PART ONE

TRANSFORMATIONS OF NORTH AMERICA
1450–1700

AP PERIODIZATION AND KEY CONCEPTS

Period 1: 1491–1607

AP U.S. History Key Concepts

1.1 Prior to the arrival of Europeans, native peoples in North America developed diverse social, political, and economic structures.
1.2 European overseas expansion resulted in the Columbian Exchange.
1.3 Contacts among Native Americans, Africans, and Europeans challenged the worldviews of each group.

Assessment Weight on the AP U.S. History Exam: 5%

PART LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After you’ve taught this part, your students should be able to answer the following “Big Idea” questions:

Chapter 1: Colliding Worlds, 1450–1600

How did the political, economic, and religious systems of Native Americans, Europeans, and Africans compare, and how did things change as a result of contacts among them?

Chapter 2: American Experiments, 1518–1700

In what ways did European migrants transfer familiar patterns and institutions to their colonies in the Americas, and in what ways did they create new American worlds? How did Native Americans adapt to the growing presence of Europeans among them?
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<th>Work, Exchange, and Technology</th>
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<td>1450</td>
<td>• Diversified economies of Native America&lt;br&gt;• Rise of the Ottoman Empire blocks Asian trading routes of the Italian city-states&lt;br&gt;• Europeans fish off North American coast&lt;br&gt;• Portuguese traders explore African coast</td>
<td>• Christopher Columbus explores the Bahamas and West Indies (1492–1504)&lt;br&gt;• Pedro Álvares Cabral makes landfall in Brazil (1500)&lt;br&gt;• Spanish conquest of Mexico and Peru (1519–1535)</td>
<td>• Rise of monarchical nation-states in Europe&lt;br&gt;• Aztecs and Incas consolidate their empires&lt;br&gt;• Probable founding of the Iroquois Confederacy&lt;br&gt;• Rise of the Songhai Empire in Africa</td>
<td>• Protestant Reformation (1517) sparks century of religious warfare&lt;br&gt;• Henry VIII creates Church of England (1534)&lt;br&gt;• Founding of Jesuit order (1540)</td>
<td>• Castile and Aragon joined to create Spain; the Inquisition helps create a sense of Spanishness&lt;br&gt;• John Calvin establishes a Protestant commonwealth in Geneva, Switzerland</td>
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<td>1550</td>
<td>• Growth of the outwork system in English textile industry&lt;br&gt;• Spanish encomienda system organizes native labor in Mexico&lt;br&gt;• Inca mita system is co-opted by the Spanish in the Andes</td>
<td>• Castilians and Africans arrive in Spanish America in large numbers&lt;br&gt;• English colonies in Newfoundland, Maine, and Roanoke fail</td>
<td>• Elizabeth’s “sea dogs” plague Spanish shipping&lt;br&gt;• English monarchs adopt mercantilist policies&lt;br&gt;• Defeat of the Spanish Armada (1588)</td>
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<td>1600</td>
<td>• First staple exports from the English mainland colonies: furs and tobacco&lt;br&gt;• Subsistence farms in New England&lt;br&gt;• Transition to sugar plantation system in the Caribbean islands</td>
<td>• First set of Anglo-Indian wars&lt;br&gt;• African servitude begins in Virginia (1619)&lt;br&gt;• Caribbean islands move from servitude to slavery</td>
<td>• James I claims divine right to rule England&lt;br&gt;• Virginia’s House of Burgesses (1619)&lt;br&gt;• English Puritan Revolution&lt;br&gt;• Native Americans rise up against English invaders (1622, 1640s)</td>
<td>• Persecuted English Puritans and Catholics migrate to America&lt;br&gt;• Established churches set up in Puritan New England and Anglican Virginia&lt;br&gt;• Dissenters settle in Rhode Island</td>
<td>• Pilgrims and Puritans seek to create godly commonwealths&lt;br&gt;• Powhatan and Virginia Company representatives attempt to exact tribute from each other</td>
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<td>1650</td>
<td>• Tobacco trade stagnates&lt;br&gt;• Maturing yeoman economy and emerging Atlantic trade in New England</td>
<td>• Growing gentry immigration to Virginia&lt;br&gt;• White indentured servitude shapes Chesapeake society&lt;br&gt;• Africans defined as property rather than people in the Chesapeake</td>
<td>• Restoration of the English crown (1660)&lt;br&gt;• English conquer New Netherland (1664)</td>
<td>• Metacomet’s War in New England (1675–1676)&lt;br&gt;• Bacon’s Rebellion calls for removal of Indians and end of elite rule&lt;br&gt;• Salem witchcraft crisis (1692)</td>
<td>• Social mobility for Africans ends with collapse of tobacco trade and increased power of gentry</td>
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Colliding Worlds
1450–1600

AP PERIODIZATION AND KEY CONCEPTS

Period 1: 1491–1607

AP U.S. History Key Concepts

1.1 Prior to the arrival of Europeans, native peoples in North America developed diverse social, political, and economic structures.
   • Settlers migrated across North America, adapting and transforming their environments as they developed diverse and complex societies.

1.2 European overseas expansion resulted in the Columbian Exchange.
   • Arrival of Europeans in the Western Hemisphere resulted in demographic and social changes in the Americas, Africa, and Europe.

CHAPTER LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After reading and studying this chapter, students should be able to:

1. Explain how Native American peoples structured their societies and why each society developed different economic, social, and political systems.
2. Identify the main characteristics of traditional European society.
3. Analyze the origins of slavery, and explain how the transatlantic slave trade developed.
4. Explain why European nations pursued overseas exploration and colonization.
5. Analyze how the Spanish and Portuguese invasion of the New World affected the lives of peoples in the Americas and Africa.

ANNOTATED CHAPTER OUTLINE

The following annotated chapter outline will help you review the major topics covered in this chapter.

I. The Native American Experience
   A. The First Americans
      1. The first people to live in the Western Hemisphere were small bands of tribal migrants from Asia. They followed animal herds over land and by sea over fifteen thousand years ago, when the last Ice Age created a 100-mile-wide land bridge over the Bering Strait, connecting Siberia and Alaska.
      2. Glacial melting then submerged the land bridge beneath the Bering Strait, reducing contact between peoples in North America and Asia for three hundred generations.
3. Anthropologists also agree that a second wave of migrants, the ancestors of the Navajos and the Apaches, crossed the narrow Bering Strait in boats approximately eight thousand years ago.
4. A third migration around five thousand years ago brought the ancestors of the Aleut and Inuit peoples, the “Eskimos,” to North America.
5. For centuries, Native Americans were hunter-gatherers. They primarily migrated in a southward direction and established thriving settlements in central Mexico and the Andes Mountains. A second wave crossed the western mountain ranges and moved into the Mississippi Valley and eastern woodland regions of North America.
6. Around 6000 B.C., many societies developed farming based on corn, potatoes, and squash. Agricultural surplus led to populous, urbanized, and wealthy societies in Mexico, Peru, and the Mississippi Valley.

B. American Empires
1. The Aztecs and Incas established highly populated and powerful empires in Mesoamerica and the Andes.
2. Tenochtitlán, the metropolis of the Aztec state with an impressive population of 250,000 by 1500, served as the center of an expansive and well-regulated tribute, agricultural, and trade network. European explorers were impressed by the city’s wealth and abundance of food items, textiles, and precious metals.
3. Aztec priests and warrior-nobles ruled over this empire by subduing most of the people of central Mexico and sacrificing captured enemies to the gods who they believed influenced life and farming cycles.
4. The Incas established a vast, highly urbanized, and well-organized empire in the high altitudes of the Andes Mountains, with Cuzco as its capital. This empire relied upon a divinely ordained king for leadership and thrived through a bureaucratized system of trade and tribute.

C. Chiefdoms and Confederacies
1. The Mississippi Valley
   a. Although Native American civilizations in North America did not grow to the size of the Aztec and Inca empires, adoption of agriculture based on maize nevertheless contributed to increased urbanization and more sophisticated social structures by A.D. 1000.
   b. In the Mississippi Valley, the city of Cahokia, with its impressive population of over 10,000, developed into the administrative and religious center of the region with nearly 30,000 inhabitants.
   c. The 120 mounds in the area functioned as burial grounds, bases for ceremonial buildings, or rulers’ homes.
   d. By 1350 overpopulation, environmental factors, and warfare led to the decline of this Mississippian civilization. Still, Mississippian institutions and practices endured for centuries along the river, and their influence reached as far east as the Carolinas and Florida.
2. Eastern Woodlands
   a. In the eastern woodlands lived several distinct societies, including the Algonquian and Iroquoian speakers to the north, who shared several language and lifestyle traits. They lived in semi-permanent villages where women farmed fields of maize, beans, and squash, gathered additional food items, and participated in community affairs, while men warred, hunted, and fished.
   b. The seasonal practice of burning cleared forests of underbrush, enhanced agriculture, and improved hunting of big game.
   c. The political system among the peoples of the eastern woodlands varied widely. Some were chiefdoms in which a single ruler held absolute power. Others, such as the Powhatans in the Chesapeake region, had adopted a paramount chiefdom in which one chief emerged as the ruler over several subordinate chiefs and their respective communities.
   d. The Lenni Lenape and Munsee Indians along the Delaware and Hudson rivers maintained an independent and locally limited political leadership structure.
   e. Around 1500, one of the most powerful Native American groups emerged in the region between Lake Erie and the Hudson River when the Mohawks, Oneidas, Onandagas, Cayugas, and Senecas decided to end years of warfare with each other and formed the Iroquois Confederacy.
   f. Instead of chiefs, councils of sachems, or leaders, held political power and made decisions. Although men were the leaders, diplomats, and warriors, in this matriarchal society, women could also influence council decisions.
g. Along the southern coast of the region that would come to be called New England, the Narragansetts, Wampanoags, Mohegans, and Pequots were part of a dense network of powerful chiefdoms that competed for dominance and resources.

h. In the northern, more cold and forbidding regions, including northern New England and present-day Canada, Native Americans established complex yet smaller political units that supported their lives as hunters and gatherers.
3. The Great Lakes
   a. To the west, the Algonquian speakers of the Great Lakes region, including the Ottawas, Ojibwas, and Potawatomis tribal groups, were collectively known as the Anishinaabe people. In this region, core clan identities crossed tribal boundaries.
   b. Their highly mobile life based on hunting, fishing, and traveling influenced trade relationships, shaped military alliances, and contributed to a multitude of social and political affiliations.

4. The Great Plains and Rockies
   a. In the Great Plains and Rocky Mountain regions, the arrival of the horse—an escaped European import—forever changed the cultures and geopolitics of the indigenous people even before they personally encountered Europeans.
   b. The Comanches became impressive hunters, skilled raiders, and fierce warriors, and they greatly expanded their territory.
   c. The peoples of the Sioux nation expanded their domain westward into the Black Hills. The Crow Indians became successful bison hunters, expert horse breeders, and adept traders after their move to the eastern slope of the Rockies.
   d. Despite this increased mobility of hunter-gatherers, several native peoples maintained agricultural settlements, including the Hidatsa and Mandan Indians along the Missouri River and the Caddo Indians in the southern plains.
   e. The Numic-speaking peoples of the Great Basin between the Rockies and the Sierra Mountains adopted several traits to survive in an area of sparse resources, including long-distance travel on foot or by horseback to hunt, fish, and gather provisions.

5. The Arid Southwest
   a. The Pueblo peoples, including the Anasazi, Hohokams, and Mogollons, developed agricultural settlements by A.D. 600. They used irrigation to grow crops by A.D. 1000 and lived in architecturally distinct, multi-room stone structures, or pueblos, built into steep cliffs. The Anasazi built several small and large villages in and around Chaco Canyon and connected them through a vast network of roads.
   b. Drought brought on soil exhaustion and the collapse of Chaco Canyon and other large settlements after 1150. People dispersed to smaller settlements, and the descendants of these peoples—including the Acomas, Zuñis, Tewas, and Hopis—populated present-day New Mexico, Arizona, and western Texas when Europeans arrived.

6. The Pacific Coast
   a. A multitude of distinct hunter-gatherer groups lived along the Pacific coast in independent and socially stratified communities hunting game, gathering seeds and nuts, and catching what the sea and rivers had to offer.
   b. The Chinooks, Coast Salishes, Haidas, and Tlingits, easily distinguished through their colorful totem poles and use of large longhouses, emerged as the most powerful nations of the Pacific Northwest owing to their warrior culture, use of 60-feet-long dugout canoes, and superior fishing capabilities.

D. Patterns of Trade
1. A complex network of trade routes connected this vast Native American world and brought foods, tools, natural resources, and luxury goods to all regions.
2. The hunters and farmers of the Great Plains often met in annual trade fairs, bartering their respective products. Regional trade practices included the exchange of war captives as slaves or diplomatic gifts.
3. Long-distance trade usually centered on acquiring precious objects, such as copper from the Great Lakes, seashells from distant shores, or other highly prized luxury items like grizzly bear claws and eagle feathers.
4. Chiefs, successful hunters, and formidable rulers usually controlled the majority of locally produced items and traded goods, but the tradition of sharing and the desire to solidify authority required that these wealthy leaders redistribute most of their belongings to community and family members.

E. Sacred Power
1. Most Native Americans were animists who believed that every living thing and inanimate object had a spirit. Although specific practices varied, most sought to understand the world by interpreting dreams and visions, and they conducted ceremonies to positively influence guardian spirits and ensure successful hunts and good fortune.
2. Many believed that soil productivity was closely related to women’s life-giving abilities, and that continued fertility required annual cleansing and renewal rites, such as the Green Corn Ceremony.
3. Ceremonies performed by men before, during, and after a hunt appealed to the spiritual world for protection and requested the peaceful passage of the animal’s spirit from earth.

4. Warfare included many rituals as well, such as young men proving their manhood through raids, victors adopting captives into their community, or villages conducting mourning wars to avenge the death of warriors lost in previous battle.

II. Western Europe: The Edge of the Old World

A. Hierarchy and Authority

1. In the traditional European social order, authority came from above; kings and princes owned vast tracts of land, conscripted men for military service, and lived in splendor off the labor of the peasantry.

2. Noblemen who possessed large landed estates had the power to challenge royal authority through control of the local military and legislative institutions.

3. In these male-dominated societies, or patriarchies, men governed families and passed property and social status to their male heirs. Male power was codified in laws, sanctioned by social customs, and justified by the teachings of the Christian Church.

4. When an Englishwoman married, she assumed her husband’s surname, committed herself to obeying his orders, and surrendered the legal rights to all her property. When he died, she received a dower, usually one-third of the family’s property for her use during her lifetime.

5. The inheritance practice of primogeniture, which bestowed all land on the eldest son, forced many younger children to join the ranks of the roaming poor; few men—and even fewer women—had much personal freedom or individual identity. Fathers often demanded that children work for them until their middle or late twenties.

