact of events that occurred in the Reconstruction era, using their textbooks and other resources. Finally, they consider the behavior of three key groups—Northern white Republicans, Southern white Democrats, and Southern Republicans, both black and white, to analyze the dynamics that brought about the Redeemer governments and effectively ended Reconstruction. Before the lesson, have students read the pages in their textbooks that deal with Reconstruction to 1877.

Procedure

1. Write the word *terrorist* on the board. Ask students to respond briefly in writing to this word, and then have them share their responses. Use guiding questions such as the following:
 - What is a terrorist?
 - How do terrorists work?
 - What are the goals of terrorists?
 - How do terrorists select their victims?
 - Can terrorism be stopped?
 - How does it feel to live in a world troubled by terrorism?
2. Tell students that they are going to study a time and place when certain Americans used violent means to achieve their goals and that they will be asked to decide whether “terrorism” is an appropriate description of the period.
3. Review briefly the four plans for Reconstruction.
4. Distribute **Handout 32**, and allow students to use their textbook and other resources to complete the chart.

Suggested Responses

1. *Black Codes (1865)*—These were state laws regulating behavior of freedmen, based on prewar slave codes. Freedmen were not allowed to vote, serve on juries, testify against whites, or marry whites; the codes mandated separate railroad accommodations for blacks, permitted forcible apprenticing of minors, enabled employers to deduct wages for minor infractions, and allowed the state to employ forcibly anyone who did not have a job. The result was that freedmen were at the mercy of employers who demanded long hours for low wages.

2. *Ku Klux Klan (1865)*—This organization was founded first in Tennessee and subsequently in all other Southern states. Its purpose was to maintain white supremacy by acts of violence, including beatings, lynchings, and burning houses. The result was increased violence and limitation of civil rights.
3. *Force Acts (1870–71)*—These acts were a set of laws designed to protect the freedman’s right to vote, hold office, and serve on a jury; they made interfering with voting or civil rights a federal offense and a felony; they gave the president the right to suspend the writ of habeas corpus and send in troops to suppress resistance to federal law. The results were that more than three thousand Klansmen were indicted, but many pled guilty in exchange for suspended sentences, and more than two thousand cases were dropped by the Justice Department.
4. *Election of 1872*—Liberal Republicans who believed in conciliating the South emerged and nominated Horace Greeley, who won support from white Southern Democrats; however, Ulysses S. Grant won in a landslide with black support. The result was that Grant, although he won, was distracted from Southern issues by the Panic of 1873 and subsequent economic depression and high unemployment. Democrats got control of the House of Representatives in 1874.
5. *Colfax Massacre (1873)*—This was an attack by whites on black officials in a small town in Louisiana. This event developed into a massacre in which dozens of blacks were murdered; the leaders of the white forces were arrested and tried, but the few who were convicted had their convictions reversed on appeal. The result was that white terrorists were emboldened to further violence.
6. *White League (1874)*—This organization, established in Louisiana, was considered by some to be a paramilitary arm of the Democratic Party of that state; it was primarily concerned with harassing and intimidating Republicans and freedmen. Membership included participants in the Colfax Massacre. The results were additional violence and intimidation of Republicans and freedmen.
7. *Coushatta Massacre (1874)*—This was an attack by the White League on Republicans and freedmen in Coushatta, Louisiana, resulting in assassinations of white Republicans and murders of black witnesses. The result was encouragement for additional violence, including an attack on Republicans in New Orleans and seizure of the legislature by the White League.

8. *Mississippi Plan (1875)*—This was a two-pronged plan by whites to regain power: first, they ostracized and pressured all remaining white Republicans until they turned Democrat or left the state; second, they continued to intimidate black voters. The result was that the Republican majority was reversed to a Democratic majority, and groups in North and South Carolina began to adopt the same techniques. The president did not intervene for fear of losing white votes.
 9. *United States v. Cruikshank (1876)*—This Supreme Court case declared unconstitutional any attempts to prosecute individuals under the Force Acts and said that the laws only pertained to actions by the states. The result was further encouragement for acts of violence and resistance.
 10. *Civil Rights Act of 1875*—This comprehensive act was proposed by Senator Charles Sumner and Representative Ben Butler to ban discrimination in any public accommodation or transportation; it was passed by the Republican Congress but was rarely enforced, even before Reconstruction ended. The Act was declared unconstitutional in 1883, and its provisions were not reenacted into federal law again until 1964. Its enforcement might have prevented almost a century of injustice, but its resultant quick dismissal by the Supreme Court further delayed black civil rights.
 11. *Election of 1876*—The disputed election returns forced a compromise in which Republican Rutherford B. Hayes indicated his willingness to provide money and patronage for the Southern states and withdraw federal troops from Southern soil. The result was that Southern Democrats regained power in the last remaining states of the former Confederacy still in Republican hands.
5. Allow time for whole-group discussion of the answers on the handout. Ask students to summarize the actions and goals of Northern whites, Southern whites, and freedmen. (Northern whites at first hoped to assist the freedmen and unite the North and South in economic prosperity; by the end of the period, they wanted an end to strife, even at the cost of abandoning the freedmen. Only a few sought full equality. Most white Southerners wanted to remove, by force if necessary, all white Republicans; while acknowledging that slavery would not be restored, they hoped to control the freedmen in conditions that approached the control they had during the slavery era. Blacks hoped for the civil and voting rights that had been promised and to some extent exercised briefly. They also hoped for educational opportunities, but these were inferior and generally short-lived. By 1877, they were trying to survive in what historian Rayford W. Logan called the “nadir of black history.”)

6. Put the word *redeem* on the board, and ask students to define it (to rescue or ransom; to save from an evil state; to restore honor or reputation). Lengthen the word to *Redeemer*. Ask students why the Southern governments referred to themselves as Redeemer governments. (They saw themselves as rescuers of the South from Northern occupation and oppression.) Point out the religious connotation of the word if students do not volunteer it. Ask students to evaluate this use of the word with respect to both white and black segments of Southern society. (The white Democratic South would have seen the restoration of Democratic rule as a triumph; the white Republican South would have seen it as a political and economic defeat; the black South would have seen it as ironic and tragic.)
7. Ask students to return to the subject raised at the beginning of the lesson. Is it fair to apply the label of “terrorist” to those whose violent actions helped put the Redeemer governments in power? How would their actions have affected even those freedmen who did not experience the violence firsthand? Allow time for students to discuss these questions and emphasize the importance of logical support for ideas.

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. <i>United States v. Cruikshank</i>			
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 for America's booming industries. Coal, steel, and manufacturing moved America from an agricultural nation to an industrial one. Immigrants also moved into 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 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 in America.

- Lesson 21 The New South
- Lesson 22 Monopolies: Vertical and Horizontal Integration
- Lesson 23 The Populist Movement: The Value of Third Parties
- Lesson 24 Gilded Age Presidents
- Lesson 25 American Industrialization and Urbanization
- Lesson 26 The Election of 1896
- Lesson 27 The Turner Thesis
- Lesson 28 The Foundations of American Pragmatism
- Lesson 29 Social Darwinism, the Gospel of Wealth,
 and the Social Gospel
- Lesson 30 Images of Urbanization and Industrialization

Lesson 21

The New South

Objectives

- To determine the accuracy of the label “The New South” by compiling information on the United States from 1865 to 1900
- To construct an effective thesis statement

AP* Correlations

Skill Type I

Skill 3: Periodization

Thematic Learning Objective: Identity

ID-5: Analyze the role of economic, political, social, and ethnic factors on the formation of regional identities in what would become the United States from the colonial period through the 19th century

Notes to the Teacher

Probably no one popularized the notion of a New South at the end of the nineteenth century in America more than Henry Grady. A Georgia-born journalist, Grady dedicated most of his career to promoting the idea of the New South in the period after the Civil War. In a speech to the New England Society of New York in 1886, Grady outlined his vision of this New South and focused on three themes. The speech proposed that there was no more North and South. Grady stated that the Southern economy was changing and embracing the advancements of technology and industrialization. Race relations were changing, and blacks were becoming partners in this New South. Although there may have been some truth to what Grady stated, many facts contradict his view. The South continued to labor under a heavy agricultural economy which was subservient to Northern business interests. As Reconstruction ended with the Compromise of 1877, Redeemer governments took their place in the South by erecting barriers to racial equality for many years to come.

In this lesson, students read a short biography of Henry Grady and an excerpt from his speech to the New England Club of New York. They determine the themes of the speech and work in groups to research and report on economics of the New South, politics of the New South, and social relations in the New South. Finally, each student develops a thesis statement and paragraph responding to the following prompt: Henry Grady promoted the idea of a New South. To what extent were his ideas accurate?

Procedure

1. Focus attention on the term *New South*. Ask students what they think it meant to the people of the South after the Civil War. (The term might denote the philosophical outlook of the South after the Civil War or changes that were being advocated in the South after the Civil War by Southerners and Northerners, who argued that a transformation from agriculture to industry was necessary for survival. The phrase could also refer to the emergence of the Redeemer governments and the reintegration of racial and discrimination laws.)
2. Introduce Henry Grady as a newspaper reporter who is credited with developing the idea of a New South after the Civil War. Distribute **Handout 33**, and have students read the short biography and excerpt from Grady's speech. Ask them what the three themes of Grady's speech are. (He proposed that there was no more North and South, that the Southern economy was changing and embracing the advancements of technology and industrialization, and that race relations were changing as blacks became partners in this New South.)
3. Divide students into three groups, and assign each group to research one of the following topics: economics of the New South, politics of the New South, and social relations of the New South. Tell groups they need a minimum of ten facts, and direct them to prepare to present information to the class.
4. When groups have finished their work, pool information as a whole class.

Suggested Responses

Economics of the New South

- Southern economic development was slow and difficult.
- There were few towns and cities.
- The South lacked ready capital and had very little technological development.
- Northern banks controlled the financial markets.
- There was a lack of an educated workforce.
- Protective tariffs were enacted to protect Northern manufactured goods.
- Silver was demonetized.
- In 1860, the industrial capacity for the North was \$1.6 billion, but for the South, it was only \$193 million.
- By the end of the Civil War, the value of a Confederate dollar had depreciated to about 1 percent of its original value.
- During the war \$1.5 billion in property, mostly in the South, was destroyed.

- In 1860, \$3.06 billion in total market value of slaves, in theory, disappeared with emancipation.
- In 1860, the South outpaced the North in per capita production of commodities, such as cotton, rice, and indigo. Ten years later, the recovering South produced only 50 percent of the per capita output of the North. By 1880, the North's per capita output of commodities was almost twice that of the South.
- Per capita agriculture output in the Deep South declined by 30 to 40 percent between 1860 and 1870.
- By 1890, over 22,000 miles of new railroad track were laid, more than half owned by Northern railroad companies. Railroads charged higher rates for transport of manufactured goods than for raw materials moving from the South to the North.
- Industries that developed in the South included coal mining, textiles, furniture, cigarette manufacturing, iron, and steel. Northern investors controlled much of the Southern iron industry.
- The "move the mill to the cotton" movement was strong in the South. In 1880, there were 161 cotton mills; in 1900, there were 400 cotton mills. Many Southern textile mills were controlled by Northern investors, and the wages of Southern textile workers were 30 to 50 percent lower than those of workers in the North.
- Southern railroad, mine, and lumber industries used cheap convict labor.
- In 1880 in the Deep South, 70 percent of land was occupied by whites who owned 73 percent of that land, while 30 percent of land was occupied by blacks of which 68 percent was tenanted. A crop-lien system was established, which encouraged debt and kept farmers tied to the land.
- In 1900, the Southern share of manufacturing was 10 percent, which was the same as it had been in 1860.
- In 1900, Southern per capita income was 60 percent of the national average, while the average income in the South was 40 percent of the average income in the North. In 1860, cotton goods were valued at \$55 million and machinery at \$33 million; in 1910, cotton goods were valued at \$260 million and machinery at \$690 million.

Politics of the New South

- A solid South emerged, with white Democrats voting in blocks and, beginning with the election of 1876, controlling the South until about 1964.

- Whites controlled state governments under Southern home rule and Redeemer governments.
- Funding for public schools was decreased.
- From 1877 to 1914, some blacks voted and held office, but more restrictions were placed at local levels.
- Southern Farmers' Alliance, which began in Texas in the 1870s, excluded blacks. The Colored Farmers' National Alliance had common economic complaints with white farmers.
- Populism appealed to black and white farmers. Tom Watson (Georgia) appealed to farmers to unite regardless of race. When Populism was defeated nationally in the 1896 presidential election, Watson became a supporter of white supremacy.
- The First Mississippi Plan in 1875 sought to overthrow the Republican Party in the state and to intimidate and terrorize blacks. The Second Mississippi Plan in 1890 used poll taxes and implemented literacy and understanding tests.
- Grandfather clauses regarding literary tests, first passed in Louisiana in 1898, were declared unconstitutional in *Guinn v. United States* (1915).
- Between 1896 and 1915, every Southern state adopted white primaries, which were declared to be unconstitutional in *Smith v. Allwright* (1944).
- In 1900, the Senate defeated the Lodge Bill, which would have allowed "federal supervision of congressional elections to prevent disfranchisement, fraud, or violence." Democrats called it a force bill.
- *Williams v. Mississippi* (1898) upheld the state's institution of poll taxes and literacy tests.
- The Supreme Court refused to hear a lower court case over racial discrimination in Alabama, *Giles v. Harris* (1903).

Social Relations of the New South

- Those who championed the New South also supported white supremacy.
- By 1900, 20 percent of Southern blacks lived in urban communities which saw a growth of a black middle class and caused tension among whites.
- During the 1890s, hostility grew as whites saw educated blacks and a resulting loss of political power as a threat.
- The labor market continued to be segregated, while labor unions excluded blacks.
- In 1883, the Civil Rights Act of 1875, which prohibited segregation in places of public accommodation, was declared unconstitutional.

- Jim Crow laws were passed in Southern states.
 - In *Hall v. de Cuir* (1877), the Supreme Court ruled that a state could not prohibit segregation on a common carrier. The Court ruled that a state could constitutionally require segregation on carriers in Louisville and New Orleans in *Texas Railroad v. Mississippi* (1890). *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896) confirmed the doctrine of separate but equal, while *Cumming v. Richmond County Board of Education* (1899) upheld the idea of separate educational facilities for whites and blacks.
 - Race riots and a resurgence of the Ku Klux Klan saw the lynching of blacks become common in the 1880s and 1890s.
 - In 1900, there were no public schools for blacks in the South. A 1916 Bureau of Education study showed that the per capita spending in the South for white children was \$10.32 per year, but it was only \$2.89 per year for black children.
 - In 1900, 90 percent of the black population lived in the South, which was a segregated society.
5. After students have researched and presented their information, have them construct thesis statements and paragraphs based on the following prompt:

Henry Grady promoted the idea of a New South. To what extent were his ideas accurate?

Have students limit their answer to the time period from 1865 to 1900 and discuss the economic, political, and social aspects related to the prompt.

Suggested Response

Following Reconstruction, the South experienced some measured industrial growth as Northern businessmen moved their textile factories out of New England and into the South in an effort to lessen the cost of transporting raw materials, and to take advantage of lower taxes and cheaper nonunion labor. Nevertheless, the South remained firmly entrenched in its antebellum heritage by remaining predominantly rural and agriculturally based, while heavily dependent on single cash crops. Its newly installed Redeemer governments reintroduced Democratic Party dominance, and its continuing beliefs in black inferiority, along with the founding of white supremacy groups such as the Ku Klux Klan, kept African Americans in a perpetual state of subservience. Therefore, the ideas promoted by Henry Grady and the idea of a New South were not in the end accurate.

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.

Lesson 22

Monopolies: Vertical and Horizontal Integration

Objectives

- To understand the development of different kinds of monopolies in the late nineteenth-century United States
- To assess how the growth of monopolists' power led to new problems in the United States

AP* Correlations

Skill Type III

Skill 7: Appropriate Use of Relevant Historical Evidence

Thematic Learning Objective: Work, Exchange, and Technology

WXT-6: Explain how arguments about market capitalism, the growth of corporate power, and government policies influenced economic policies from the late 18th century through the early 20th century

Notes to the Teacher

In the late nineteenth century, a new 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 U.S. capitalism. Discarding the earlier idea of *laissez-faire* capitalism as out of touch with current realities, they 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.