B. Peasant Society

1. In 1450, most Europeans were peasants, farm workers who lived in small rural communities of compact agricultural villages surrounded by the fields they cooperatively farmed. Serfdom, or the obligatory service to a lord’s estate, gradually gave way to paying rent or land ownership.

2. As with the Native Americans, many aspects of European life followed seasonal patterns, including farming tasks, household chores, and merrymaking.

3. Infant mortality rates among the peasants were high, primarily from malnourishment and disease. Constant labor and poverty were part of daily life. Although most peasants accepted their difficult circumstances, others hoped for a better life. The rural classes of Britain, Spain, and Germany would supply the majority of white migrants to the Western Hemisphere during the colonial period.

C. Expanding Trade Networks

1. For centuries, Arab scholars had safeguarded ancient knowledge about medicine, philosophy, mathematics, astronomy, and geography. Arab merchants, who dominated trade in the Mediterranean, Africa, and the Near East, had access to highly desired spices, silks, and luxury goods such as mechanical clocks from China.

2. During the twelfth century, merchants from Italian city-states, especially Venice, took over the trade routes in the Mediterranean and in the process established an enormously profitable commercial empire of wealthy merchants, bankers, and textile manufacturers.

3. These moneyed elites became the new ruling class as they established republics ruled by merchant coalitions instead of kings or princes. They also created the concept of civic humanism, an ideology that celebrated public virtue and service to the state, which in time would profoundly influence European and American concepts of government. They also sponsored artists such as Michelangelo and da Vinci, whose artistic genius reflected the cultural and educational transformation known as the Renaissance.

4. In Northern Europe, the Hanseatic League, an alliance of merchant communities, controlled the trade of lumber, furs, wheat, rye, honey, wax, and amber on the Baltic and North seas.

5. Although increased trade seemed to empower merchants and artisans, in much of Europe the rise of commerce also made kings more powerful. Monarchs forged alliances with merchants and artisans to challenge the power of the landed nobility by creating royal law courts and bureaucracies. Kings allowed merchants to trade throughout their realms, granted privileges to the artisan organizations called guilds, and protected trade, thereby encouraging domestic manufacturing and exports. In return, towns paid taxes and merchants loaned money to kings and princes to finance their armies and officials.
D. Myths, Religion, and Holy Warriors

1. The Rise of Christianity
   a. Like the Indians of North America, European peasants originally were pagans and animists. They believed that unpredictable spiritual forces governed the natural world and that those spirits had to be paid ritual honor. The spread of Christianity changed these practices.
   b. Christianity, once an underground sect, became the state religion of the Roman Empire after Emperor Constantine’s conversion in A.D. 312. The Roman Catholic Church served as one of the great unifying forces in Western European society; the Church provided a pervasive authority and discipline through Christian dogma, a church staffed by priests in every village, and the unifying language of Latin.
   c. Christian doctrine penetrated the lives of peasant. To eliminate paganism, Christian priests taught that a supernatural God had sent his divine son, Jesus Christ, to save humanity, which lived in a flawed and fallen natural world, from its sins. The Christian Church devised a religious calendar that transformed pagan agricultural festivals into Christian holy days.
   d. The Church also defined people who spread doctrine conflicting with the teaching of the Church as tools of Satan, a wicked supernatural being who constantly tempted people to sin. Christian rulers dedicated their lives to suppressing false doctrine, or heresies.

2. The Crusades
   a. One of the perceived false doctrines that Christian rulers aimed to crush was Islam. After the death of Muhammad in A.D. 632, Muslims spread Islam into Africa, India, and Indonesia, as well as into Spain and the Balkans in Europe. Between A.D. 1096 and 1291, Christian monarchs raised armies and, alongside the newly established Knights Templar and the Teutonic Knights, fought the Crusades, a series of wars that aimed to reverse Muslim advances in Europe and win back the holy lands.
   b. The Crusades, despite their limited military success, were significant in that they strengthened Christianity in Europe and contributed to the persecution of Jews. These wars also resulted in access to new trade routes that led to China and India, thus exposing Europeans to a much wider world. The discovery of sugar derived from cane during these religious wars would also profoundly impact European commerce and the lives of Africans by the fifteenth century.

3. The Reformation
   a. In 1517, Martin Luther initiated the Reformation through his Ninety-five Theses, which denounced the Church for its corrupt practices, diminished the role of the clergy, and asserted that the Bible, not the Church, was the ultimate religious authority. Luther also translated the Bible into German to make it accessible to literate Germans.
   b. The French theologian John Calvin launched a Protestant faith based on the belief in an all-powerful God who predestines a number of people for salvation before they are born and condemns all others to eternal damnation (the doctrine of predestination). Calvin, who also believed that mankind was naturally corrupt, established model communities in Geneva, Switzerland, in which ministers strictly enforced regulations against idleness and extravagance. Calvin quickly gained converts throughout Europe, including the Puritans in England and Scotland.
   c. The Protestant Reformation, initiated by such radicals as Luther and Calvin, generated a Counter-Reformation in the Catholic Church that resulted in internal reform and the creation of new monastic and missionary orders, including the formation of the Jesuits in 1540. Competition between these two religions also shaped colonial history in the Americas. Catholics from Spain, Portugal, and France sought to convert souls in America for the Church, while Protestants from England and the Netherlands sought to establish godly communities that reflected the true gospel of Christianity.

III. West and Central Africa: Origins of the Atlantic Slave Trade

A. Empires, Kingdoms, and Ministates
   1. Vast and diverse, West Africa stretches along the coast from just south of the Sahara, through the semiarid Sahel, the grasslands of the savanna, and into a tropical rain forest. Several great rivers—the Senegal, Gambia, Volta, and Niger—provide access to the interior.
   2. Sudanic civilization took root at the eastern end of West Africa around 9000 B.C. and traveled westward. For centuries, Sudanic peoples lived in this area in hierarchical societies ruled by divine kings and princes. They farmed
specialized crops (including sorghum, millet, and cotton), domesticated cattle, created a distinct style of pottery, and maintained a unique monotheistic faith.

3. Three successive great empires—the Ghana, Mali, and Songhai—arose in the northern Savanna between the ninth and fifteenth centuries. Each was a collection of smaller vassal kingdoms that gained wealth through access to the Saharan trade routes and protected their assets with military might.

4. Abundant quantities of gold were the primary source of power and wealth for these empires, and through trade gold became the basis for much of European, North African, and Asian currencies by 1450.

5. In the lower savanna and tropical rain forest of West Africa existed several smaller kingdoms or ministates, comparable in size to modern-day American counties, which traded with the northern empires, often fought wars with each other over access to resources and power, and pioneered the cultivation of yams.

B. Trans-Saharan and Coastal Trade

1. The Ghana, Mali, and Songhai empires monopolized the trans-Saharan trade caravans, which carried gold, copper, salt, and slaves across the Sahara to North Africa and brought back textiles and other foreign goods. For ministates along the west coast of Africa, products originating beyond the Sahara were scarce and expensive, while markets for their own products were limited.

2. The arrival of Europeans created new opportunities for coastal trade. European sailors encountered a variety of political groups; Mandé-speaking states dominated trade with the interior along the Senegal and Gambia river estuaries. Akan states trading heavily in gold acquired the European name Gold Coast. Further east, the Bight of Benin came to be called the Slave Coast because it was the early center of the slave trade. Southward along the western coast of Africa existed the Kingdom of Kongo, the largest state on the Atlantic seaboard. Throughout this vast region, European tradesmen had to negotiate contracts on local terms.

C. The Spirit World

1. Spiritual beliefs varied greatly, with most West Africans recognizing a variety of deities. West Africans who lived immediately south of the Sahara—the Fulanis in Senegal, Mandé-speakers in Mali, and the Hausas in northern Nigeria—also learned about Islam from Arab merchants and missionaries.

2. Rituals varied as well and included the worship of ancestors and the manipulation of spirits for good or ill purpose, as well as celebrations of male virility and female fertility to ensure large families.

IV. Exploration and Conquest

A. Portuguese Expansion

1. Seeking a maritime route to the riches of the trans-Saharan trade routes, Prince Henry of Portugal (1394–1460) established a naval academy. Portuguese sailors developed a new ship, the caravel, rigged with a lateen or triangular sail. This innovation, which allowed for better and longer-distance sailing in the treacherous waters off the northwest African coast, led to the discovery and colonization of the Madeira and Azore islands. From there, they sailed in 1435 to sub-Saharan Sierra Leone, where they traded salt, wine, and fish for African gold and ivory.

2. Italian Genoese traders, cut off from eastern Mediterranean trade routes by the powerful Ottoman Empire, gained access to Atlantic routes by financing Portuguese and Castilian trading voyages. These voyages resulted in the discoveries of the Canaries, the Cape Verde Islands, and São Tomé.

3. European planters turned these Atlantic islands into laboratories for cash crops, including sugar cane, wheat, wine grapes, and woad, a blue dye plant. In the Canary Islands, Castilian adventurers used Guanches, the natives of the islands, as their enslaved labor force. By 1500, Madeira sugar became available in small, expensive quantities in London, Paris, Rome, and Constantinople.

4. Initially, Europeans established only small, fortified trading posts along the coast because local kingdoms were well defended and diseases such as malaria and yellow fever were lethal.

5. Portuguese sailors continued their search for an Atlantic route to Asia. In 1497, Vasco da Gama reached India and returned with a highly profitable cargo of cinnamon and pepper. Upon his return to India in 1502, da Gama’s ships outgunned Arab fleets; the Portuguese government soon built fortified trading posts on several coasts along the Indian Ocean and opened trade routes from Africa to Indonesia and up the coast of Asia to China. The Portuguese, and subsequently the Dutch, had supplanted the Arabs as the leaders in Asian commerce.

B. The African Slave Trade
1. Portuguese traders also surpassed Arab merchants as the primary sellers in the slave trade. Bonded labor—through slavery, serfdom, indentured servitude—was the norm in most premodern societies. It also existed in Africa, where a person could be held as security for a debt or sold into servitude in exchange for food during famine. Most slaves were war captives sold from one kingdom to another as agricultural workers, concubines, or military recruits.

2. Historians have estimated that between A.D. 700 and 1900, 9 million Africans were sold in the trans-Saharan slave trade.

3. Although Portuguese merchants were initially more interested in gold and commodities than in human beings, they eventually exploited this trade as well and established forts at small port cities—first at Elmina in 1482—where they bought gold and slaves from African princes and warlords.

4. Initially the Portuguese carried a few thousand African slaves each year to work on sugar plantations in the Cape Verde Islands, the Azores, and the Madeira Islands; they also sold slaves in Lisbon, which soon had an African population of 9,000.

5. After 1550, the Atlantic slave trade expanded enormously as other Europeans joined West Africa’s long-established trade in humans and forcefully shipped hundreds of thousands of slaves to new American sugar plantations in Brazil and the West Indies.

C. Sixteenth-Century Incursions

1. Columbus and the Caribbean
   a. Explorers financed by the Spanish monarchs Ferdinand II of Aragon and Isabella I of Castile, discovered the Western Hemisphere for Europeans. Married in an arranged match to combine their Christian kingdoms, the young rulers completed the centuries-long *reconquista* (the campaign by Spanish Catholics to drive Muslim Arabs from the European mainland) in 1492 when their armies captured Granada, the last Islamic state in Western Europe.
   b. Ferdinand and Isabella also sought to expand trade and their empire, and they enlisted the services of Christopher Columbus, a Christian mariner from Genoa.
   c. Columbus believed that the Atlantic Ocean, long feared by Arab merchants as a 10,000-mile-wide “green sea of darkness,” was a much narrower channel of water separating Europe from Asia. Although dubious about Columbus’s theory, Ferdinand and Isabella arranged financial backing from Spanish merchants and charged Columbus with finding a western route to Asia and carrying Christianity to its peoples.
   d. Christopher Columbus set sail in three small ships in August 1492. After a perilous voyage of 3,000 miles, he disembarked six weeks later on an island in the present-day Bahamas, believing he had reached Asia—“the Indies,” in fifteenth-century parlance. He called the native inhabitants (the Taino, Arawak, and Carib peoples) Indians and the islands the West Indies. Although he was surprised by the crude living conditions, he also believed natives could be easily converted to Christianity. Upon hearing stories of rivers of gold, Columbus assigned forty men to the island of Hispaniola (present-day Haiti and Dominican Republic) before returning to Spain as a hero.
   e. Although Columbus found no gold, the monarchs sent three more expeditions over the next twelve years. During those expeditions, Columbus began the colonization of the West Indies, transporting more than a thousand Spanish settlers—all men—and hundreds of domestic animals.
   f. A German geographer soon labeled the newly found continents America in honor of a Florentine explorer, Amerigo Vespucci. Vespucci, who had explored the region around 1500, believed that the land was not part of Asia and called it a *nuevo mundo*, a “new world.”

2. The Spanish Invasion
   a. After brutally subduing the Arawaks and Tainos on Hispaniola, the Spanish probed the mainland for gold and slaves. Rumors of rich Indian kingdoms in the interior encouraged other Spaniards, including hardened veterans of the *reconquista*, to launch an invasion.
   b. In 1519, Hernán Cortés, a member of the Spanish gentry class, and his fellow Spanish conquistadors landed on the Mexican coast and began a conquest of the Aztec empire. Luck, Indian allies, and a siege strategy enabled the Spanish to emerge victorious. Moctezuma, the Aztec ruler, believed that Cortés might be a returning god and allowed him to enter the empire without challenge.
c. Disease also contributed to Spanish victory. A massive smallpox outbreak decimated the population of Tenochtitlán, enabling Cortés and his crew to infiltrate the city. Subsequent outbreaks of measles, influenza, and smallpox facilitated the Aztec collapse.

d. In the 1520s, the Spanish conquest entered a new phase when Francisco Pizarro overthrew the Inca empire in Peru; the Incas were also easy prey because of internal fighting over the throne and disease brought by the Spanish.

e. The Spanish invasion changed life forever in the Americas. Disease and warfare wiped out virtually all of the Indians of Hispaniola—at least 300,000 people. Peru’s population of 9 million in 1530 plunged to fewer than 500,000 a century later. The decline of Mesoamerica’s population from 20 million in 1500 to just 3 million in 1650 represented one of the great demographic disasters in world history.

3. Cabral and Brazil

a. In 1500, one of the Portuguese excursions to find a sailing route around the southern tip of Africa encountered new land in the West. Commander Pedro Alvares Cabral named it the Island of the True Cross; subsequent sailors renamed it Brazil after the indigenous tree that yielded valuable red dye. Serious settlement began in the 1530s. Colonists established sugar plantations in the coastal lowlands using Native Americans as their initial labor force but gradually replaced them with slaves from Africa. Brazil became the world’s leading producer of sugar at a high cost of African lives.

b. By 1600, the most important aspects of European colonization of the Americas were already becoming visible. The Spanish demonstrated that the native civilizations were vulnerable to conquest and yielded precious sources of wealth. The Portuguese confirmed the feasibility of sugar plantations and established the transatlantic slave trade to operate them. Contact between Europeans and Native Americans also contributed to the phenomenon of the Columbian Exchange.

Sources for America’s History

The following documents are available in Chapter 1 of the companion reader Sources for America’s History by Kevin B. Sheets, SUNY, Cortland:

- An Englishman Describes the Algonquian People: Thomas Hariot, A Briefe and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia (1588)
- Peasants Working a Lord’s Estate: Limbourg Brothers, March: Peasants at Work from the Tres Riches Heures du Duc de Berry (15th Century)
- Columbus Encounters Native Peoples: Christopher Columbus, Journal of the First Voyage (1492)
- Las Casas Describes European Atrocities: Bartolomé de Las Casas, A Brief Account of the Destruction of the Indies (1552)
- Huejotzingo Petitions the Spanish King for Relief: Council of Huejotzingo, Letter to King of Spain (1560)
- Debating the Morality of Slavery: Brother Luis Brandaon, Letter to Father Sandoval (1610)
AP PERIODIZATION AND KEY CONCEPTS

Period 1: 1491–1607
Period 2: 1607–1754

AP U.S. History Key Concepts

1.2 European overseas expansion resulted in the Columbian Exchange.
   • Arrival of Europeans in the Western Hemisphere resulted in demographic and social changes in the Americas, Africa, and Europe.
   • European expansion into the Western Hemisphere intensified competition in Europe and promoted empire building.

1.3 Contacts among Native Americans, Africans, and Europeans challenged the worldviews of each group.
   • Sustained contacts with Africans and Native Americans altered European social, political, and economic relationships.
   • Native Americans resisted assimilation and strove to maintain autonomy.

2.1 Diverse patterns of colonization developed in response to differences in goals, cultures, and the environment.
   • Spanish, French, Dutch, and British colonizers created different models of colonization.
   • Regional differences developed in what would become the British colonies due to environmental and geographical variations.

CHAPTER LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After reading and studying this chapter, students should be able to:

1. Analyze the goals that the Spanish, Portuguese, French, Dutch, and English pursued in North America, and explain how these ambitions led to different settlement patterns.
2. Evaluate how the European settlements of North America affected Native American populations over time.
3. Explain how and why a system of forced labor based on the factors of class and race emerged in the English Caribbean and Chesapeake colonies in the seventeenth century.
4. Identify the economic, religious, political, and intellectual foundations of Puritan society in New England.
5. Understand how colonial society in the Chesapeake region differed from that of New England.
6. Analyze how the conflicts of the 1670s affected social, economic, and political relations among colonists, Indians, and Africans in America.

ANNOTATED CHAPTER OUTLINE

The following annotated chapter outline will help you review the major topics covered in this chapter.

I. Spain’s Tribute Colonies
   A. A New American World
      1. Once conquistadors had overthrown Native American leaders, Spanish monarchs rewarded them with encomiendas, land grants that included the Native American tradition of tribute, or the right to demand free labor and goods from Indian communities. Discoveries of gold and silver increased the value of these land grants at little cost as Spaniards utilized the pre-existing mita system that made Indian workers available to the mines.
      2. The Spanish Empire became fabulously wealthy. Silver shipped to China was minted into coins and exchanged for silks, spices, and ceramics. Gold transported to Europe flowed into the countinghouses of Spain and embellished the Catholic churches of Europe.
      3. Between 1500 and 1650, at least 350,000 Spaniards migrated to Mesoamerica and western South America. Also 250,000 to 300,000 Africans arrived involuntarily. More than 75 percent of the Spanish settlers were men.
      4. The development of a substantial mixed-race population of mestizos (Spaniard-Indian), mulattos (Spaniard-African), and zambos (Indian-African) contributed to the drafting of legal codes that differentiated among the increasingly complex racial categories.
5. Spaniards and their descendants moved from their initial urban sanctuaries to large estates known as haciendas and expanded trade networks.
6. Indians continued to live in their communities but experienced profound change as their numbers declined. Although Spanish monks suppressed native religious practices and converted thousands to Catholicism, the merging of ideologies and practices did occur and new forms of Native American Christianity emerged.

B. The Columbian Exchange
1. The Spanish invasion of the Americas had a significant impact on life in the Americas, in Africa, and in Europe due to the process of biological transfer that historians have called the Columbian Exchange.
2. Diseases imported from Europe and Africa to which Native Americans had no immunity drastically reduced and often wiped out Indian populations.
3. Food items brought from the Americas to Europe and other continents contributed to population booms. The arrival of domesticated animals and crops from the Old World, as well as unintended travelers like dandelions and other weeds, forever changed the American landscape.

C. The Protestant Challenge to Spain
1. Despite fortified outposts in Havana and St. Augustine, Spain had to constantly protect its transatlantic shipping routes from pirates and privateers who used the Lesser Antilles as their hide outs.
2. King Philip II, the ruler of the most powerful nation in Europe and an ardent Catholic, intended to eliminate any challenges to Spain and the Catholic Church. When wealthy Calvinists in the Dutch- and Flemish-speaking provinces of Spanish Netherlands revolted against Spanish rule in 1566, a fifteen-year war ensued. It ended in 1581 with the independence of the Dutch Republic (or Holland).
3. While the English king Henry VIII initially opposed Protestantism, he broke with the Roman Catholic Church when the pope denied his request for a marriage annulment, and he then created a national Church of England.
4. Henry's daughter, Elizabeth I, approved of Protestant teachings but retained the Catholic ritual of Holy Communion in her religious reforms. This compromise angered some radical Protestants as well as the Spanish king, Philip II.
5. Queen Elizabeth I authorized English sailors to take aggressive action against Spanish control of the Western Hemisphere. Francis Drake, a devout Protestant, challenged and disrupted Spanish shipping in the Atlantic and Pacific. Despite heavy losses in men and ships, he captured two Spanish treasure ships and became the first Englishman to circumnavigate the globe.
6. Elizabeth I also supported military expeditions to extend direct English rule over Gaelic-speaking Catholic regions of Ireland. Calling the Irish “wild savages,” English troops brutally massacred thousands, prefiguring the treatment of Indians in North America.
7. In 1588, the Spanish Armada sailed out to restore Catholic rule in England and Holland, but it was defeated when a fierce storm allowed the English to claim victory.
8. Shrugging off this defeat, Philip continued to spend his American gold and silver on religious wars. This ill-advised policy diverted resources, weakened Spain’s economy, and inspired 200,000 Castillians that were fearful of taxation and conscription to leave the richest region of Spain and migrate to America.
9. By contrast, England’s economy was stimulated by a rise in population (from 3 million in 1500 to 5 million in 1630) and by mercantilism, a system of state-supported manufacturing and trade.
10. The domestic English textile industry relied on outwork: Merchants bought wool from estate owners and hired landless peasants to spin and weave the wool into cloth. The government helped these textile entrepreneurs by setting low rates for wages.
11. Mercantilist-oriented monarchs like Queen Elizabeth encouraged merchants to invest in domestic manufacturing, thereby increasing exports and decreasing imports.
12. By 1600, the success of merchant-oriented policies helped England to challenge Spain’s control over American wealth and to establish its own colonial empire in the New World.

II. Plantation Colonies
A. Brazil’s Sugar Plantations
1. Portuguese colonists established more than one thousand sugar plantations in the tropical lowlands of coastal Brazil by 1590. Plantations took on the appearance of factories because they combined backbreaking agricultural labor with milling, extracting, and refining processes.
2. After a wave of diseases drastically reduced the indigenous population and labor supply, Portuguese planters increasingly turned to African slaves for laborers. By 1620, the transition was complete. Unlike Spain’s colonies in Mexico and Peru, Portugal’s colony in Brazil took longer to develop and turn a profit, requiring both trial and error and hard work to build a paying colony.

B. England’s Tobacco Colonies

1. The Jamestown Settlement

   a. Initial privately organized and poorly funded attempts to establish English colonies in the Americas ended in disaster.
   b. This situation changed after 1600, when English merchants established the Virginia Company of London for expansion purposes.
   c. In 1606, King James I granted this group of merchants a trading monopoly stretching from present-day North Carolina to southern New York. They named this region Virginia in memory of Elizabeth I, the never-married “Virgin Queen.”
   d. In 1607, the Virginia Company sent an expedition of men to North America, landing in Jamestown, Virginia. The goal of the Virginia Company was trade, not settlement. Life in Jamestown was harsh: death rates were high, and there was no gold and little food.
   e. The English at Jamestown expected tribute from local Indians. Powhatan, the paramount chief of thirty tribal chiefdoms, expected tribute from the English in exchange for supplying them with food. Disputes over who would pay tribute to whom resulted in uneasy relations and eventual warfare.
   f. Despite King James I’s initial dislike of the plant, growing tobacco as a cash crop became the basis of economic life, a source of revenue for the royal treasury, and an impetus for permanent settlement in Jamestown.
   g. To encourage English settlement, the Virginia Company granted land to freemen, established a land-dispersal and a local court system, and approved a system of representative government under the House of Burgesses. By 1622, English settlement in Virginia included over 4,500 new recruits.

2. The Indian War of 1622

   a. The continued influx of settlers and English suggestions that Indian children go to school to become proper Christians sparked a war in 1622 led by Opechancanough, Powhatan’s younger brother and successor.
   b. Nearly one-third of the English population was killed during a surprise attack. The English reacted by seizing Indian fields and food and forcing captured Indians into slavery.
   c. Shocked by the Indian uprisings, James I accused the Virginia Company of mismanagement, revoked their charter, and in 1624, made Virginia a royal colony.
   d. The king established the Church of England in Virginia, and property owners paid taxes to support the clergy.
   e. Virginia’s new institutions, consisting of a royal governor, an elected assembly, and an established Anglican Church, became the model for royal colonies in America.

3. Lord Baltimore Settles Catholics in Maryland

   a. King Charles I (James’s successor) granted most of the territory bordering the vast Chesapeake Bay to Lord Baltimore, a Catholic aristocrat. Baltimore created Maryland, a second tobacco colony in the Chesapeake.
   b. Baltimore wanted Maryland to become a refuge from persecution for English Catholics; the settlement of Maryland began in 1634 and grew rapidly due to ample land.
   c. Settlers elected a representative assembly, and in order to settle internal political conflict, Baltimore granted the assembly the right to initiate legislation.
   d. In 1649, upon urging from Lord Baltimore, the assembly enacted the Toleration Act, granting religious freedom to all Christians.
   e. Demand for tobacco started an economic boom in the Chesapeake and, despite their religious differences, Virginia and Maryland established similar economic and social systems.

C. The Caribbean Islands

1. The English began to permanently expand into the Caribbean in 1624 when Sir Thomas Warner established a settlement on St. Kitts.

2. Soon, several of the islands of the Lesser Antilles became English colonies. In 1655, Jamaica became an English colony.
3. After experimenting with several cash crops such as tobacco and cotton, several planters on the larger islands, including Barbados and Jamaica, followed Brazil’s example and adopted sugar cultivation. These islands became the most valuable colonies in the English Empire.

D. Plantation Life

1. Indentured Servitude
   a. To maximize production and profits, planters in the Chesapeake and Caribbean consolidated land into ever fewer hands and experimented with different labor systems, including indentured servitude and slavery.
   b. Life was harsh in the colonies of North America and the Caribbean, and diseases, especially malaria, kept population low and life expectancy short. Although 15,000 English arrived in Virginia between 1622 and 1640, the population rose only from 2,000 to 8,000.
   c. Despite these odds, hundreds of thousands of English migrants came to the Chesapeake regions and the Caribbean. The majority were indentured servants, who had contractually bound themselves to work for a master for four to five years, after which they gained their freedom.
   d. Planters benefitted greatly from indentured servitude. In Virginia, under the headright system, a planter received 50 additional acres for every servant he shipped to the colony, and a good servant could produce more than his purchase price in just one year.
   e. Most masters exploited servants, beat them without cause, withheld permission to marry, or sold the contracts of disobedient workers.
   f. Most indentured servants did not achieve the escape from poverty they had sought, although about 25 percent benefitted from their ordeal, acquiring property and respectability. Female servants generally fared better and sometimes married property owners.

2. African Laborers
   a. In the Caribbean, the available supply of indentured servants was inadequate for production needs. Sugar planters quickly shifted to African slave labor and by 1661 established the first comprehensive slave code to control the black majority.
   b. The transition to slave labor was more gradual in the Chesapeake colonies. In 1649, Africans represented just 2 percent of the total population; by 1670, that number had risen to 5 percent.
   c. Although many Africans served their English masters for life, they were not legally enslaved because English common law did not acknowledge the ownership of a human being as property.
   d. By becoming a Christian, buying one’s freedom, or petitioning for one’s freedom in the courts, an enterprising African could become a landowner, purchase slaves, and live a life of near equality with English settlers.
   e. Beginning in the 1660s, following a collapse in the tobacco industry, Chesapeake legislatures, increasingly under control of the wealthy gentry, began enacting laws that lowered the status of Africans. Being a slave was becoming a permanent and hereditary condition, synonymous with African people.

III. Neo-European Colonies

A. New France
   1. Quebec, established in 1608, was the first permanent French settlement. New France became a vast fur-trading empire.
   2. The Huron received guns from the French and were the first to welcome French Catholic missionaries, or “Black Robes,” into their communities.
   3. Royal attempts to turn New France into a prosperous agricultural colony failed despite generous terms for indentured servants.
   4. Few people moved to the cold and forbidding region; by 1698, only 15,200 Europeans lived in New France.
   5. Explorers and fur traders geographically expanded the colony into the center of the North American continent from the St. Lawrence Valley through the Great Lakes to the Mississippi River and southward along the river to the Gulf of Mexico, where they established New Orleans by 1718.

B. New Netherland
   1. The Dutch republic in 1600 emerged as the financial and commercial hub of northern Europe. Through conquest, the Dutch gained control of the slave and sugar trade in the Atlantic and spice and silk trade in the Indian Ocean.
In 1614, following Henry Hudson’s explorations and discoveries, Dutch merchants established Fort Orange (Albany) as a fur trading post.

In 1621, the government-chartered West India Company founded the town of New Amsterdam (on Manhattan Island) as the capital of New Netherland.

In the attempt to make the colony a self-sustaining enterprise, the company encouraged migration by granting huge estates along the Hudson River to wealthy Dutchmen who promised to populate them; however, few people came. By 1664, only 5,000 residents lived in the colony.

Although New Netherland failed as a settler colony, it briefly flourished in fur trading.

While Dutch colonial strategy emphasized commerce, not religious conversion or seizure of land, it nevertheless resulted in conflict with Native Americans. When the Dutch seized prime farming land from the Algonquians and took over their trading networks, the Algonquians responded with force resulting in a crippling war.

The West India Company largely ignored the floundering Dutch settlement and concentrated instead on the profitable African slave and sugar trade.

Dutch authoritarian rule in New Amsterdam rejected requests for representative government, and after light resistance during an English invasion in 1664, New Netherland fell under English control and became New York.