In this lesson, students define business terms and analyze responses to these business developments. Next, they interpret key primary and secondary documents. Students conclude by responding to a document-based-question.

Procedure

1. Ask students to brainstorm about capitalists' strategies to increase their businesses in the nineteenth century. Ask why some of these entrepreneurs moved away from classical liberal approaches. Accept all reasonable responses, including reinvesting in their businesses, getting loans from banks, buying out the opposition, making deals, and horizontal or vertical integration. Explain that classical liberal

notions created more competition than may have been desired and limited capitalists' economic growth and power.

2. Distribute **Handout 34**, and have students complete the handout. Review responses.

Suggested Responses

1. Classical liberalism, the view of capitalism from the late eighteenth century, is associated with thinkers like Adam Smith, Jeremy Bentham, and Samuel Smiles. Industrialists Robert Lowell and others of the nineteenth century held that competition would be good for the economy with little or no government interference and that, with an invisible hand, everyone's needs would be met. As a theory of economics, it had its drawbacks in that not everyone's needs were met and wealthy entrepreneurs tended to get what they wanted from government bureaucrats.
 2. Rugged individualism is the view that, in the United States, one can become a rich and productive member of society through hard work and effort. While proponents of this theory argued that prosperity was available to all, in reality only a small percentage of entrepreneurs could reach it.
 3. In a cartel, businessmen divide up an area among themselves; this leads to higher prices. Cartels meet only the needs of the very rich.
 4. Mergers are combinations of different businesses. The result is a few corporate leaders making decisions.
 5. Vertical integration brings as many elements of production under centralized control as possible. It is one way of creating a monopoly; it often leads to tensions among manufacturers.
 6. Horizontal integration combines purchasers in order to dominate an industry; less competition means more centralized control of prices.
 7. Monopoly involves exclusive control of a product or service; the result is fixed prices and wages.
3. Distribute **Handout 35**, and have students complete part A. Review responses.

Suggested Responses

Carnegie—He suggests using money wisely and being a role model for others; problems could include having too much control and being a poor role model.

Rockefeller—It is better for the economy to have larger companies; problems could include that smaller companies lose out and workers are taken advantage of by unscrupulous business owners.

Pullman—He created a model community; problems could include overdependence on him and his company.

Westinghouse—He created electrical inventions; problems could include his heavy-handed role in decisions and inventions.

Vanderbilt—He bought out railroad companies; problems could include too much control over decisions, wages, and prices.

Gould—He bought out other industries; problems could include corruption and too much control over all of these industries in terms of products, wages, and prices.

4. Assign the document-based question in part B of **Handout 35**.
5. Share students' essays by way of peer review. Students should include some of the following ideas:
 - **Beneficial Aspects**—Monopolies allow for industry to be more organized, to produce more goods, and to become more efficient, allowing for profit to be reinvested in the industries themselves.
 - **Harmful Aspects**—With monopolies, only a small number of people become wealthy and make decisions. Monopolies limit competition and make life harder for workers, who are at the mercy of a few business leaders. Prices and wages are controlled by a few people at the top.
 - Overall, monopolies probably cause more harm than good.

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

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

¹Andrew Carnegie, "The Gospel of Wealth," in *The Gospel of Wealth and Other Timely Essays* (New York: The Century Co., 1901), 15.

²U.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 his 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).

Lesson 23

The Populist Movement: The Value of Third Parties

Objective

- To evaluate the impact of the Populists on the political development of the United States

AP* Correlations

Skill Type IV

Skill 8: Interpretation

Thematic Learning Objective: Work, Exchange and Technology

WXT-7: Compare the beliefs and strategies of movements advocating changes to the U.S. economic system since industrialization, particularly the organized labor, Populist, and Progressive movements

Notes to the Teacher

The Agricultural Revolution permanently altered the lives and outlook of farmers. Costly farm equipment forced them to specialize and commercialize their operations. Farmers 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. Like factory workers, farmers tried various measures to counteract and cope with their changed circumstances. In the 1870s, farmers joined the Greenback movement to gain relief from low prices and high indebtedness through inflation of the currency. Oliver Kelley's Grange attracted many farmers as a social, educational, and fraternal organization. Midwestern Grangers achieved some success, particularly in Illinois, as they prodded state legislatures to regulate railroads, grain elevators, and warehouses, but reversals in higher courts cost Grangers most of their gains. Membership of more than a million farmers in Farmers' Alliances in the late 1880s attested to the continuing unrest in rural America. Finally, in 1892, leaders of several agrarian state parties met in Omaha, Nebraska, to draw up their platform for a national political party.

In this lesson, students complete an assignment to gain a basic understanding of the Populist movement. You may want to assign **Handout 36** as homework. Students discuss the importance of Populism in the 1890s, as well as its later impact on American reform movements.

Procedure

1. Ask students whether they have ever heard of a connection between *The Wizard of Oz* and Populism. (Some scholars contend that *The Wizard of Oz* is a Populist allegory. The scarecrow represents Midwestern farmers, the tin man symbolizes industrial workers, the lion signifies William Jennings Bryan, Dorothy is an “Everyman,” the wizard represents the president, and the yellow brick road corresponds to the gold standard.) Explain that this lesson focuses on the Populist movement and its impact on American history.
2. Distribute **Handout 36**, and have students complete it.

Suggested Responses

1. The Populists wrote the Omaha Platform in 1892.
2. Populists included farmers, laborers, single taxers, and socialists.
3. Most Populists came from the West or South.
4. The following were among their proposals: free and unlimited coinage of silver at a sixteen to one ratio with gold; increase in the amount of money in circulation; graduated income tax; government ownership of railroads, telephones, and telegraphs; tariff reduction; eight-hour working day; direct election of senators; secret ballot; postal savings bank; immigration restrictions; initiative and referendum; single term for the presidency; subtreasury plan to help finance farmers at harvest time.
5. The Greenback Party of the 1870s pushed for inflation based on free silver, and they worked for regulation, if not public ownership, of the railroads.
6. The Republicans received approximately 44 percent of the vote; the Democrats received 47 percent; the Populists received nearly 9 percent.
7. The Populist vote of nearly 9 percent in the 1892 election attracted the attention of both major political parties. However, the Republicans were philosophically further removed from the Populists and would have been less likely to adopt their positions. The Populist vote, cast as a bloc, could have altered the outcome of the 1892 election. This is a point the Democrats noted in the national convention in 1896.
8. Bryan’s rousing, emotional speech became a rallying cry for many Populists and Democrats; on the other hand, his narrow approach to solving problems of the disgruntled undoubtedly cost him many other votes.
9. The Republicans offered pluralism to the American people; every occupation, religion, industry, and section would re-

ceive fair treatment under the protective tariff; farmers' grievances would be considered and corrective action taken.

10. The Panic of 1893 occurred during a Democratic administration and hurt the party's cause. The large Republican campaign chest permitted far more campaign activities than the Democrats could afford. Also, without the secret ballot, many factory workers felt intimidated to vote as their employers desired.
3. Distribute **Handout 37**, and complete it as a class.

Suggested Responses

Part A.

1. All had complaints against the system that neither political party addressed; all represented lower economic groups who felt the government should control (or even own) major businesses.
2. Although they shared an opposition to big business, they could not agree on solutions. Laborers, for example, did not favor inflation as the farmers wanted; farmers wanted an income tax, while single taxers championed a drastic property tax reform; socialists wanted government ownership, not regulation, of big businesses.
3. William Jennings Bryan, the Populist and Democratic candidate, represented primarily farm interests for whom inflation seemed a crucial issue.
4. Various explanations account for the Republican victory. First, Democrats were associated with the Panic of 1893; second, many voters were intimidated into voting for the Republican candidate; finally, and perhaps most important, the nation had become increasingly urban and, therefore, less in tune with Populist sentiments. Factory laborers could hardly be expected to approve the Populist-Democratic plank on inflation.
5. The Klondike gold rush soon brought inflation, although it was based on gold, not silver. The Spanish-American War and the influx of immigrants to American cities created larger markets and higher prices for farm produce.
6. Later generations recognized the need to extend democracy and control corporations. More specifically, the United States adopted the graduated income tax, direct election of senators, secret ballot, initiative and referendum; public utilities were regulated, if not owned, by the government. Farm relief programs of the New Deal resembled the subtreasury proposed by the Populists.