The Rise of the Iroquois

1. The Five Nations of the Iroquois used their strategic location between the French and Dutch colonies to obtain guns and goods and to expand their territory in a series of devastating wars against their Native American neighbors.

2. New France committed to all-out war after the Iroquois attacked French-allied Algonquians, resulting in the defeat of the Five Nations and their acceptance of French missionaries into their communities.

3. Iroquois who allied with the English after the Dutch defeat remained a powerful force in the Northeast for generations to come.

New England

1. The Pilgrims
   a. New England differed from other European settlements; it was settled by family groups and focused not on commerce but on religion and morality.
   b. The Pilgrims, Puritans who were religious separatists from the Church of England, sailed to America in 1620 on the Mayflower.
   c. They created the Mayflower Compact, a covenant for religious and political autonomy and the first constitution in North America.
   d. The first winter in America tested the Pilgrims, and only half of the population survived. Thereafter, the Plymouth colony became a healthy and thriving community with a representative government, widespread property ownership, and religious freedom.
   e. Religious turmoil in England, brought on by King Charles I’s repudiation of Protestant doctrines and Archbishop William Laud’s purging of dissident ministers, resulted in thousands of Puritans leaving for North America.

2. John Winthrop and Massachusetts Bay
   a. In 1630, John Winthrop and 900 Puritans established the Massachusetts Bay Colony in order to build a reformed Christian society, and by so doing, they hoped to inspire religious reform throughout Christendom.
   b. Over the next decade, 10,000 Puritans migrated to Massachusetts Bay, along with 10,000 others fleeing hard times in England.
   c. The Puritans created representative political institutions that were locally based by transforming the initial joint-stock corporation that Winthrop and his associates had utilized to organize and found the colony.
   d. The right to vote and hold office was limited to men who were church members, and the Bible was the legal as well as spiritual guide for the Massachusetts Bay Colony.
   e. The Puritans eliminated bishops and placed power in the hands of the laity.
   f. Influenced by John Calvin, the Puritans believed in predestination. They dealt with the uncertainties of divine election in three ways: some hoped for a conversion experience, an intense sensation of receiving God’s grace or a “born-again” conviction of salvation; others relied on “preparation,” the confidence in redemption built on years of spiritual guidance; and still others believed in a “covenant” with God that promised salvation in exchange for obedience to God’s laws.
3. Roger Williams and Rhode Island
   a. The Puritans of Massachusetts Bay felt that they must purge their society of religious dissidents to maintain God’s favor.
   b. The Puritans targeted Roger Williams, a religious dissenter who advocated toleration and agreed with the Pilgrims’ separation of church and state. He was banned from Massachusetts Bay in 1636.
   c. Williams and his followers founded settlements in Rhode Island, where there was no legally established church.

4. Anne Hutchinson
   a. Anne Hutchinson was considered a heretic because her beliefs diminished the role of Puritan ministers. Like Martin Luther, Hutchinson denied that salvation could be earned through good deeds, called a “covenant of works,” believing instead that salvation could only occur through a “covenant of grace” through which God saved those he predestined for salvation.
   b. Puritans believed that, when it came to governance of church and state, women were clearly inferior to men. The magistrates convicted and banished Hutchinson and her family from the colony.
   c. In 1660, Puritans who had left Massachusetts and settled on or near the Connecticut River gained a charter for the self-governing colony of Connecticut. Their form of government included an established church, a popularly elected governor and assembly, and voting rights for most property-owning men—not just church members.

5. The Puritan Revolution in England
   a. England fell into a religious civil war between royalists and parliamentary forces in 1642, and thousands of English Puritans joined the revolt, demanding greater authority for Parliament and reform of the established church.
   b. After four years of civil war, parliamentary forces led by Oliver Cromwell were victorious, but the Puritan triumph was short-lived with the restoration of monarchy in 1658.
   c. After the failure of the English Revolution, Puritans looked to create a permanent society in America based on their faith and ideals.

6. Puritanism and Witchcraft
   a. Puritans believed that the physical world was full of supernatural forces and that one could see God’s (or Satan’s) power in unusual events.
   b. Condemning people who aimed to influence spiritual forces as witches, Puritan civil authorities in Massachusetts and Connecticut hanged fourteen people for witchcraft between 1647 and 1662.
   c. In Salem, Massachusetts, 175 people were arrested and 19 were hanged for witchcraft in 1692. Historical debate over the causes of this mass hysteria determined that class conflict, an effort to subordinate women, political instability, and fear raised by Indian attacks played a role.
   d. Popular revulsion against the executions brought an end to legal prosecutions for witchcraft and heresy in New England.
   e. The European Enlightenment helped promote a more rational, scientific view of the world.

7. A Yeoman Society, 1630–1700
   a. In organizing Puritan town governments, the General Courts of Massachusetts Bay and Connecticut bestowed the title to each township on a group of settlers, or proprietors, who then divided the land among the male heads of families.
   b. Puritans believed in a social and economic hierarchy: the largest plots of land were given to men of high social status.
   c. As all male heads of families received some land, a society of independent yeomen farmers emerged, and most men could vote in town meetings.
   d. In these self-governing communities, farmers enjoyed far more political power than their European or Chesapeake counterparts.
   e. Town meetings chose selectmen, levied taxes, and enacted ordinances and regulations; as the number of towns increased, so did their power, enhancing local control.
   f. Possibility to acquire property turned New England for many into a new world of opportunity.

IV. Instability, War, and Rebellion
   A. New England’s Indian Wars
1. Puritan-Pequot War
   a. Various alliances between Indians and European settlers in the New England region established a complex and precarious system of relationships.
   b. When Pequot warriors killed an English trader in 1636, Puritan militia men and their Indian allies retaliated by massacring about five hundred Pequots in 1637 and driving the survivors from the region.
   c. Seeing themselves as God’s chosen people, the Puritans justified taking Indian lands on religious grounds.
   d. English Puritans viewed Native Americans not as genetically inferior but as tainted by “sin” or Satan, which they believed accounted for their degenerate condition, rather than race.
   e. In their efforts to Christianize Indians, the Puritans created praying towns that supervised the Indian population.

2. Metacom’s War, 1675–1676
   a. By the 1670s, there were three times as many whites as Indians in New England; whites numbered 55,000, while Indians numbered 16,000.
   b. Seeking to stop the European advance, the Wampanoag leader Metacom forged a military alliance with the Narragansetts and Nipmucks in 1675.
   c. The group attacked white settlements throughout New England, and the fighting continued until Metacom’s death in 1676.
   d. Losses were high on both sides, but the Indians’ losses were worse: 25 percent of the already diminished Indian population died from war or disease.
   e. Many of the surviving Algonquian peoples migrated farther into the New England backcountry, where they intermarried with other Algonquian tribes tied to the French, who became their ally in future attacks against the English.

B. Bacon’s Rebellion

1. Frontier War
   a. By the 1670s, freed indentured servants in Virginia had fewer and fewer opportunities to gain economic independence. The wealthy gentry had consolidated most land into their hands, renting out what they could not plant, and declining tobacco prices made it impossible for a small farmer to make a profit.
   b. Social tensions between elite planters and struggling landless laborers reached a breaking point in Virginia during Governor William Berkeley’s tenure; Berkeley gave tax-free land grants to members of his council and suspended the right to vote for landless freemen.
   c. To acquire land, poor white freeholders and aspiring tenants wanted local Indians removed from the treaty-guaranteed lands along the frontier.
   d. Wealthy planter-merchants opposed Indian removal; they wanted to maintain the labor supply and to continue trading furs with the Native Americans.
   e. Poor freeholders and landless men formed militias and began killing Indians in 1675; the Indians retaliated by killing whites.
   f. Settlers dismissed Governor Berkeley’s defensive proposal to build frontier forts as a plot to impose higher taxes and take control of the tobacco trade.

2. Challenging the Government
   a. Nathaniel Bacon, a member of the governor’s council, led a protest against Berkeley’s Indian policy. Bacon and his men killed a number of Indians for which Berkeley arrested Bacon.
   b. When Bacon’s militant supporters threatened with force, Berkeley freed Bacon and agreed to political reform; the House of Burgesses restored voting rights to landless freemen and reduced the powers of the governor.
   c. Not satisfied, Bacon and his men burned Jamestown and issued a “Manifesto and Declaration of the People,” demanding removal of all Indians and an end to the rule of wealthy “parasites.”
   d. Although Bacon’s sudden death from disease in 1676 ended the uprising, Bacon’s Rebellion prompted Virginia’s wealthy leaders to work more closely with poor whites.
   e. To forestall another rebellion by indentured servants, Chesapeake planters turned away from indentured servitude and moved to legalize slavery, whose workers they could exploit for a lifetime.

Sources for America’s History
The following documents are available in Chapter 2 of the companion reader *Sources for America’s History* by Kevin B. Sheets, SUNY, Cortland:

- Indians Resist Spanish Control: *Testimony of Acoma Indians* (1599)
- “City Upon a Hill” Sermon: John Winthrop, *A Model of Christian Charity* (1630)
- The Limits of the Puritan Community: *The Trial of Anne Hutchinson* (1634)
- Maryland Protects Religious Belief: *Maryland Act of Religious Toleration* (1649)
- Spreading the Gospel among the Iroquois: Rev. Father Louis Cellot, *Letter to Father François Le Mercier* (1656)

**PART TWO**

**BRITISH NORTH AMERICA AND THE ATLANTIC WORLD**

**1660–1763**

**AP PERIODIZATION AND KEY CONCEPTS**

**Period 2: 1607–1754**

**AP U.S. History Key Concepts**

2.1 Diverse patterns of colonization developed in response to differences in goals, cultures, and the environment.
2.2 Colonization intensified intercultural contact and conflict.
2.3 The political, economic, and cultural exchanges of the Atlantic World affected the development of colonial societies.

**Assessment Weight on the AP U.S. History Exam: 45% (Periods 2–5)**

**PART LEARNING OBJECTIVES**

After you’ve taught this part, your students should be able to answer the following “Big Idea” questions:

**Chapter 3: The British Atlantic World, 1660–1750**

How did the South Atlantic System create an interconnected Atlantic World, and how did this system impact development in the British colonies?

**Chapter 4: Growth, Diversity, and Conflict, 1720–1763**

In what ways were Britain’s American colonies affected by events across the Atlantic, and how were their societies taking on a life of their own?
## PART THEMES

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<tr>
<th>WORK, EXCHANGE, AND TECHNOLOGY</th>
<th>PEOPLING</th>
<th>POLITICS AND POWER</th>
<th>IDEAS, BELIEFS, AND CULTURE</th>
<th>IDENTITY</th>
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| 1660                           | - South Atlantic System links plantation and neo-European colonies  
- New York inherits Hudson River Valley manors from the Dutch; Carolina proprietors try but fail to institute a manorial system  
- Migrants to Pennsylvania seek freehold lands  
- Rapid expansion of African slave imports undergirds sugar, tobacco, and rice plantation systems | - The Middle Passage shapes Africans’ experiences of arrival  
- Indian slave trade emerges in South Carolina  
- First Mennonites arrive in Pennsylvania (1683) | - Dominion of New England (1686–1689)  
- Glorious Revolution (1688–1689)  
- War of the League of Augsburg (1689–1697)  
- Founding of the Restoration colonies: the Carolinas (1663), New York (1664), Pennsylvania (1681) | - Collapse of the Puritan Commonwealth leads to toleration in England  
- Isaac Newton publishes *Principia Mathematica* (1687) | - Restoration makes England a monarchy again; royalist revival  
- The Glorious Revolution makes England a constitutional monarchy  
- Massachusetts loses its charter (1684) and gains a new one (1691) |
| 1690                           | - New England shipbuilding industry and merchant community come to dominate the coastal trade  
- Agricultural labor and artisanal skills in high demand in the Middle Colonies | - Quakers emigrate to Pennsylvania and New Jersey  
- Second wave of Germans arrive in Pennsylvania, Shenandoah Valley | - John Locke publishes *Two Treatises on Government* (1690)  
- Rise of tolerance among colonial Protestants  
- Print revolution begins | - Colonists gain autonomy in the post-Glorious Revolution era  
- Tribalization developing among Native American peoples |
| 1720                           | - The price of wheat rises (doubles in Philadelphia, 1720–1770)  
- British trade dominates the Atlantic  
- Opportunity and inequality in the Middle Colonies  
- Ohio Company of Virginia receives 200,000 acres (1749) | - Scots-Irish begin migrating to Pennsylvania (c. 1720)  
- Parliament charters Georgia (1732)  
- Penns make Walking Purchase from the Delawares (1737) | - Robert Walpole is prime minister (1720–1742)  
- Stono Rebellion (1739)  
- War of Jenkins’s Ear (1739–1741)  
- War of the Austrian Succession (1740–1748) | - George Whitefield’s visit to America sparks the Great Awakening (1739)  
- Benjamin Franklin founds American Philosophical Society (1743)  
- New colleges, newspapers, magazines | - African American community forms in the Chesapeake  
- Planter aristocracy emerges in the Chesapeake and South Carolina  
- Culture of gentility spreads among well-to-do |
| 1750                           | - Freehold society in crisis in New England  
- Half of Middle colonies’ white men landless  
- Conflicts over western lands and political power (1750–1775)  
- British industry being mechanized; colonial debt crisis  
- 40,000 Germans and Swiss emigrate to Pennsylvania (1749–1756)  
- Anglo-Americans pushing onto backcountry lands | - French and Indian War/Seven Years’ War (1754–1763)  
- The Albany Congress (1754)  
- The Treaty of Paris (1763)  
- Pontiac’s Rebellion (1763) | - At least twelve religious denominations in Philadelphia  
- Neolin promotes nativist revival among Ohio Indians (1763) | - Victory in the Great War for Empire sparks pro-British pride in the colonies  
- Desire for political autonomy and economic independence strong |
The British Atlantic World
1660–1750

AP PERIODIZATION AND KEY CONCEPTS

Period 1: 1607–1754

AP U.S. History Key Concepts

2.1 Diverse patterns of colonization developed in response to differences in goals, cultures, and the environment.
   • The Atlantic slave trade developed in response to the economic, demographic, and environmental needs of the British colonies.
   • Environmental and geographic variations contributed to regional differences.

2.2 Colonization intensified intercultural contact and conflict.
   • Competition in the colonies between European rivals led to conflicts between native peoples and European colonists.
   • Intercultural conflict over social and cultural values contributed to cultural changes on both sides.

2.3 The political, economic, and cultural exchanges of the Atlantic World affected the development of colonial societies.
   • Interactions among Europeans, Africans, and Native Americans stimulated economic growth, expanded social networks, and reshaped labor systems.
   • In response to competition and colonial resistance, Britain strengthened control over its North American empire, stimulating increasing resistance from colonists, who had grown accustomed to autonomy.