Part B.

1. Hofstadter portrays the Populists as a backward-looking faction intent on restoring conditions that existed before the commercialization of agriculture and the rise of big business. Pollack sees the Populists as forward-looking critics who pointed the way to reforms and improvements in the system during the twentieth century.
2. Students may notice, as Hofstadter did, that farmers did indeed recall better times in earlier years and wished to enact political and economic reforms that would restrict the influence of big business. Students should recognize, as Pollack did, the extent to which the Populist agenda became a basis for reform in the twentieth century.
3. Third parties, such as the Populists, call attention to needed changes that the major political parties overlook or ignore. When the third party receives sufficient popular support, a major party adopts the third party's program, and the third party fades from existence. A third party focuses on issues rather than on candidates.

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.

The Populist Party of the 1890s

Part A.

Directions: Study the cartoon, and answer the questions.

A Party of Patches

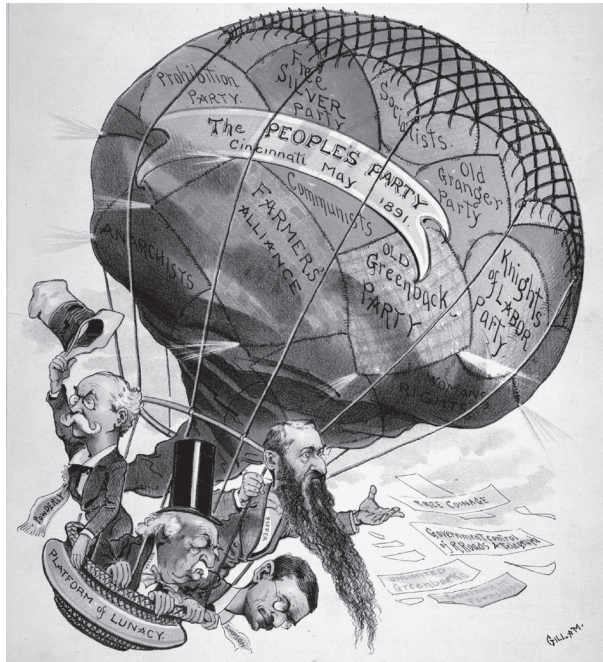


Fig. 23.1.

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?

¹Richard Hofstadter, *The Age of Reform: From Bryan to F. D. R.* (New York: Vintage, 1955), 61–62.

²Norman Pollack, *The Populist Mind* (New York: Bobbs-Merrill, 1967), xxx, xlv.

Lesson 24

Gilded Age Presidents

Objective

- To examine the positive and negative aspects of the presidents of the Gilded Age

AP* Correlations

Skill Type III

Skill 6: Historical Argumentation

Thematic Learning Objective: Politics and Power

POL-6: Analyze how debates over political values (such as democracy, freedom, and citizenship) and the extension of American ideals abroad contributed to the ideological clashes and military conflicts of the 19th century and the early 20th century

Notes to the Teacher

The word *gilded* usually suggests the application of a thin coating of gold-colored metal to a base metal of lesser value. Between 1868 and 1900, this term applies to an era of U.S. history. From the first term of Ulysses S. Grant to the term of William McKinley, America prospered and failed by equal measure. Corruption in political and business dealings was commonplace, and economic rise and fall composed business as usual. This era was characterized by bank failures, massive labor disputes, political corruption, underhanded business dealings, and controversy over U. S. currency.

At the end of the Civil War, U. S. troops occupied the Southern states which had been in rebellion. A Republican-dominated Congress quickly passed legislation to amend the Constitution and protect the newly freed slaves. The North had boomed economically during the War, while the agricultural economy of the South was destroyed. Railroad and factory construction raced to conclusion to move goods and materials across the country. Banks became overextended in support of this economic boom, and 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.

The presidents who served during the Gilded Age were products of their age. Ulysses S. Grant, James Garfield, Benjamin Harrison, and William McKinley all served heroically as field officers during the Civil War.

Grover Cleveland paid another man to serve in his stead, a practice that was not unusual at the time, and Chester A. Arthur served as a general in the Quartermaster Corps of the New York State militia. All were well-educated; Grant graduated from West Point, and the others had at least some college education. All, except Cleveland, were Republicans. Some, like Garfield, were scrupulously honest, while others, like Grant, were known for their ties to corruption and illegal activities. All had one thing in common: they sought to serve their nation well.

In this lesson, students research and complete a chart on the presidents of the Gilded Age and events and accomplishments during their terms in office; students rank the presidents from strongest to weakest and match the presidents to appropriate quotations. Students conclude by choosing a president and writing a short essay on his level of success or failure in the White House.

Procedure

1. Explain that during the Gilded Age, from the first term of Ulysses S. Grant to the term of William McKinley, America prospered and failed in equal measure. Ask why this statement is true. (This era was characterized by bank failures, massive labor disputes, widespread political corruption, underhanded business dealings, and controversy over U. S. currency. During this time, most of the gains made by African Americans in the South were lost because of a failure of presidents to use their power to enforce the Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution. It was also the great age of American immigration, an era of tremendous industrial growth, and a period during which great strides were made in labor movements, social reform, and civil service reform.)
2. Divide the class into small groups of three or four students and distribute **Handout 38**. Have students research the presidents and complete the chart in part A. Review responses.

Suggested Responses

Ulysses S. Grant—1868–76; Republican

- Fifteenth Amendment ratified
- Panic of 1873 saw bank failures in Europe which affected overextended bankers in the United States. Business owners were unable to repay loans. Stock market crashed. Factories were shut down, and workers were laid off.
- Whiskey Ring was an extensive system of bribes and payoffs that affected revenues from the taxation of alcoholic beverages in the United States.
- Transcontinental Railroad was completed in 1869, and additional rail construction resulted in 56,000 miles of track being laid between 1866 and 1873.

Rutherford B. Hayes—1876–80; Republican

- Railroad Strike of 1877 occurred when Baltimore and Ohio employees struck over attempts by the company to stop unionization and cut wages as a result of the Panic of 1873. It spread across the country and affected sympathetic industries which also struck. Troops were used to put down labor disputes, and between seventy and one hundred workers were killed when the troops opened fire on crowds.
- The Compromise of 1877 resulted in the election of Hayes to the presidency; the disputed election was decided by a congressional commission. Southern members of Congress agreed to support Hayes if he would withdraw federal troops from the still occupied Southern states and appoint one Southerner as a member of his Cabinet.
- Bland-Allison Act (1878) required the U.S. Treasury to buy a certain amount of silver and put it into circulation as silver dollars.
- *Munn v. Illinois* (1876) determined that railroad rates could be controlled by the government because railroads were considered to be private enterprises which benefitted the public good.

James A. Garfield—1880–81; Republican

- Garfield accomplished little in domestic or foreign affairs because he was assassinated after only one hundred days as president.

Chester A. Arthur—1881–84; Republican

- The Pendleton Civil Service Act (1883) created competitive examinations for civil service workers. Aimed at reforming the spoils system, it covered only 10 percent of government jobs. It was passed as a result of Garfield's assassination by a disgruntled office seeker.
- Chinese Exclusion Act (1882) restricted Chinese immigrants from entering the country for a period of ten years to work in the mining industry, required Chinese residents who left the country to reapply for entry as aliens, and excluded Chinese immigrants from citizenship.

Grover Cleveland—1884–88 and 1892–96; Democrat

- Depression of 1893 was caused by overspeculation, depressed agriculture, and weak U.S. credit here and abroad. Most of those affected were farmers and the urban unemployed poor.
- The Pullman Strike (1894) in Chicago was marked by use of federal troops to end the strike.

- Dawes Severalty Act (1887) carved up Native American tribal lands and gave each family an allotment to be held in trust. It also granted citizenship to all Native Americans.
- Interstate Commerce Act (1887) created an Interstate Commerce Commission which was to regulate all trade and business conducted across state lines.
- Coxey's Army (1894) included unemployed men, among them veterans of the Civil War, who came to Washington to demand economic relief for conditions caused by the Depression of 1893.

Benjamin Harrison—1888–92; Republican

- Sherman Antitrust Act (1890) banned big business monopolies but was used to prosecute labor unions. Later it was used by Theodore Roosevelt to break up the Standard Oil Company.
- McKinley Tariff (1890) set one of the highest tariffs in American history when it taxed foreign goods at 50 percent of the face value of the item.

William McKinley—1896–1901; Republican

- Wilson-Gorman Tariff (1894) was intended to reduce the high tariffs placed on imported goods by the McKinley Tariff. Hundreds of amendments were added, which effectively gutted the bill. The law also added a 2 percent income tax, which was later struck down as unconstitutional by the Supreme Court.
- Annexation of Hawaii (1897) was completed during McKinley's first term in office. Annexation had been proposed earlier but was challenged by sugar interests who did not want to relinquish the control they had over the islands.
- During the Spanish-American War (1898) the United States attacked Spanish possessions in the Caribbean and Pacific in response to Spanish actions against dissidents. Spurred on by the press, Congress sent an American army, most of whom were volunteers, and the American navy against far outnumbered Spanish forces.

3. Have students try to reach consensus on which president was the weakest and which was the strongest.

4. Have students complete part B of **Handout 38**. Review responses.

Suggested Responses

- | | |
|------|------|
| 1. d | 5. f |
| 2. a | 6. c |
| 3. g | 7. e |
| 4. b | |
5. Have students choose a president and write a short essay explaining whether he was a failure or a success as a president. Remind students to provide evidence to support their opinions.

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				

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

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

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." | a. Chester A. Arthur |
| _____ 2. "Men may die, but the fabrics of free institutions remain unshaken." | b. Grover Cleveland |
| _____ 3. "War should never be entered upon until every agency of peace has failed." | c. James A. Garfield |
| _____ 4. "Sensible and responsible women do not want to vote." | d. Ulysses S. Grant |
| _____ 5. "We Americans have no commission from God to police the world." | e. Benjamin Harrison |
| _____ 6. "The civil service can never be placed on a satisfactory basis until it is regulated by law." | f. Rutherford B. Hayes |
| _____ 7. "It is the desire of the good people of the whole country that sectionalism as a factor in our politics should disappear." | g. William McKinley |

Lesson 25

American Industrialization and Urbanization

Objectives

- To understand the effect of industrialization on city life at the end of the nineteenth century and in the early twentieth century
- To assess the impact of the growth of urbanization on American class structure and peoples' diverse experiences

AP* Correlations

Skill Type III

Skill 7: Appropriate Use of Relevant Historical Evidence

Thematic Learning Objective: Peopling

PEO-3: Analyze the causes and effects of major internal migration patterns such as urbanization, suburbanization, westward movement, and the Great Migration in the 19th and 20th centuries

Notes to the Teacher

During the nineteenth century, the United States changed dramatically. By the 1880s, its major businesses competed industrially with its two great 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 European ones and perhaps even more segregated than those of Europe. This is apparent in terms of occupation structure, as well as in housing and amenities in the cities. Given the need for workers and resources, it should be of little surprise that the growth of cities coincided with the expansion of industrialization.

In this lesson, students examine statistical data about urbanization between 1860 and 1910. Then they analyze photographs of different aspects of city life's housing structure. To conclude, students design a nineteenth-century city, create multiple-choice questions about this material, and play a game to answer those questions.

Procedure

1. Ask students to jot down ideas as to what they would expect to find in the new cities that developed in the United States during the last two decades of the nineteenth century.

2. Distribute **Handout 39**, and ask students to answer the questions on their own. Review responses.

Suggested Responses

1. Factors include available work, immigration, increased birth rate, and declining death rate.
 2. Reasons include access, types of work, regionalization, and migration patterns.
 3. Mechanization of agricultural work disadvantaged small farmers; farming opportunities declined.
 4. Poverty and immigration were contributing factors.
 5. Available work and the American dream drew people to cities.
3. Have students use their textbooks, the Internet, and other sources to locate and analyze a variety of images that illustrate city life at the end of the nineteenth century. Ask students to contrast the life of the rich with that of poor and to determine ways in which the images show class divisions and segregation. An online resource that may be helpful in their search is the “Pictures of the American City” collection at the National Archives (<http://www.archives.gov/research/american-cities/>). Photographs by Jacob Riis are available in many print and online sources.
 4. Direct students to use this material and additional research to draw a picture of a city in this period. Display finished pictures in the classroom.
 5. Have students work with a partner to create at least four multiple-choice questions, each of which contains five responses. The questions should stress cause and effect, change and continuity over time, or connections to previous work about industrialization and urbanization. Instruct students to write each question and answers on a different index card. Have students rotate the cards among the pairs of students and compete to answer the questions.

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?

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

Lesson 26

The Election of 1896

Objective

- To analyze the political party platforms of the Democratic and Republican parties in the election of 1896

AP* Correlations

Skill Type II

Skill 4: Comparison

Thematic Learning Objective: Politics and Power

POL-6: Analyze how debates over political values (such as democracy, freedom, and citizenship) and the extension of American ideals abroad contributed to the ideological clashes and military conflicts of the 19th century and the early 20th century

Notes to the Teacher

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. To underestimate the importance of this fact is to miss the transition that the United States was undergoing as it moved out of the nineteenth and into the twentieth century.

The election pitted two powerful political figures. For the Republicans, it was William McKinley, governor from Ohio, who served in the Civil War and strongly supported protective tariffs. For the Democrats, it was William Jennings Bryan, a Populist from Illinois and later Nebraska, who was a strong speaker, an opponent of protective tariffs, and a militant free silver man. It was believed that McKinley would draw most of his support from the Northeast and Bryan would be strong in the South and West, leaving the Midwest states of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin as key battlegrounds. Many saw McKinley's win as a protest against Grover Cleveland's administration, and some have argued that no Democratic candidate could have won in 1896.

The two most important issues in this election were free silver and tariffs. Some historians have argued that McKinley was the first modern American president.

Teachers who wish to do some additional research on the election of 1896 might want to consult the following primary sources.

- "Election of 1896" by Gilbert C. Fite in *The Coming to Power: Critical Presidential Elections in American History*, edited by Arthur M. Schlesinger Jr. (Chelsea House Publishers, 1972)

- *William Jennings Bryan and the Campaign of 1896*, edited by George F. Whicher (D. C. Heath and Company, 1953)
- *The First Battle: A Story of the Campaign of 1896* by William Jennings Bryan (W. B. Conkey Company, 1896)
- *The Presidency of William McKinley* by Lewis L. Gould (University of Kansas, 1981)

In this lesson, students read the platforms of the two major political parties, organize this information around major themes of the election of 1896, and develop a group presentation that illustrates the strengths and weaknesses of each platform.

Procedure

1. Explain that political party platforms consist of the specific points that party members present to the voting public to illustrate the party's stand on issues. Often the platforms of the majority political parties are at opposite ends of the spectrum. By examining the platforms of political parties, we can often gauge the mood and state of the country. Ask students why the election of 1896 might be considered one of the most important in American history. (It was important because of the shift in political power from the rural to the urban communities; it was important because the Republicans were able to regain political power; because of the election of McKinley and the Spanish American War on the horizon, it was an election that pushed America into the modern era.)
2. Put students into groups, and distribute **Handout 40**. Refer students to the Web site of the American Presidency Project, which contains a section on political party platforms (<http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu>). Direct students to research and summarize each party's position on major issues of the time. Follow with class discussion.

Suggested Responses

Republicans

1. *Monetary policy*—Republicans supported sound money, opposed any act that would debase the currency, and opposed free coinage of silver unless supported by the international community.
2. *Tariffs/taxes*—Republicans supported protective tariffs, which would lead to economic independence and American economic development; they encouraged home industry and put the burden of revenue on foreign goods; they held that the current tax system was sectional, unfair, and injurious to the business cycle.
3. *Immigration*—The party supported immigration restriction, especially with those who do not speak English, because immigration hurt American workers and pitted them against lower priced labor.