CHAPTER LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After reading and studying this chapter, students should be able to:

1. Explain how and why Europeans brought Africans to the American colonies as slaves.
2. Evaluate how African American communities in America responded to and resisted their condition.
3. Understand the structure of colonial government, how it operated, and why Englishmen and colonial citizens viewed the role of assemblies differently.
4. Analyze the role of the colonies within the British mercantilist system and how economic considerations affected political decision making in both England and North America.
5. Assess the relationships between Native Americans and British colonists, and explain how imperial wars reshaped these interactions as well as Native American political structures.

ANNOTATED CHAPTER OUTLINE

The following annotated chapter outline will help you review the major topics covered in this chapter.
I. Colonies to Empire, 1660–1713

A. The Restoration Colonies and Imperial Expansion

1. The Carolinas
   a. Charles II gave the Carolinas to his aristocratic friends and gave the Dutch colony New Netherland to his brother James, the Duke of York.
   b. James took possession of New Netherland, renamed it New York, and ruled by decree.
   c. The Fundamental Constitutions of Carolina (1669) legally established the Church of England and prescribed a manorial system, with a mass of serfs that were governed by a small number of powerful nobles.
   d. Poor families in North Carolina refused to work on large manors, chose instead to live on modest farms, and expressed their resistance to the nobility by rejecting several taxation attempts.
   e. South Carolinians, many of them migrants from Barbados, established a hierarchical slave society and prospered by raising cattle and food crops for export to the West Indies.
   f. By 1700, rice became South Carolina’s primary cash crop, grown in the swampy estuaries of the coastal low country.
   g. Slaves soon outnumbered whites and made up two-thirds of the population by 1740.

2. William Penn and Pennsylvania
   a. Pennsylvania, designed as a refuge for Quakers persecuted in England, developed a pacifistic policy toward the Native Americans and became prosperous.
   b. Quakers believed that people were imbued by God with an “inner light” of grace or understanding that opened salvation to everyone.
   c. Penn’s Frame of Government (1681) guaranteed religious freedom for all Christians and allowed all property-owning men to vote and hold office.
   d. Ethnic diversity, pacifism, and freedom of conscience made Pennsylvania the most open and democratic of the Restoration Colonies.

B. From Mercantilism to Imperial Dominion

1. The Navigation Acts
   a. In the 1650s, the English government imposed mercantilism via the Navigation Acts, which regulated colonial commerce by requiring that colonials could ship goods only on English-owned ships, export sugar and tobacco only to England, and import European goods only through England.
   b. The Revenue Act of 1673 imposed a “plantation duty” on sugar and tobacco exports and created a staff of customs officials to enforce the mercantilist laws.
   c. In commercial wars between 1652 and 1674, the English drove the Dutch from New Netherlands and ended their supremacy in the West African slave trade. The English also dominated North Atlantic commerce.
   d. Many Americans resisted the mercantilist laws as burdensome and intrusive. To enforce the laws, the Lords of Trade pursued a punitive legal strategy. In 1679, they denied the claim of Massachusetts Bay to New Hampshire’s territory, eventually creating New Hampshire as a separate colony. In 1684, they annulled Massachusetts Bay’s charter.

2. The Dominion of New England
   a. When James II succeeded to the throne, he wanted to establish stricter control over the colonies and create a more centralized imperial system in America. He targeted New England in particular for reform.
   b. In 1686, the Lords of Trade merged Connecticut and Rhode Island colonies with those of Massachusetts Bay and Plymouth to form the Dominion of New England, a new royal province.
   c. Two years later, New York and New Jersey were added to the Dominion.
   d. Sir Edmund Andros, governor of the Dominion, had the authority to rule by decree. He abolished the existing legislative assemblies, advocated public worship in the Church of England, and invalidated all land titles.

C. The Glorious Revolution in England and America

1. In 1688, James’s Spanish Catholic wife gave birth to a son, raising the prospect of a Catholic heir to the throne.
2. To forestall such an event, Protestant parliamentary leaders carried out a nearly bloodless coup known as the Glorious Revolution.

3. Mary Stuart, James’s Protestant daughter by his first wife, and her husband, William of Orange, were enthroned.

4. Queen Mary II and King William III agreed to rule as constitutional monarchs loyal to “the Protestant reformed religion” and accepted a bill of rights that limited royal prerogatives and increased personal liberties and parliamentary powers.

5. Parliamentary leaders relied on John Locke’s *Two Treatises on Government* (1690) to justify their coup. Locke rejected divine-right theories of monarchical rule.

6. Locke’s celebration of individual rights and representative government had a lasting influence in America.

7. Rebellions in America
   a. The Glorious Revolution also sparked colonial rebellions against royal governments in Massachusetts, Maryland, and New York.
   b. In 1689, Puritan leaders shipped Governor Andros back to England. The new monarchs broke up the Dominion of New England but did not restore Puritan-dominated government; instead, they created a new royal colony of Massachusetts, whose new charter granted religious freedom and gave the vote to all male property owners (not Puritan church members only).
   c. The uprising in Maryland had both political and religious causes; Protestants resented rising taxes and high fees imposed by wealthy, primarily Catholic proprietary officials.
   d. In New York, the rebellion against the Dominion of New England began a decade of violent political conflict.
   e. The uprisings in Boston and New York toppled the authoritarian Dominion of New England and won the restoration of internal self-government.
   f. In England, the new constitutional monarchs promoted an empire based on commerce; Parliament created a new Board of Trade (1696) to supervise the American settlements. The overall result was a period of lax administration and colonial autonomy.

II. Imperial Wars and Native Peoples

A. Tribalization
   1. Between 1689 and 1815, Britain and France fought wars for dominance of Western Europe.
   2. As the wars spread to the Americas, they involved a number of Native American warriors armed with European weapons.
   3. Native Americans reacted to declining population, encroaching Europeans, and increased warfare with tribalization, or the creation of new or transformed political entities.
   4. Native Americans empowered themselves during imperial wars between European powers. The Iroquois, for example, signed “aggressive neutrality” agreements with both France and Great Britain, promising to trade with both sides but refusing to fight with either side. In return they received diplomacy gifts such as guns, lead, and clothing.
   5. The War of the Spanish Succession (1702–1713) pitted Britain against France and Spain and prompted English settlers in the Carolinas to arm the Creek people and attack Spanish Florida as a combined force.

B. Indian Goals
   1. The Creeks took this opportunity to become the dominant tribe in the region. When Carolinians demanded trade debt payments in 1715, the Creeks revolted against their former allies and killed 400 colonists.
   2. Native Americans also played a central role in the fighting in the Northeast; aided by the French, the Catholic Abenakis and Mohawks took revenge on the Puritans, attacking settlements in Maine and Massachusetts. New Englanders responded by joining British forces in attacks on French strongholds in Nova Scotia and Quebec.
   3. Britain used victories in Europe to win territorial and commercial concessions in the Americas. In the Treaty of Utrecht (1713), Britain obtained Newfoundland, Acadia, and the Hudson Bay region of northern Canada from France, as well as access through Albany to the western Indian trade. The treaty solidified Britain’s supremacy and brought peace to North America.

III. The Imperial Slave Economy

A. The South Atlantic System
1. England and the West Indies
   a. The South Atlantic System had its center in Brazil and the West Indies; sugar was its main product.
   b. European merchants, investors, and planters garnered the profits of the South Atlantic System by following mercantilist principles; they provided the organizational skill, ships, and money needed to grow and process sugarcane, carry the refined sugar to market, and supply the plantations with European tools and equipment. However, it was the Atlantic slave trade that made the system run.
   c. The English began plantation-style production in the Caribbean later than their European counterparts, but they created thriving colonies and attracted more settlers than the Chesapeake and New England regions combined.
   d. Sugar, the most profitable crop grown in America and Europe, transformed Barbados and the other islands into slave-based plantation societies, run by an elite group of ruthless planters who owned the majority of land, servants, and slaves and ruled by instilling fear.
   e. Sugar could be produced most effectively on large plantations, using expensive equipment and the labor of slaves who planted, cut, and processed sugarcane into raw sugar, molasses, and rum.

2. The Impact on Britain
   a. As a result of the Navigation Acts, the re-exports of American sugar and tobacco accounted for half of all British exports by 1750.
   b. The slave trade was also massively profitable.
   c. The trade in sugar, tobacco, and slaves resulted in an economic boom in the British Empire by expanding the shipbuilding industry, stimulating construction of port facilities and warehouses, and increasing the manufacturing of textiles.

B. Africa, Africans, and the Slave Trade

1. Africans and the Slave Trade
   a. The slave trade changed West African society: it drained the land of people and wealth, as well as promoted centralized states and military conquest.
   b. Many of these African kingdoms participated in the slave trade to gain wealth and power. Others, such as Benin, opposed the trade in slaves for over a century.
   c. In many African societies, class divisions hardened as people of noble birth enslaved and sold those of lesser status.
   d. The imbalance of the sexes that resulted from slave trading allowed some African men to take several wives, changing the nature of marriage.
   e. The Atlantic trade prompted harsher forms of slavery in Africa, eroding the dignity of human life there and in the Western Hemisphere.

2. The Middle Passage and Beyond
   a. African slaves who were forced to endure the Middle Passage, the ship journey from Africa to the Americas, suffered the bleakest fate. Countless died from diseases, dehydration, suicide, or violent shipboard revolts.
   b. Survivors began a life of endless work and relentless exploitation upon arrival in Brazil or the West Indies.
   c. Planters often sexually exploited female slaves.
   d. Because many planters worked slaves to death quickly and constantly purchased new ones, slaves maintained African languages, religions, and culture.

C. Slavery in the Chesapeake and South Carolina

1. By 1700, planters in Virginia and Maryland took advantage of the increased British trade in slaves, importing thousands of slaves and creating a “slave society.”
2. Slavery was increasingly defined in racial terms; in Virginia, virtually all resident Africans were declared slaves.
3. Violence was part of daily life for slaves. Laws allowed even extreme punishments such as branding for runaways.
4. Living and working conditions in Maryland and Virginia allowed slaves to live relatively long lives.
5. Many tobacco planters tried to increase their workforce through reproduction, purchasing female slaves and encouraging large families.
6. By the mid-1700s, slaves constituted over 30 percent of the Chesapeake population, and over three-quarters of them were American-born.

7. South Carolina slaves were much more oppressed. Growing rice required work amid pools of putrid water, and mosquito-borne epidemic diseases took thousands of African lives.

8. The slave population in South Carolina suffered many deaths and had few births; therefore, the importation of new slaves continually “re-Africanized” the black population.

D. An African American Community Emerges

1. Building Community
   a. On most plantations, slaves came from different regions in West and Central Africa and spoke diverse languages. Planters preferred ethnic diversity, believing that inability to communicate would deter rebellion.
   b. Slaves initially did not regard one another as Africans or blacks but as members of a specific family, clan, or people.
   c. Family life was precarious owing to the threat of sale or punishment.
   d. A more equal gender ratio was necessary for the creation of an African American community and the passing on of knowledge from Africa to the American-born generation.
   e. As enslaved blacks forged a new identity in America, their lives continued to be shaped by their African past, influencing decorative motifs, housing design, musical instruments, and religious patterns.

2. Resistance and Accommodation
   a. African creativity was limited because slaves were denied education and had few material goods or leisure time.
   b. Slaves who resisted their rigorous work routine were punished with beatings, whippings, and mutilation, including amputation.
   c. The extent of violence toward slaves depended on the size and the density of the slave population; a smaller slave population usually meant less violence, while predominantly African-populated colonies suffered more violence.
   d. Slaves constantly challenged their owner’s authority by running away, working harder for extra food or clothing, working slowly, or stealing.
   e. Although rebellions rarely occurred, slave owners nevertheless feared them.

3. The Stono Rebellion
   a. The Stono Rebellion (1739) in South Carolina was the largest slave uprising of the eighteenth century, but it was also a failure.
   b. Inspired by Spanish promises of freedom, 75 Africans revolted and killed several whites near the Stono River.
   c. White militiamen killed many of the Stono rebels and dispersed the rest, preventing a general uprising. South Carolinians reduced slave imports and intensified plantation discipline.

E. The Rise of the Southern Gentry

1. White Identity and Equality
   a. As the southern colonies became slave societies, life changed for whites as well as blacks.
   b. Successful planters such as William Byrd believed their wealth would gain them acceptance in English society; the English gentry, however, rejected them as inferior.
   c. The planter elite exercised authority over black slaves and yeomen—the American equivalent of oppressed peasants and serfs of Europe.
   d. To prevent rebellion, the southern gentry paid attention to the concerns of middling and poor whites and gradually reduced taxes.
   e. By 1770, the majority of English Chesapeake families owned at least one slave, giving them a stake in the exploitative labor system.
   f. Poor yeomen and some tenants were allowed to vote.
   g. In return, the planter elite expected the yeomen and tenants to elect them to office and defer to their power.
   h. By the 1720s, the gentry took on the trappings of wealth, modeling themselves after the English aristocracy and practicing gentility, a refined but elaborate lifestyle.
i. The daughters of planters likewise imitated the English elite way of life and in the process created the new ideal of the southern gentlewoman.

j. The profits of the South Atlantic System helped to form an increasingly well-educated, refined, and stable ruling class.

IV. The Northern Maritime Economy

A. The Urban Economy

1. The South Atlantic System tied the whole British Empire together economically in part through bills of exchange, a form of credit offered by London merchants, which was used by planters to buy slaves from Africa and to pay North American farmers and merchants.

2. West Indian trade created the first American merchant fortunes and the first urban industries—in particular, shipbuilding and the distilling of rum from West Indies sugar.

3. In the eighteenth century, the expansion of Atlantic commerce in lumber and shipbuilding fueled rapid growth in the North American interior, as well as in seaport cities and coastal towns.

4. Increase in commerce also impacted the interior as farm products traveled by small vessel or wagon to eastern seaports for export, and European manufactured imports made their way to backcountry farms along the same routes now donned with taverns, horse stables, and barrel-making shops.

B. Urban Society

1. A small group of wealthy merchants formed the top rank of the seaport society and practiced a genteel lifestyle.

2. Artisan and shopkeeper families formed the middle ranks of seaport society. Although wives and husbands often worked as teams and passed their skills on to their children, they labored hard to earn a modest living.

3. Laboring men, women, and children formed the lowest ranks of urban society.

4. Between 1660 and 1750, the South Atlantic System constantly fluctuated between cycles of growth and stagnation that created economic opportunity as well as uncertainty for merchants, artisans, workers, and farmers alike.

V. The New Politics of Empire, 1713–1750

A. The Rise of Colonial Assemblies

1. The triumph of the South Atlantic System changed the politics of empire; the British were content to rule the colonies with a gentle hand, and the colonists were in a position to challenge the rules of the mercantilist system.

2. In England, the Glorious Revolution strengthened the powers of the House of Commons at the expense of the crown.

3. American representative assemblies also wished to limit the powers of the crown and gradually won control over taxation and local appointments.

4. The rising power of the colonial assemblies created an elitist rather than a democratic political system, although every property-owning white male could vote.