4. *Trusts/monopolies*—Republicans were silent with regard to this issue.
5. *Territories/statehood*—Republicans supported the earliest possible admission for any territories meeting the requirement.
6. *Civil service reform*—Republicans claimed that they were the founders of civil service laws and vowed to support any reform.
7. *Foreign policy*—Republicans supported the right of America to defend its interests against European encroachment and supported actively influencing the restoration of peace and independence in Cuba.
8. *Other*—Republicans supported the reestablishment of free homesteads and denounced Democratic control over the federal government; they implied that Grover Cleveland was responsible for the economic depression.

Democrats

1. *Monetary policy*—Democrats held that demonetization of silver led to the enrichment of the lending class, heavy taxes, decrease in industry, and the impoverishment of the American people; they called for unlimited free coinage of both gold and silver, making the silver dollar legal tender equal with gold; they believed that all paper currency should be issued from Congress, not by a National Bank.
2. *Tariffs/taxes*—Democrats held that taxes should be used to generate revenue only and should not discriminate about class or sections; they opposed protective tariffs which led to the development of trusts and monopolies.
3. *Immigration*—Democrats supported immigration restriction as immigrants created unfair labor competition.
4. *Trusts/monopolies*—Democrats demanded more control over concentration of wealth and stronger enforcement of the Interstate Commerce Act.
5. *Territories/statehood*—Democrats supported the admission of new territories legally able to enter the union.
6. *Civil service reform*—Democrats supported merit-based laws and fixed terms that provided equal opportunities for everyone.
7. *Foreign policy*—Democrats supported Cuba's struggle for liberty and independence.
8. *Other*—Democrats denounced the interference of federal authorities in local affairs, opposed the possibility of a third-term president, resisted centralization, supported the constitutional limits of the federal government, and upheld a commitment to states' rights.

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		

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

Lesson 27

The Turner Thesis

Objectives

- To analyze the main points of the Turner thesis
- To read and summarize the main ideas of historians who are critical of the Turner thesis

AP* Correlations

Skill Type IV

Skill 8: Interpretation

Thematic Learning Objective: Peopling

PEO-3: Analyze the causes and effects of major internal migration patterns such as urbanization, suburbanization, westward movement, and the Great Migration in the 19th and 20th centuries

Notes to the Teacher

In Chicago at the World's Columbian Exposition on July 12, 1893, at the meeting of the American Historical Association, a relatively unknown historian from Wisconsin took the podium rather late in the day to deliver the last of five historical talks. The speech was relatively uneventful, and the crowd asked not a single question. In fact, hardly any notice was made of the paper delivered by the Wisconsin professor. However, within fifteen years of the reading of this paper, Frederick Jackson Turner would take his place among eminent American historians, and in 1910, he would assume a chair at Harvard University and the presidency of the American Historical Association.

Turner's 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 settlers. These early settlers came from England as Europeans, but the hostile environment forced them to adapt to the wilderness, causing them gradually to lose some of their European ways. As expansion took place, the settlers slowly began to develop a completely different culture—an American culture. In fact, the confrontation with the west shaped a distinctive American society. In 1890, the census declared that the frontier was closed, causing historians to contemplate what was next for American civilization. Some of them asked, If westward expansion defined and helped shape U.S. culture, was American culture now destined to cease evolving and become static? Many believe that this thesis led America into a new phase of its historical development, pushing it into becoming an international and imperialistic power.

Teachers interested in doing additional reading and research on Turner should consult the following works:

- *The Frontier in American History* by Frederick Jackson Turner (Dover Publications, 1996)
- *Rereading Frederick Jackson Turner: "The Significance of the Frontier in American History" and Other Essays*, edited by John Mack Faragher (Henry Holt and Company, 1994)
- *The Turner Thesis: Concerning the Role of the Frontier in American History*, edited by George Rogers Taylor (D. C. Heath and Company, 1956)
- *Does the Frontier Experience Make America Exceptional?*, edited by Richard W. Etulain (Bedford/St. Martin's, 1999)

In this lesson, students read Turner's paper, "The Significance of the Frontier in American History," and answer guided-reading questions. Students read excerpts from various critics of the Turner thesis and summarize the main ideas of these writers. Finally, students participate in a debate on the following prompt: Resolved, the Turner thesis is an accurate interpretation of the development of the American frontier. Note that Turner's paper is available online from a variety of sources, including the Web site of the American Studies department at the University of Virginia (<http://xroads.virginia.edu/~Hyper/TURNER/>). It is also the first chapter of his book *The Frontier in American History*.

Procedure

1. Ask students at what point do they think Americans began thinking of themselves as Americans. (Answers may include the following: after the French and Indian War; after the American Revolution; once colonists came from England and landed in Jamestown.) Tell students one of the most famous historians in American history was Frederick Jackson Turner. Explain that Turner believed that as soon as colonists began the task of survival, they shed their European ways and began to forge a new identity for themselves, one that they believed would be unique and special in the history of the world.
2. Distribute **Handout 41**, and have students read Turner's paper and answer the questions. Review responses.

Suggested Responses

1. Turner emphasizes colonization of the West and the development and expansion of the people of the United States.
2. Growth is natural to all cultures. Europe grew within a limited space and conquered people as contact occurred. U.S. expansion was westward under primitive conditions along a continually advancing line, and the United States experienced a rebirth with each new expansion. This expansion posed new

challenges and opportunities and shaped the development of American society.

3. The American frontier stood at the border of free land.
4. The first American colonists were Europeans. The wilderness could have conquered the colonists. They adapted to their new environment, where they had to accept these conditions or perish.
5. As time passed, the colonists began to transform the wilderness. However, the outcome was not European but something new. The frontier of the Atlantic coast was European; however, as expansion occurred, the frontier became American. This steady westward expansion resulted in increased independence. The isolation of the region increased its peculiar American tendencies.
6. The fall line of original settlement marked the frontier of the seventeenth century, the Alleghenies the eighteenth century, the Mississippi the first quarter of the nineteenth century, the Missouri the middle of the nineteenth century, the Rocky Mountains at the end of the nineteenth century.
7. Advanced European mores conflicted with the primitive conditions of the wilderness; issues included the Indian question, use of land in the public domain, interaction with older settlements, extension of political organizations, and religious and educational activity.
8. Arable virgin land was available to farmers.
 - An American nationality developed. Immigrants were absorbed into a new society and became part of a new nationality.
 - America's dependence on England decreased. The South was dependent on England and the North for supplies and food, but as expansion occurred, new townships began to provide the South with the supplies, lessening dependence on trade with England.
 - As the dependence on trade lessened, a diversified agriculture began to occur in the South.
 - The nationalization of the West transformed the democracy of Thomas Jefferson into the national republicanism of James Monroe and the democracy of Andrew Jackson. Where free land exists, the opportunity for competency exists, and economic power secures political power. This led to an indifferent attitude toward government and government regulation.

- The materialism of the West had to be tamed through political, educational, and religious institutions.
 - The closing of the frontier meant the end of a phase of American history, which began with Columbus. America had always represented opportunity, and it was foolish to believe that the expansion attitude would cease with the closing of the frontier.
3. Distribute **Handout 42**. Direct students to read the excerpts from critics of the Turner thesis and summarize the main ideas.

Suggested Responses

1. No significant changes took place as the early American settlers evolved; in fact, the increased democratization and available land led many to imitate the social classes from the East and in Europe.
 2. The West led to the development of an American capitalistic society, which, in turn, led to the development of an American imperialistic society, much like the one in Europe—thus, America was not unique in its historical development.
 3. Many advances in American society do not seem to have come from westward expansion.
 4. Turner's thesis led to an isolationist worldview and a sense of U.S. superiority in the world; it led to our involvement in world wars; a true study of history requires a comparative approach.
4. Have students debate the following prompt:
- Resolved, the Turner thesis is an accurate interpretation of the development of the American frontier.

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?

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?

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 cat paw 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

¹Benjamin 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.

²Louis M. Hacker, “Sections—or Classes” in *The Turner Thesis*, 55–56.

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

³George Wilson Pierson, “The Frontier and American Institutions: A Criticism of the Turner Theory,” in *The Turner Thesis*, 70.

⁴Carlton J. H. Hayes, “The American Frontier—Frontier of What?” in *The Turner Thesis*, 110–11.