5. Neither elitist assemblies nor wealthy property owners could impose unpopular edicts on the people.

6. Crowd actions were a regular part of political life in America and were used to enforce community values.

7. By the 1750s, most colonies had representative political institutions that were responsive to popular pressure and increasingly immune from British control.

B. Salutary Neglect

1. Salutary neglect—under which royal bureaucrats relaxed their supervision of internal colonial affairs, focusing instead on defense and trade—was a by-product of the political system developed by Sir Robert Walpole, a British Whig.

2. Radical Whigs argued that Walpole used patronage and bribery to create a strong Court Party.

3. Landed gentlemen argued that Walpole’s high taxes and bloated, incompetent royal bureaucracy threatened the liberties of the British people.

4. Colonists, maintaining that royal governors likewise abused their patronage powers, enhanced the powers of provincial representative assemblies.

C. Protecting the Mercantile System

1. Walpole’s main concern was to protect British commercial interests in America from the Spanish and the French.

2. Walpole arranged for Parliament to subsidize Georgia in order to protect the valuable rice colony of South Carolina.
3. Resisting British expansion into Georgia and growing trade with Mesoamerica, Spanish naval forces sparked the War of Jenkins’s Ear in 1739.
4. Walpole used this provocation to launch a predatory, but largely unsuccessful, war against Spain’s American Empire.
5. The War of Jenkins’s Ear became a part of the War of Austrian Succession (1740–1749), bringing a new threat from France.
6. The Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle (1748) returned the French naval fortress of Louisbourg to France after its capture by New England militiamen, but the treaty also reaffirmed British military superiority over Spain, effectively giving Georgia to the British.

D. Mercantilism and the American Colonies
1. English laws limiting manufacturing in the colonies could not prevent American merchants from controlling transatlantic trade.
2. The Molasses Act of 1733 placed a high tariff on imports of French molasses to make British molasses competitive, but sugar prices rose in the late 1730s, so the act was not enforced.
3. The Currency Act (1751) prevented colonies from establishing new land banks and prohibited the use of public currency to pay private debts. This act was in response to abuse of the land bank system by some colonial assemblies that issued too much paper currency and then required merchants to accept the worthless paper as legal tender.
4. In the 1740s, British officials vowed to replace salutary neglect with rigorous imperial control.

Sources for America’s History
The following documents are available in Chapter 3 of the companion reader Sources for America’s History by Kevin B. Sheets, SUNY, Cortland:

- Bostonians Welcome the Glorious Revolution: The Declaration of the Gentlemen, Merchants and Inhabitants of Boston, and the Country Adjacent (1689)
- The Onondaga Pledge Support to Colonies: Canassatego, Papers Relating to an Act of the Assembly of the Province of New York (1742)
- Virginia Tightens Slave Codes: The General Assembly of Virginia, An Act for Suppressing Outlying Slaves (1691)
- Gentility and the Planter Elite: William Byrd II, Diary Entries (1709–1712)
- Colonists Assert Their Rights: Lord Cornbury, Letter to the Board of Trade (1704)

CHAPTER 4

Growth, Diversity, and Conflict
1720–1763

AP PERIODIZATION AND KEY CONCEPTS

Period 2: 1607–1754
Period 3: 1754–1800
AP U.S. History Key Concepts

2.1 Diverse patterns of colonization developed in response to differences in goals, cultures, and the environment.
   • Environmental and geographic variations contributed to regional differences.

2.3 The political, economic, and cultural exchanges of the Atlantic World impacted the development of colonial societies.
   • The growth of an Atlantic economy created a shared labor market and exchange of colonial and European goods.
   • Anglicization in the British colonies was promoted by political and legal systems based on English models, increased commercial ties, development of a transatlantic print culture, Protestant evangelism, and the spread of Enlightenment ideas.
   • Notions of greater religious independence and evolving ideas of liberty were fueled by the political thought of the Enlightenment.

3.1 Britain’s victory over France in the Great War for Empire led to new conflicts among the British, North American colonists, and Native Americans.
   • Native groups adjusted alliances with Europeans and other native peoples.
   • White-Indian conflict continued as colonists encroached on tribal lands.

CHAPTER LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After reading and studying this chapter, students should be able to:

1. Analyze how regional differences in settlement patterns, labor conditions, and religious identity developed during the eighteenth century in both New England’s freehold society and the diverse communities of the Middle Atlantic.
2. Evaluate how the Enlightenment affected the emerging intellectual life of American society.
3. Explain and assess the events that led up to and the consequences of the Great Awakening.
4. Understand how and why the Great War for Empire changed the balance of imperial power in North America.

ANNOTATED CHAPTER OUTLINE

The following annotated chapter outline will help you review the major topics covered in this chapter.

I. New England’s Freehold Society
   A. Farm Families: Women in the Household Economy
      1. Men claimed power in the state and authority in the family; women were subordinate.
      2. Women in the colonies were raised to be dutiful helpmates to their husbands.
      3. The labor of the Puritan women was crucial to the rural household economy.
      4. Bearing and rearing children were equally crucial tasks. Most women married in their early twenties and by their early forties had given birth to six or seven children.
      5. More women than men attended the churches.
      6. Most New England women’s lives were tightly bound by a web of legal and cultural restrictions; they were excluded from an equal role in the church.
   B. Farm Property: Inheritance
      1. Men who migrated to the colonies escaped many traditional constraints, including lack of land.
      2. Parents with small farms who could not provide their sons and daughters with land placed them as indentured servants.
      3. When indentures ended, some propertyless sons climbed from laborer to tenant to freeholder.
      4. Children in successful farm families received a marriage portion when they were in their early twenties.
      5. Parents chose their children’s partners because the family’s prosperity depended on it.
      6. Brides relinquished ownership of their land and property to their husbands.
      7. Fathers had a cultural duty to provide inheritances for their children.
   C. Freehold Society in Crisis
      1. With each generation, the population of New England doubled, mostly from natural increase.
2. Parents had less land to give their children, so they had less control over their children’s lives.

3. By using primitive methods of birth control, many families were able to have fewer children.

4. Families petitioned the government for land grants and hacked new farms out of the forests.

5. Land was used more productively; crops of wheat and barley were replaced with high-yielding potatoes and corn.

6. Gradually, New England changed from a grain to a livestock economy.

7. A system of community exchange helped preserve the freehold ideal.

II. Diversity in the Middle Colonies

A. Economic Growth, Opportunity, and Conflict

1. Tenancy in New York
   a. Fertile lands and opportunity for prosperity attracted migrants to the Middle Atlantic, and profits from grain exports financed their rapid settlement.
   b. The manorial lords of New York’s fertile Hudson River Valley attracted tenants by granting long leases and the right to sell their improvements, such as barns and houses, to the next tenant.
   c. Inefficient farm implements kept most tenants from saving enough to acquire freehold farmsteads.

2. Conflict in the Quaker Colonies
   a. Rural Pennsylvania and New Jersey were initially marked by relative economic equality.
   b. Unable to gain land on legal terms owing to mass immigration, many newcomers became squatters, settling illegally on land they hoped to eventually acquire legally.
   c. To deal with increased demands for land, the Penn family claimed more land than they rightfully owned from Indians by exploiting an old (and probably fraudulent) Indian deed to over a million acres of prime farmland north of Philadelphia. This purchase soured their relationship with the Delaware and Shawnee tribes.
   d. Philadelphia grew rapidly and offered opportunity to unskilled as well as skilled laborers.
   e. The rise of the wheat trade and an influx of poor settlers created social divisions, resulting in a new class of agricultural capitalists.
   f. By the 1760s, one-half of all white men in the Middle colonies owned no property.

B. Cultural Diversity

1. The German Influx
   a. The Middle colonies were a patchwork of ethnically and religiously diverse communities.
   b. Migrants tried to preserve their cultural identities by marrying within their own ethnic groups.
   c. Quakers, the dominant social group in Pennsylvania and western New Jersey, were pacifists who believed in local governance, participatory government, and social equality.
   d. The Quaker vision attracted many Germans who were fleeing war, religious persecution, and poverty. Many traveled through the redemptioner system, a flexible form of indentured servitude that allowed families to negotiate their own terms upon arrival.
   e. Germans guarded their language and cultural heritage, encouraging their children to marry within the community.
   f. German immigrants in general supported Britain’s German-born and German-speaking Protestant monarchs, George I and George II.

2. Scots-Irish Settlers
   a. Emigrants from Ireland formed the largest group of incoming Europeans.
   b. Some were Irish and Catholic, but most were Presbyterian Scots who had faced discrimination and economic regulation in Ireland.
   c. Thousands of Scots-Irish sailed for Philadelphia beginning in the 1720s, first moving to central Pennsylvania and southward down the Shenandoah Valley into Maryland and Virginia.
   d. The Scots-Irish also preserved their culture, holding firm to the Presbyterian faith.

C. Religion and Politics

1. German ministers criticized the separation of church and state in Pennsylvania, believing the church needed legal power to enforce morality.

3. Communal sanctions sustained a self-contained and prosperous Quaker community.
4. In the 1740s, the Scots-Irish Presbyterians challenged Quaker political dominance by demanding a more aggressive Indian policy.
5. Many German migrants opposed the Quakers because they were denied fair representation in the assembly and wanted laws that respected their inheritance customs.
6. Despite the region’s ample opportunity for economic success, cultural and religious diversity in the Middle Atlantic prefigured the ethnic and social conflicts that would characterize much of American society in the centuries to come.

III. Commerce, Culture, and Identity

A. Transportation and the Print Revolution
1. Improved transportation networks allowed Britain to dominate North Atlantic shipping.
2. Although difficult and costly to construct, the colonial road network improved and greatly expanded.
3. People, produce, finished merchandise, and information traveled along these water and land routes.
4. In 1695, Parliament ended censorship. The resulting print revolution contributed to the Enlightenment and Pietism.
5. The colonies supplemented European print material by printing their own newspapers.

B. The Enlightenment in America
1. The European Enlightenment
   a. Many early Americans believed in folk wisdom, while others relied on a religion that believed the earth was the center of the universe and that God intervened directly and continuously in all kinds of human affairs.
   b. Copernicus’s discovery that the earth traveled around the sun and Isaac Newton’s scientific explanation of planetary movements around the sun challenged the traditional Christian perception of the universe.
   c. In the century between Newton’s Principia Mathematica (1687) and the French Revolution in 1789, the philosophers of the European Enlightenment used empirical research and scientific reasoning to study all aspects of life, including social institutions and human behavior.
   d. Enlightenment thinkers advanced four fundamental principles: the lawlike order of the natural world, the power of human reason, the “natural rights” of individuals (including the right to self-government), and the progressive improvement of society.
   e. John Locke proposed that human lives were not fixed but could be changed through education and purposeful action.
   f. In Locke’s Two Treatises of Government (1690), he advanced the theory that political authority was not divinely ordained but rather sprang from social compacts that people made to preserve their natural rights to life, liberty, and property.
   g. European Enlightenment ideas began to affect colonists’ beliefs about science, religion, and politics.
2. Franklin’s Contributions
   a. Benjamin Franklin exemplified the American Enlightenment by founding the Pennsylvania Gazette and establishing the American Philosophical Society, as well as inventing bifocal lenses, the Franklin stove, and the lightning rod.
   b. Like several influential colonists, Franklin turned to deism, the belief that God had created the world and then allowed it to run in accordance with natural laws without his intervention.
   c. Although a former slave owner, Franklin began to question slavery.
   d. The Enlightenment added a secular dimension to colonial intellectual life.

C. American Pietism and the Great Awakening
1. New England Revivalism
   a. While educated Americans turned to deism, other colonists turned to Pietism, which came to America with German migrants in the 1720s and sparked a religious revival.
   b. Pietism emphasized pious behavior, religious emotion, and the striving for a mystical union with God.
   c. In Pennsylvania and New Jersey, the Dutch minister Theodore Jacob Frelinghuysen preached rousing, emotional sermons to German settlers.

2. Whitefield’s Great Awakening
   a. Beginning in 1739, the compelling George Whitefield, a follower of John Wesley’s preaching style, transformed local revivals into a “Great Awakening.”
   b. Hundreds of colonists felt the “new light” of God’s grace and were eager to spread Whitefield’s message throughout their communities.
   c. Printers published Whitefield’s travel accounts, conversion narratives, and sermons and reinforced the Great Awakening.

D. Religious Upheaval in the North
   1. Conservative ministers, or Old Lights, condemned the preaching of traveling New Light ministers for their emotionalism and for allowing women to speak in public.
   2. In Connecticut, traveling preachers were prohibited from speaking to established congregations without the ministers’ consent.
   3. Some farmers, women, and artisans condemned the Old Lights as “unconverted” sinners.
   4. The Awakening undermined support of traditional churches and challenged their tax-supported status; “separatist” churches were founded that favored the separation of church and state.
   5. The Awakening gave a new sense of religious authority to many colonists through its challenge to the authority of ministers and reaffirmed communal values as it questioned the pursuit of wealth.
   6. One tangible and lasting product of the Awakening was the founding of colleges—including Princeton, Rutgers, Columbia, and Brown—to train ministers for various denominations.
   7. The true intellectual legacy of the Awakening was not education for the few but a new sense of religious—and ultimately political—authority among the many.

E. Social and Religious Conflict in the South
   1. The Presbyterian Revival
      a. The Great Awakening in the South challenged both the dominance of the Church of England and the planter elite.
      b. Freeholders threatened the social authority of the Virginia gentry by leaving the established church for New Light revivals.
      c. Anglicans closed down Presbyterian meeting houses to prevent the spread of the New Light doctrine.
   2. The Baptist Insurgency
      a. During the 1760s, enthusiastic Baptist revivals attracted many farm families, most of whom participated in adult baptisms.
      b. African Americans embraced the Baptist message of equality and attended revivals when possible, but the House of Burgesses imposed heavy fines for preaching to slaves without their owners’ permission.
      c. The gentry reacted violently to the Baptist threat to their social authority and way of life, though Baptist congregations continued to multiply.
      d. The revival in the Chesapeake did not bring radical changes to the social order; Baptist men kept church authority in the hands of “free born male members.”
      e. As Baptist ministers spread Christianity among slaves, the revival helped to shrink the cultural gulf between blacks and whites, undermining one justification for slavery and giving blacks a new religious identity.

IV. The Midcentury Challenge: War, Trade, and Social Conflict, 1750–1765
   A. The French and Indian War
      1. Conflict in the Ohio Valley
         a. By 1750, French claims in the Ohio Valley had become tenuous as allied Indians tribes had either moved out of the area or had begun to associate with British traders.
         b. The Ohio Company of Virginia obtained a royal grant of 200,000 acres along the upper Ohio River—land controlled by Indians.
         c. Britain relied on the Iroquois Confederacy for trade and negotiations with other Indians.
d. To counter Britain’s movement into the Ohio Valley, the French set up a series of forts.
e. The French seized George Washington and his men as they tried to support the Ohio Company’s claim to the land.