Lesson 28

The Foundations of American Pragmatism

Objective

- To examine the main figures and principal ideas of American pragmatism

AP* Correlations

Skill Type II

Skill 4: Comparison

Thematic Learning Objective: Ideas, Beliefs, and Culture

CUL-5: Analyze ways that philosophical, moral, and scientific ideas were used to defend and challenge the dominant economic and social order in the 19th and 20th centuries

Notes to the Teacher

Pragmatism was one of the most influential schools of intellectual thought and one that was uniquely American. It was born in the latter part of the nineteenth century and corresponded with the literary and artistic movement of realism, along with the social and political movement of progressivism. The three principle founders of American pragmatism were Charles Sanders Peirce, William James, and John Dewey; other important members of the movement included George Herbert Mead, Chauncey Wright, and Oliver Wendell Holmes Jr. Pragmatism represented a sharp break from the earlier deterministic version of evolutionary thought, in which the world was viewed as a causal necessity in which humans must conform to the inevitable laws of human development. In contrast to this, pragmatists argued for individualism free from philosophical constraints.

For James and others, the main point of pragmatism was to understand ideas by testing their theoretical as well as their practical consequences. It was Dewey who clearly defined the pragmatic agenda and its philosophical ideology. Dewey became the proponent of democracy, naturalism, and the scientific method. He defined an idea as the plan of action relative to the solution to a given problem. Pragmatism developed into a philosophy that rejected the sterility of previous philosophy in favor of an approach that judged the validity of ideas by their results. It provided industrial America with a rationale that seemed to give citizens a means of developing a new morality capable of dealing with problems that the older theistic-individualistic-agrarian ethic had not been able to do. Pragmatism put philosophy at the service of society, where the primary problem was no longer personal

salvation, but instead the construction of society in a way that provided the individual with a way to deal with the social, political, and economic problems of an industrialized society.

Teachers interested in investigating additional information about pragmatism should consult the following books:

- *American Ideas: Source Readings in the Intellectual History of the United States* (2 vols.), edited by Gerald N. Grob and Robert N. Beck (Free Press of Glencoe, 1963)
- *American Philosophy in the Twentieth Century: A Sourcebook from Pragmatism to Philosophical Analysis*, edited by Paul Kurtz (Macmillan, 1966)
- *Pragmatism, Old and New: Selected Writings*, edited by Susan Haack (Prometheus Books, 2006)
- *Pragmatism and Classical American Philosophy: Essential Readings and Interpretive Essays*, edited by John J. Stuhr (Oxford University Press, 2000)
- *Pragmatism: A Reader*, edited by Louis Menand (Vintage Books, 1997)
- *Pragmatism: The Classical Writings*, edited by H. S. Thayer (New American Library, 1970)

In this lesson, students create a concept guide for the three principal figures in the history of American pragmatism: Charles Sanders Peirce, William James, and John Dewey.

Procedure

1. Write the word *pragmatism* on the board, and ask students what this word means to them. Students will most likely mention practicality or common sense. Tell them that one of the most important philosophies of the nineteenth century was American pragmatism.
2. Distribute **Handout 43**, and have students research information to fill in the chart. Follow with discussion.

Suggested Responses

1. Charles Sanders Peirce
 - Born in Cambridge, Massachusetts, in 1839; died in 1914
 - Earned a B.A. and an M.A. from Harvard; worked as a philosopher, logician, mathematician, scientist, and professor; published many small works, including dictionary articles; one of the founders of the Metaphysical Club
 - Wrote “The Fixation of Belief” (1877) and “How to Make Our Ideas Clear” (1878), both considered foundational works in the history of pragmatism; also wrote thousands of other articles, many of which remain unpublished

- Belief in use of the scientific method to overcome doubts and fix one's beliefs
- Pragmatic maxim of relating everything to everyday experience
- Use of deduction from self-evident truths (rationalism) and induction from experimental phenomena (empiricism)

2. William James

- Born in New York City in 1842; died in 1910
- Very influential philosopher and psychologist; brother of novelist Henry James; strong educational background including graduation from Harvard; spent most of his academic career at Harvard; founding member of the Metaphysical Club
- Wrote *Principles of Psychology* (1890), *The Will to Believe* (1897), *The Varieties of Religious Experience* (1902), *Pragmatism* (1907), *The Meaning of Truth* (1909), and *A Pluralistic Universe* (1909)
- Belief that truth must meet three criteria: thoughts must correspond with actual things; thoughts must hang together, or cohere, like pieces of a puzzle; thoughts must be verified by observed results of the application of an idea to actual practice; also believed the value of truth is dependent on the person who holds it
- Radical empiricism: experience is not just objective; held view that the mind of the observer and the act of observation figure into the empirical approach to truth as the mind

3. John Dewey

- Born in Burlington, Vermont, in 1859; died in 1952
- Born to modest family; taught high school for three years; received Ph.D. from Johns Hopkins University; taught most of his life at University of Michigan and University of Chicago
- Wrote *The School and Society* (1899), *Democracy and Education* (1916), *Human Nature and Conduct* (1925), *The Public and Its Problems* (1927), and *Freedom and Culture* (1939)
- Considered himself an instrumentalist and rejected religious belief; saw the scientific method as the only reliable source of human good, and had strong belief in democracy; attacked traditional delivery of knowledge in education and believed in active, hands-on learning

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			

Lesson 29

Social Darwinism, the Gospel of Wealth, and the Social Gospel

Objective

- To discuss the historical significance of three influential thinkers and social movements at the end of the nineteenth century

AP* Correlations

Skill Type II

Skill 4: Comparison

Thematic Learning Objective: Ideas, Beliefs, and Culture

CUL-5: Analyze ways that philosophical, moral, and scientific ideas were used to defend and challenge the dominant economic and social order in the 19th and 20th centuries

Notes to the Teacher

Toward the end of the nineteenth century, American individualism 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. Industry consumed the landscape and began to shape the American psyche. These changes, along with new scientific discoveries and theories, led to a new social movement known as Social Darwinism. Based loosely on the scientific theories of Charles Darwin, it was even more influenced by the scientific teachings of Herbert Spencer, whose writings had a great appeal for Americans. His ideas provided a rationale suitable to the needs of an industrial age and were grounded in scientific theory. Social Darwinism took the biological notions of adaptation, selection, and evolution and fused them with the idea of progress and social improvement. According to Spencer, humans could not progress unless society did not impede the deterministic impact of evolution. This manifested itself as an extreme version of laissez-faire capitalism. Many Americans embraced this theory because it balanced the ideals of democracy and opportunity. According to Social Darwinism, people can progress and advance in society if they are willing to work and they have the necessary abilities.

William Graham Sumner (1840–1910) was from New Jersey and graduated from Yale at the age of twenty-three. He was an ordained minister, but his career took him in a different direction. In 1872, he took a position as a professor at Yale and remained there his entire life. Sumner was a follower of Spencer and was opposed to any form of government regulation, which he

held to be scientifically and intellectually untenable. Sumner was the most popular proponent of what is now known as Social Darwinism.

Andrew Carnegie (1835–1919) was the perfect example of the rags-to-riches story, which Sumner promoted. Born into a poor Scottish family, he soon became one of the leaders of the Pennsylvania Railroad. After the Civil War, he entered the steel industry, where he became one of the most successful businessmen in the nation. Carnegie’s Puritan philosophical approach to individualism championed the sanctity of private property, but at the same time, he also believed that the wealthy had an ethical responsibility to see that their fortunes were used to benefit the public welfare. Carnegie was a strong supporter of what was known as the Gospel of Wealth.

Walter Rauschenbusch (1861–1918) the son of German immigrants, was from New York. An ordained Baptist minister, he was serving as the pastor of a New York German church when he experienced firsthand the effects of the industrial depression that began in 1893. Rauschenbusch believed in applying the principles of Christianity to society. He was a strong believer in democracy, and the Social Gospel he developed helped to pave the way for a strong revival of Social Christianity before World War I.

In this lesson, students read excerpts from Sumner, Carnegie, and Rauschenbusch and answer guided-reading questions. Students participate in a mini-debate on the following topic: Which social philosophy had the best approach for dealing with the accumulation of wealth and the poor in society at the end of the nineteenth century—Social Darwinism, the Gospel of Wealth, or the Social Gospel?