2. The Albany Congress
   a. To mend relations with the Iroquois who were upset that the British, French, and other Native Americans acted without Iroquois consent, the British Board of Trade called a meeting at Albany in June 1754.
   b. Benjamin Franklin proposed a “Plan of Union” among the colonies to counter French expansion. The plan called for a centralized authority to manage trade, Indian policy, and colonial defense, but it did not receive serious consideration at this meeting.

3. The War Hawks Win
   a. Although fearful of increased debt and tax burdens, members of Parliament dispatched forces to America, where they joined with the colonial militia in attacking French forts.
   b. In June 1755, British and New England troops captured Fort Beauséjour in Nova Scotia (Acadia) and deported 10,000 French Catholic Acadians to France, Louisiana, or the West Indies.
   c. In July, General Edward Braddock and his British and colonial troops were soundly defeated by a small group of French and Indians at Fort Duquesne.

B. The Great War for Empire
1. By 1756, the fighting in America had spread to Europe, where it arrayed France, Spain, and Austria against Britain and Prussia in a conflict known as the Seven Years’ War in Europe and the French and Indian War in the colonies.
2. William Pitt, a committed expansionist, planned to cripple France by attacking its colonies.
3. The fall of Quebec, the heart of France’s American empire, was the turning point of the war.
4. The British ousted French traders from India, seized French territory in West Africa as well as the sugar islands of Martinique and Guadeloupe, and won Cuba and the Philippines from Spain.
5. The Treaty of Paris of 1763 granted British sovereignty over half the continent of North America; French territory was reduced to a handful of islands in the West Indies and two islands off the coast of Newfoundland.
7. In 1763, the Ottawa chief Pontiac led a group of loosely confederated tribes in a major uprising known as “Pontiac’s Rebellion” against the British.
8. The Indian alliance gradually weakened, and they accepted the British as their new political “fathers.”
9. In return, the British established the Proclamation Line of 1763, barring settlers from going west of the Appalachians.

C. British Industrial Growth and the Consumer Revolution
1. Britain had unprecedented economic resources, and by 1750, its combination of strong commerce and industry made it the most powerful nation in the world.
2. The new machines and business practices of the Industrial Revolution allowed Britain to sell goods at lower prices, particularly in the mainland colonies.
3. Americans paid for British imports by increasing their exports of wheat, rice, and tobacco.
4. This increased trade resulted in a consumer revolution that raised the living standard of many Americans.
5. The first American spending binge landed many colonists in debt.
6. The loss of military subsidies prompted an economic recession.
7. Through the increase in transatlantic trade, Americans had become more dependent on overseas creditors and international economic conditions.

D. The Struggle for Land in the East
1. The growth of the colonial population caused conflicts over land, particularly in Pennsylvania and Connecticut; settlers from the two colonies asserted their claims by burning down their rivals’ houses and barns.
2. Wappinger Indians, Massachusetts migrants, and Dutch settlers all tried to claim manor lands in the Hudson River Valley; mob violence erupted but was quashed by local sheriffs, manorial bailiffs, and British troops.
3. English aristocrats in New Jersey and the southern colonies successfully asserted legal claims to land based on outdated charters.
4. Proprietary power increased the resemblance between rural societies in Europe and America.
5. Tenants and freeholders looked westward for cheap freehold land near the Appalachian Mountains.

E. Western Rebels and Regulators
   1. The South Carolina Regulators
      a. Movement to the western frontier created new disputes over Indian policy, political representation, and debts.
      b. In Pennsylvania, Scots-Irish demands for the expulsion of Indians and the ensuing massacre led by the Paxton Boys left a legacy of racial hatred and political resentment.
      c. In 1763, landowning vigilantes known as the South Carolina Regulators demanded greater political rights, local courts, and fairer taxes. Although they gained a few concessions such as new courts and lower document fees, they failed to wrest power from the eastern elite.
   2. Civil Strife in North Carolina
      a. In 1766, a more radical Regulator movement arose in the backcountry of North Carolina, caused by plummeting tobacco prices that forced debt-ridden farmers into court.
      b. To save their farms, debtors joined with the Regulators to intimidate judges, close courts, and free their comrades from jail.
      c. The Regulators demanded lower fees and taxes as well as greater representation in the assembly.
      d. The royal governor mobilized the eastern militia against the Regulator force, which resulted in the defeat of the Regulators and the execution of their leaders.
      e. Tied to Britain, yet growing resistant toward its control, America had the potential for independent existence. British policies would play a crucial role in determining the future direction of the maturing colonies.

Sources for America’s History
The following documents are available in Chapter 4 of the companion reader Sources for America’s History by Kevin B. Sheets, SUNY, Cortland:

- A Revivalist Warns against Old Light Ministers: Gilbert Tennent, The Danger of an Unconverted Ministry (1740)
- Sarah Osborn on Her Experiences during the Religious Revivals: Sarah Osborn, Memoirs of the Life of Mrs. Sarah Osborn (1814)
- Franklin Calls for Colonial Unity: Benjamin Franklin, Albany Plan of Union (1754)
- Colonists Argue for an Alliance with Indians against the French: State of the British and French Colonies in North America (1755)
- The North Carolina Regulators Protest British Control: Petition from the Inhabitants of Orange County, North Carolina (1770)

PART THREE

REVOLUTION AND REPUBLICAN CULTURE
AP PERIODIZATION AND KEY CONCEPTS

Period 3: 1754–1800

AP U.S. History Key Concepts

3.1 Britain’s victory over France in the Great War for Empire led to new conflicts among the British, North American colonists, and Native Americans.
3.2 Experiments with democratic ideas and republican forms of government challenged traditional imperial systems.
3.3 Migration, cultural interactions, and competition for resources intensified conflicts over land and led to questions about a national identity.

Assessment Weight on the AP U.S. History Exam: 45% (Periods 2–5)

PART LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After you’ve taught this part, your students should be able to answer the following “Big Idea” questions:

Chapter 5: The Problem of Empire, 1763–1776

Consider whether the collapse of British authority in the thirteen rebellious colonies might have been avoided through compromise measures and more astute leadership. Was colonial independence inevitable, and was war the only way to achieve it?

Chapter 6: Making War and Republican Governments, 1776–1789

How revolutionary was the American Revolution? What political, social, and economic changes did it produce, and what stayed the same?

PART THEMES

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<th>PEOPLING</th>
<th>POLITICS AND POWER</th>
<th>IDEAS, BELIEFS, AND CULTURE</th>
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<td>Migration into the Ohio Valley after Pontiac’s Rebellion</td>
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<td>Patriots call for American unity</td>
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<td>Manufacturing expands during the war</td>
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<td>Cutoff of trade and severe inflation threaten economy</td>
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<td>War debt grows</td>
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<td>Declining immigration from Europe (1775–1820) enhances American identity</td>
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<td>African American slaves seek freedom through military service</td>
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<td>The Declaration of Independence (1776)</td>
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<td>States adopt republican constitutions (1776 on)</td>
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<td>Articles of Confederation ratified (1781)</td>
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<td>Treaty of Paris (1783)</td>
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<td>Judith Sargent Murray publishes <em>On the Equality of the Sexes</em> (1779)</td>
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<td>Emancipation of slaves begins in the North</td>
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<td>Virginia enacts religious freedom (1786)</td>
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<td>Thomas Paine’s <em>Common Sense</em> (1776) causes colonists to rethink political loyalties</td>
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<td>States rely on property qualifications to define citizenship rights in their new constitutions</td>
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| 1787 |
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| Bank of North America founded (1781) |
| Land speculation increases in the West |
| State cessions, land ordinances, and Indian wars create national domain in the West |
| The Alien Acts make it harder for immigrants to become citizens and allow for deporting aliens (1798) |
| U.S. Constitution drafted (1787) |
| Conflict over Alexander Hamilton’s economic policies |
| First national parties: Federalists and Republicans |
| Politicians and ministers deny vote to women; praise republican motherhood |
| Bill of Rights ratified (1791) |
| Sedition Act limits freedom of the press (1798) |
| Indians form Western Confederacy (1790) |
| Second Great Awakening (1790–1860) |
| Emerging political divide between South and North |

| 1800 |
|-------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------|
| Cotton output and demand for African labor expands |
| Farm productivity improves |
| Embargo encourages U.S. manufacturing |
| Second Bank of the United States chartered (1816–1836) |
| Supreme Court guards property |
| Suffrage for white men expands; New Jersey retracts suffrage for propertied women (1807) |
| Atlantic slave trade ends (1808) |
| American Colonization Society founded (1817) |
| Jefferson reduces activism of national government |
| Chief Justice Marshall asserts federal judicial powers |
| Triumph of Republican Party and end of Federalist Party |
| Free blacks enhance sense of African American identity |
| Religious benevolence engenders social reform movements |
| Tenskwatawa and Tecumseh revive Western Indian Confederacy |
| War of 1812 tests national unity |
| State constitutions democratized |
The Problem of Empire
1763–1776

AP PERIODIZATION AND KEY CONCEPTS

Period 3: 1754–1800

AP U.S. History Key Concepts

3.1 Britain’s victory over France in the Great War for Empire led to new conflicts among the British, North American colonists, and Native Americans.
   • Native groups adjusted alliances with Europeans and other native peoples.
   • A colonial independence movement emerged and war broke out as a result of British attempts to consolidate imperial control over the colonies.

3.2 Experiments with democratic ideas and republican forms of government challenged traditional imperial systems.
   • New ideas about politics and society led to debates about religion and governance and inspired experiments with new structures of government.

CHAPTER LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After reading and studying this chapter, students should be able to:

1. Explain how the Great War for Empire changed Britain’s relationship with its colonies.
2. Analyze the intellectual, political, and economic rationales colonists offered for their dissatisfaction with British rule between 1763 and 1776.
3. Evaluate how tension and disagreement between colonists and British officials became outright resistance and rebellion by 1776.
4. Understand why the colonies and Britain failed to achieve a compromise to avert hostilities.

ANNOTATED CHAPTER OUTLINE

The following annotated chapter outline will help you review the major topics covered in this chapter.

I. An Empire Transformed
   A. The Costs of Empire
      1. Britain’s national debt soared as a result of the Great War for Empire, and to pay it off, higher import duties were imposed at home, and excise levies (a kind of sales tax) were increased; the increases were passed on to British consumers.
      2. To collect taxes, the size of the British bureaucracy was doubled and its powers increased. Smugglers were arrested and cargo was seized.
3. The price of empire had turned out to be debt and a more intrusive government. To reverse the growth of government power, British opposition parties (the Country Party and the Radical Whigs) demanded that Parliament be made more representative of the property-owning classes.

4. The war also exposed the weak authority of British royal governors and officials; to assert its authority, Parliament passed a Revenue Act in 1762 that curbed corruption in the customs service, and the Royal Navy was instructed to seize vessels that were carrying goods between the mainland colonies and the French islands.

5. The British victory over the French resulted in a shift in imperial military policy; in 1763, the ministry deployed a peacetime army in North America, indicating its willingness to use force to preserve its authority over all the inhabitants of the colonies.

6. Ministers believed that the colonists, who gained most of the benefits from the war, should also pay their fair share of the expenses accrued during and after the conflict.

B. George Grenville and the Reform Impulse

1. The Sugar Act
   a. Reform-minded Prime Minister George Grenville won approval of the Currency Act of 1764 that banned the use of paper money as legal tender, thereby protecting the British merchants from colonial currency that was not worth its face value.
   b. Grenville then proposed the Sugar Act of 1764 (a new Navigation Act) to replace the widely evaded Molasses Act of 1733.
   c. Americans, arguing that the Sugar Act would wipe out rum distilleries, vowed to disobey the law.

2. The End of Salutary Neglect
   a. Americans also argued that the Sugar Act was contrary to their Constitution, since it established a tax and “all taxes ought to originate with the people.”
   b. The Sugar Act closed a Navigation Act loophole by extending the jurisdiction of vice-admiralty courts to all customs offenses, many of which had previously been tried before local common-law courts.
   c. After living under a policy of salutary neglect, Americans believed that the new British policies were discriminatory and deprived them of their basic rights as British citizens.
   d. British officials insisted on the supremacy of parliamentary laws and denied that colonists were entitled to even the traditional legal rights of Englishmen, such as the right of no taxation without representation; the Americans, as colonists, were second-class subjects of the king.

C. An Open Challenge: The Stamp Act

1. Taxation sparked the first great imperial crisis; Grenville followed the Sugar Act of 1764 with a proposal for a Stamp Act in 1765.

2. The Stamp Act would require small, printed markings on all court documents, land titles, and various other documents and served as revenue to keep British troops in America.

3. Benjamin Franklin proposed American representation in Parliament, but British officials rejected the idea, arguing that Americans received virtual representation in Parliament.

4. Grenville introduced the Stamp Act in Parliament with the goals being to not only raise revenue but to also assert the right of Parliament to lay an internal tax on the colonies.

5. Parliament also passed, at the request of General Thomas Gage, the Quartering Act of 1765 directing colonial governments to provide barracks and food for the British troops stationed in the colonies. Parliament also approved Grenville’s proposal that violations of the Stamp Act be tried in vice-admiralty courts.

6. Using the doctrine of parliamentary supremacy, Grenville’s attempt to fashion an imperial system in America provoked a constitutional confrontation with the colonies on taxation, jury trials, military quartering, and the general question of representative self-government.

II. The Dynamics of Rebellion, 1765–1770

A. Formal Protests and the Politics of the Crowd

1. The Stamp Act Congress
   a. Patriots—defenders of American rights—organized protests, rioted, and articulated an ideology of resistance.
b. Several colonial assemblies issued formal protests condemning the Stamp Act as a violation of American freedoms.

c. Nine colonies sent delegates to the Stamp Act Congress of 1765 and issued a set of Resolves challenging the constitutionality of the Stamp and Sugar Acts, declaring that only the colonists’ elected representatives could tax them and speaking against the loss of American “rights and liberties,” especially trial by jury.

d. Most delegates were moderate men who sought compromise, not confrontation; they humbly petitioned for repeal of the Stamp Act. Several also called for a boycott of British goods.

2. Crowd Actions

a. Angry colonial mobs, led by men who called themselves the Sons of Liberty, demanded the resignation of tax collectors and destroyed the property of supporters of imperial authority. Shopkeepers, artisans, laborers, and seamen intimidated royal officials throughout the colonies.

3. The Motives of the Crowd

a. Rioters had many reasons for protesting—resentment toward military officers, religious passions that ignited dislike of the arrogance and corruption of royal bureaucrats, and simply the excitement of it.

b. Popular resistance throughout the colonies nullified the Stamp Act; this success confirmed the Patriot ideology that political authority rose through the people.

B. The Ideological Roots of Resistance

1. Although initial American protests focused on particular economic and political matters, patriot lawyers and publicists also provided the resistance movement with an intellectual rationale, a political agenda, and a visible cadre of leaders.

2. Patriot publicists drew on three intellectual traditions: English common law, the rationalist thought of the Enlightenment, and an ideological agenda based on the republican and Whig strands of the English political tradition.