Procedure

1. Ask students to write down on a sheet of paper which philosophy they believe they prefer: Social Darwinism, the Gospel of Wealth, or the Social Gospel.
2. Explain that many questions were raised during the Gilded Age about the economic, social, and political situation in the United States. The most prominent question was whether wealth is justified and moral.
3. Distribute **Handout 44**, and ask students to read the three excerpts and answer the guided-reading questions. Review responses.

Suggested Responses

Sumner

1. Sumner divides the problems in human society into two distinct classes—natural and artificial. Natural problems are a part of human society; because any attempts to rectify these would be unnatural, the problems should not be tampered with. Artificial problems are created by the organization of civil institutions and can be tampered with.

2. The reformers' only concern is with the less fortunate in society; they want to take from those who have worked and give to those who have not; they attempt to use the state as a tool to protect certain classes within human society.
3. The Forgotten Man is the individual who does the job, is a productive member of society, and has worked hard for what he has. The social reformers want to take what he has earned and give it to those that have not worked for it.
4. Rights are what everyone should have; results are the products of one's work and one's initiative.
5. Sumner clearly believed that one's successful status in life is a product of individual work. Those who earn their way are the productive members of society; the rest are not.

Carnegie

1. A major problem is the administration of wealth. Major changes result from the progress and positive evolution of society.
2. The Maecenas were the wealthy Roman patrons of literature and art; without them, Roman culture could not have improved. The implication is that without wealth in society, the finer things would not exist.
3. Competition and wealth are both good things for the continued improvement of society.
4. The wealthy should give back to the community, creating things like libraries and schools, which level the playing field and allow those with initiative to get ahead with hard work.
5. Charity is not a good thing in and of itself. If one is going to be charitable, it must be with those who are worthy of charity.

Rauschenbusch

1. The movement is the ethical and spiritual call for Christians and for the church.
2. It gives Christians a chance to put their religious beliefs into practice.
3. Love is the supreme law; if members of society love each other, as Christ taught them to do, there would be no exploitation of each other.
4. The church is not limited to its four walls; it must reach out into the community and initiate change for the betterment of society.
5. Both believed that the wealthy have a moral obligation to help society. While Carnegie justified wealth and competition as signs of progress, Rauschenbusch saw wealth and competition as signs of degeneration and materialism contrary to the teachings of Christianity.

4. Divide students into small groups, and assign each group one of the following topics: Social Darwinism, Gospel of Wealth, Social Gospel. Tell the students that, based on the excerpts they have read and their class discussion, they are going to prepare presentations addressing the following topic: Which social philosophy had the best approach for dealing with the accumulation of wealth and the existence of the poor in society at the end of the nineteenth century? After students make their presentations, try to reach consensus on which of the three social philosophies provided the best answer.

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. On 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.

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.

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.

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 by 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.

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.

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?

Lesson 30

Images of Urbanization and Industrialization

Objective

- To examine and interpret late nineteenth-century American works of art

AP* Correlations

Skill Type III

Skill 7: Appropriate Use of Relevant Historical Evidence

Thematic Learning Objective: Ideas, Beliefs, and Culture

CUL-3: Explain how cultural values and artistic expression changed in response to the Civil War and the postwar industrialization of the United States

Notes to the Teacher

Writers and artists from the later part of the nineteenth century focused on the urbanization and industrialization of America. Works of realism dominated both literary and artistic expression in the second half of the century. Writers like Mark Twain, Stephen Crane, William Dean Howells, Horatio Alger, Edward Bellamy, Frank Norris, Upton Sinclair, and Theodore Dreiser were publishing at a furious rate, churning out novels and short stories that depicted what was real in America. At the same time, these writers were using their pens to depict the new realities of urban and industrial life; groups of artists were using their talents to depict the realities of city life. The Ashcan school was a group of artists who sought to capture the feel of city life at the turn of the century. Artists like George Bellows, Robert Henri, George Benjamin Luks, John Sloan, and Edward Hopper used their canvasses to depict city life and act as social critics. They sought to improve the lot of humanity by showing the horrors of life in the city at the end of the nineteenth century. Their political ideology varied, but they all agreed that artists have a responsibility to depict the reality of the world around them, as opposed to the romanticized and idealized view of artists from earlier generations.

Students need access to the following images in order to complete this lesson: *The Gulf Stream* by Winslow Homer; *The Gross Clinic* by Thomas Eakins; *New York City, Stag at Sharkey's*, and *Tennis at Newport* by George Bellows; *McSorley's Bar* by John Sloan; *Nighthawks* by Edward Hopper. These images can be found on the Internet and in many art history textbooks.

In this lesson, students examine a variety of works of art from the American Realist school. They complete a writing activity while analyzing and interpreting the works of art. To conclude, using the images they have analyzed and their interpretations of the works of art, students construct short essays on the following prompt: The late nineteenth century was a time of great unrest and social turmoil for the American people.

Procedure

1. Ask students what kinds of challenges individuals faced at the end of the nineteenth century (finding jobs; providing food, clothing, shelter; protecting their families). Explain that in the early years of our nation, America's artists produced a body of work that often was idealized and largely unrealistic. As the nation grew and the population became more diverse, the artists of America produced works of art that depicted the raw and often cruel life of America's big cities.
2. Divide the class into small groups. Students should research independently but will collaborate with other members of the group to analyze and interpret the works of art. Distribute **Handout 45**, and have students complete it as directed. Review responses.

Suggested Responses

1. *The Gulf Stream*, Winslow Homer

A black man on a stranded boat; dangers, such as sharks, a waterspout, and a broken ship, surround him; there is some hope in the background, with a schooner in the faint distance. The painting suggests that humans are in a struggle of survival for life.

2. *The Gross Clinic*, Thomas Eakins

The painting shows surgery on a patient in the middle of the room and focuses on the main surgeon, who appears to be giving a lecture, possibly at a medical school.

The main idea seems to be collaboration of medical knowledge for the betterment of humanity.

3. *New York City*, George Bellows

We see crowded city life, and buildings dominate the painting. They are huge, towering over and seeming to threaten the people below. There are examples of technology or lack of technology. There are many people in the street, but they seem disconnected.

The painting shows that the city brings people together but also can create a sense of isolation and oppression.

4. *Stag at Sharkey's*, George Bellows

The painting depicts a boxing match, but it is impossible to determine who the boxers are as their faces are meshed. The

referee in the ring indicates that this is a modern match, since boxing matches had no referees prior to the twentieth century. Faces in the crowd are blurred, except for one person who is turning around to say something. The crowd consists of men who seem to be middle and lower class and who are enjoying the entertainment.

The painting in dark tones and shadows suggests social Darwinism and the struggle for survival.

5. *Tennis at Newport*, George Bellows

The painting is bright and colorful. Upper-class individuals are portrayed as enjoying the entertainment. The painting shows the leisure of the aristocracy. Some individuals are paying attention to the match, but others are enjoying the atmosphere and company.

The painting portrays how the other half lives; while *Stag at Sharkey's* is an example of survival, this is an example of conspicuous consumption and extravagance.

6. *McSorley's Bar*, John Sloan

This piece shows the leisure of the middle and lower classes and the interaction of individuals.

It conveys a possibility of relaxation from work at the local pub.

7. *Nighthawks*, Edward Hopper

This picture portrays a local diner in the middle of the night. A lonely scene, there is little interaction among individuals. While men and women appear together, they seem disconnected.

The painting illustrates the isolating effect of the city.

3. Present the students with the following statement: The late nineteenth century was a time of great unrest and social turmoil for American people. Ask students to consider the artworks they have just examined, as well as the Populist movement and the Gilded Age, and to formulate responses.

Suggested Response

Affluent individuals found places to get away to in the country, where they could enjoy life's leisure. The city completely dominated the lives of the urban lower and middle classes, and most individuals were engaged in a struggle for survival. When combined with a deep sense of isolation, most city dwellers were overwhelmed, and a time of social unrest and turmoil enveloped the majority of the American population.

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. <i>The Gulf Stream</i> , Winslow Homer		
2. <i>The Gross Clinic</i> , Thomas Eakins		
3. <i>New York City</i> , George Bellows		

Title and Artist	Analysis	Interpretation
4. <i>Stag at Sharkey's</i> , George Bellows		
5. <i>Tennis at Newport</i> , George Bellows		
6. <i>McSorley's Bar</i> , John Sloan		
7. <i>Nighthawks</i> , 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.