3. Writings espousing these traditions turned a series of riots and tax protests into a coherent political movement.

C. Another Kind of Freedom

1. The Patriot rhetoric of colonists becoming the slaves of Parliament through taxation without representation inspired the first expressions of opposition to slavery as a violation of human rights and motivated slaves in northern colonies to file petitions to end slavery.

2. Southern slave holders, fearful of ending slavery for economic reasons, suppressed language referring to the natural rights for human beings.

3. African Americans did not gain rights or true liberty during the struggle for colonial independence.

D. Parliament and Patriots Square Off Again

1. Charles Townshend Steps In

a. In Parliament, the new prime minister Lord Rockingham mollified colonists by repealing the Stamp Act and modifying the Sugar Act, but he pacified hard-liners with the Declaratory Act of 1766, which reaffirmed Parliament’s authority to make laws binding American colonists.

b. Chancellor of the exchequer Charles Townshend strongly favored restrictions on colonial assemblies and promised to find a new source of English tax revenue in America. To secure revenue for the salaries of imperial officials in the colonies, the Townshend Act of 1767 imposed duties on paper, paint, glass, and tea imported to America. The Revenue Act of 1767 created a board of customs commissioners in Boston and vice-admiralty courts in Halifax, Boston, Philadelphia, and Charleston.

c. By using parliamentary-imposed tax revenues to finance administrative and judicial innovations, Townshend directly threatened the autonomy and authority of American political institutions.

d. To limit colonial constitutional debate over internal taxation, Townshend levied duties only on trade, a type of tax colonists had traditionally not opposed.

2. A Second Boycott and the Daughters of Liberty

a. Townshend’s measures turned American resistance into an organized boycott of British goods.
b. Colonial women, traditionally concerned with the community’s wellbeing, organized into groups—such as the Daughters of Liberty—and supported the nonimportation movement by expanding domestic production through the increase in homespun cloth. Such activism brought women into the public sphere.

c. The boycott also mobilized colonial assemblies into political action. Surveillance, coercion, and harassment of merchants and customers who resisted the movement contributed to divisions within colonial society.

3. Troops to Boston

a. American resistance only increased British determination. In 1765, American resistance to taxation had provoked a parliamentary debate; in 1768, it produced a plan for military coercion and resulted in the sending of 2,000 British troops to Boston.

E. The Problem of the West

1. British government officials also debated the issue of land in the West acquired through the Treaty of Paris in 1763, the Proclamation Line that divided colonists from Indians, and the three new colonies of Quebec, East Florida, and West Florida.

2. Gentlemen speculators desiring investments, officers paid for their service during the Seven Years’ War in land warrants, Indian traders wishing to sell land grants they received from Ohio Indians, and countless squatters contributed to a sizable migration into the Ohio River Valley.

3. Ohio Indians hoped to stem this movement by organizing the Scioto Confederacy.

4. Colonial secretary Hillsborough intended to turn the Proclamation Line from a temporary into a permanent demarcation.

5. Colonial migrants, confused and frustrated by this policy change, vowed to protect their property rights.

F. Parliament Wavers

1. The Boston Massacre

a. The American trade boycott began to have a major impact on the British economy. The rising trade deficit with the Americans convinced some British merchants to petition Parliament that the Townshend duties were a mistake.

b. Early in 1770, Lord North persuaded Parliament to accept a compromise plan that repealed the duties on manufactured items but retained the tax on tea as a symbol of Parliament’s supremacy.

c. The Boston Massacre, the killing of five Bostonians by British soldiers on March 5, 1770, created much resentment toward the crown and Parliament.

2. Sovereignty Debated

a. By 1770, the most outspoken Patriots had repudiated parliamentary supremacy, claiming equality for the American assemblies within the empire.

b. Royal governors such as Thomas Hutchinson insisted that Parliament had supreme power.

c. Some Americans were prepared to resist by force if Parliament or the king insisted on exercising Britain’s claim to sovereign power.

III. The Road to Independence, 1771–1776

A. A Compromise Repudiated

1. The East India Company and the Tea Act

a. Samuel Adams established a committee of correspondence and formed a communication network between Massachusetts towns that stressed colonial rights. The burning of the customs vessel Gaspée roused other states such as Virginia, Connecticut, South Carolina, and New Hampshire to set up their own committees of correspondence that would communicate with other colonies.

b. The committees sprang into action after the passage of the Tea Act, which relieved the British East India Company of paying duties on tea it imported to Britain or exported to the colonies.

c. The Tea Act made the East India Company’s tea less expensive than Dutch tea, which Americans had smuggled into the colonies.

d. Radical Patriots accused the ministry of bribing Americans to give up their principled opposition to British taxation.
2. The Tea Party and the Coercive Acts
   a. The Patriots effectively nullified the Tea Act by forcing the East India Company’s ships to return tea to Britain or to store it in public warehouses. In response to Massachusetts governor Hutchinson’s insistence to land a shipment of tea and collect the tax, a group of Patriots threw the tea into Boston Harbor.
   b. In 1774, Parliament reacted to this defiance by enacting four Coercive Acts to force Massachusetts into submission.
   c. The four Coercive Acts included the Boston Port Bill that closed Boston Harbor to shipping; the Massachusetts Government Act that annulled the colony’s charter and prohibited most town meetings; a new Quartering Act that mandated new barracks for British troops; and a Justice Act that allowed trials for capital crimes to be transferred to other colonies or to Britain. Patriot leaders branded these measures “Intolerable.”
   d. The activities of the committees of correspondence created a sense of unity among Patriots.
   e. Many colonial leaders saw the Quebec Act (1774) as another demonstration of Parliament’s power to intervene in American domestic affairs, since it extended Quebec into territory claimed by American colonies and recognized Roman Catholicism.

B. The Continental Congress Responds
1. Delegates from twelve colonies created the Continental Congress, a new colonial assembly, and met in Philadelphia in September 1774 to address a set of controversial and divisive issues.
2. Pennsylvanian Joseph Galloway proposed that America should have a president-general appointed by the king and a national legislative council selected by the colonial assemblies.
3. The plan was rejected by a single vote and was seen by a bare majority as being too conciliatory.
4. Instead, the First Continental Congress demanded the repeal of the Coercive Acts and repudiated the Declaratory Act, stipulating that British control be limited to matters of trade.
5. The Congress initiated a program of economic retaliation, beginning with a nonimportation agreement that went into effect in December 1774.
6. The British ministry branded the Continental Congress an illegal assembly and refused to send commissioners to America to negotiate.
7. The ministry declared that Americans had to pay for their own defense and administration and acknowledge Parliament’s authority to tax them; it also imposed a naval blockade on American trade with foreign nations and ordered General Gage to suppress dissent in Massachusetts.

C. The Rising of the Countryside
1. The Continental Association
   a. Ultimately, the success of the urban-led Patriot movement would depend on the actions of the large rural population.
   b. At first, most farmers had little interest in imperial issues, but the French and Indian War, which had taken their sons for military duty and pre- and post-war taxes, changed their attitudes.
   c. The urban-led boycotts of 1765 and 1769 had also raised the political consciousness of many rural Americans through the establishment of the Continental Association and its rural committees.
   d. Patriots also appealed to the yeomen tradition of agricultural independence, as many northern yeomen felt personally threatened by British imperial policy.
2. Southern Planters Fear Dependency
   a. Despite their higher standard of living, southern slave owners had fears similar to those of the yeomen. As believers in English liberties and owners of slaves, they feared that their debts to British merchants would lead to political subjugation.
   b. Southerners also realized that Parliament could use the Coercive Acts to end representative assemblies and seize private property.

D. Loyalists and Neutrals
1. Many prominent Americans worried that resistance to Britain would destroy respect for all political institutions, ending in mob rule.
2. Other social groups, such as tenant farmers and the Regulators, refused to support the resistance movement, arguing that wealthy Patriots intended to advance their own special interests.

3. Many colonists, such as the Quakers and Germans, opposed any violence based on religious conviction. Others attempted to stay neutral to protect property and livelihood.

4. Although an estimated 15 to 20 percent of white Americans remained loyal to the crown, Americans who favored resistance to British rule commanded the allegiance—or at least the acquiescence—of the majority of white Americans.

IV. Violence East and West

A. Lord Dunmore’s War
   1. General Gage’s abandonment of Fort Pitt in October 1772 left settlers exposed and vulnerable to Indian attacks.
   2. Lord Dunmore, the royal governor of Virginia, used this opportunity to defy the crown and empower himself by organizing and training a militia. In 1775, Dunmore led this militia into successful battle against the Ohio Shawnees at Point Pleasant and claimed Kentucky.
   3. Settlers in the backcountry supported this action, arguing that they were independent because the crown had abandoned them.

B. Armed Resistance in Massachusetts
   1. When the Continental Congress met in 1774, New England was already in open defiance of British authority.
   2. In September, General Gage ordered British troops to seize Patriot armories and storehouses at Charleston and Cambridge.
   3. In response, 20,000 colonial militiamen mobilized to safeguard supply depots, the most famous regiment being the Minutemen of Concord.
   4. On April 18, 1775, Gage dispatched 700 soldiers to capture colonial leaders and supplies at Concord.
   5. Forewarned by Paul Revere and others, the local militiamen met the British first at Lexington and then at Concord.
   6. As the British retreated, militiamen ambushed them from neighboring towns with both sides suffering losses.
   7. Twelve years of economic conflict and constitutional debate ended in civil war.

C. The Second Continental Congress Organizes for War
   1. Congress Versus King George
      a. In May 1775, Patriots met in the Second Continental Congress to address the events at Lexington and Concord.
      b. After losing battles at Breed’s Hill and Bunker Hill, Congress created a continental army headed by General George Washington.
      c. Moderates led by John Dickinson of Pennsylvania passed a petition that expressed loyalty to the king and requested the repeal of oppressive parliamentary legislation.
      d. Zealous Patriots such as John Adams and Patrick Henry won passage of a Declaration of the Causes and Necessities of Taking Up Arms.
      e. The king refused the moderates’ petition and issued a Proclamation for Suppressing Rebellion and Sedition in August 1775.
      f. Hoping to add a fourteenth colony to the rebellion, the Patriot forces invaded Canada and easily took Montreal in September; but in December 1775, they failed to capture Quebec City and withdrew.
      g. American merchants cut off all exports to Britain and its West Indian sugar islands, and Parliament retaliated with a Prohibitory Act, banning all trade with the rebellious colonies.
   2. Fighting in the South
      a. Lord Dunmore of Virginia organized two military forces—one white, one black—and offered freedom to slaves and indentured servants who joined the Loyalist cause.
      b. Faced with black unrest and pressed by yeomen and tenant farmers demanding independence, Patriot planters called for a break with Britain.
      c. By April 1776, radical Patriots had, through military conflict, transformed the North Carolina assembly into an independent Provincial Congress, which instructed its representatives to support independence. By May 1776, Virginia Patriots had followed suit.
3. Occupying Kentucky
   a. After Dunmore’s War in 1775, independent parties of settlers, such as Daniel Boone, moved into Kentucky and established fortlike settlements to protect their communities from the Ohio Indians.
   b. In 1776, Virginia fulfilled the migrants’ request to be annexed by creating six frontier counties and supplying them with munitions. The Continental Congress supported this decision and dispatched troops and arms to the area.

D. Thomas Paine’s *Common Sense*
   1. Many colonists believed that opportunity for negotiations with Parliament still existed. John Dickinson convinced Congress in July 1775 to send King George III the Olive Branch Petition, which pleaded with the king to negotiate.
   2. In January 1776, Thomas Paine published *Common Sense*—a call for independence and republicanism.
   3. *Common Sense* aroused the general public and quickly turned thousands of Americans against British rule.
   4. Paine’s message was not only popular but also clear—reject the arbitrary and tyrannical powers of the king and Parliament and create independent republican states.

E. Independence Declared
   1. On July 4, 1776, the Congress approved a Declaration of Independence.
   2. Thomas Jefferson, the main author of the Declaration, justified the revolt by blaming the rupture on George III rather than on Parliament.
   3. Jefferson proclaimed that “all men are created equal”; they possess the rights of “life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness”; and that government derives its power from the “consent of the governed.”
   4. By linking these doctrines of individual liberty, popular sovereignty, and republican government with independence, Jefferson established them as defining values of the new nation.
   5. Colonists celebrated the Declaration by burning George III in effigy and toppling statues of the king; these acts helped to break the ties to the monarch and to establish the legitimacy of republican state governments.

CHAPTER 6

Making War and Republican Governments
1776–1789

AP PERIODIZATION AND KEY CONCEPTS

Period 3: 1754–1800
AP U.S. History Key Concepts

3.1 Conflicts among the British government, North American colonists, and Native Americans after the Great War for Empire culminated in the creation of the United States.
   • British colonies united in an independence movement and war with Britain.

3.2 Experiments with democratic ideas and republican forms of government challenged traditional imperial systems.
   • New ideas led to debates about and experiments with new structures of government.
   • American leaders wrote a new Constitution and continued debates about the balance between liberty and order.
   • Ideas promoting greater political democracy and personal liberty reverberated around the world.

3.3 Migration, cultural interactions, and competition for resources intensified conflicts over land and led to questions about a national identity.
   • Regional identities were challenged by calls for a new national identity, leading to the emergence of a distinctly American culture.

CHAPTER LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After reading and studying this chapter, students should be able to:

1. Understand how and why the Americans won the War for Independence.
2. Evaluate the limitations of the Articles of Confederation.
3. Identify and analyze the contours of the debate over the ratification of the Constitution in 1787.
4. Understand why Shays’s Rebellion took place.

ANOTATED CHAPTER OUTLINE

The following annotated chapter outline will help you review the major topics covered in this chapter.

I. The Trials of War, 1776–1778
   A. War in the North
      1. Few observers thought that the rebels stood a chance of defeating the British; Great Britain had more people and more money with which to fight.
      2. Few Indians supported the rebels; they were opposed to the expansion of white settlement.
      3. The British were seasoned troops, and the Americans were militarily weak.
      4. Prime Minister North assembled a large invasion force and selected General William Howe to lead it; North ordered Howe to capture New York City and seize control of the Hudson River to isolate the radical Patriots in New England from the other colonies.
      5. General William Howe and his 32,000 British troops landed outside New York City in July 1776, just as the Continental Congress was declaring independence in Philadelphia.
      6. Outgunned and outmaneuvered, the Continental army retreated across the Hudson to New Jersey, then across the Delaware River to Philadelphia.
      7. The British halted their campaign for the winter months, which allowed the Continental army a few minor triumphs that still could not mask British military superiority.
   B. Armies and Strategies
      1. General Howe’s military strategy was one of winning the surrender of opposing forces, rather than destroying them; this tactic failed to stop the rebellion in its early stage.
      2. General Washington’s strategy was to draw the British away from the seacoast, extending their supply lines and draining their morale in a war of attrition.
      3. The Continental army drew most of its recruits from the lower ranks of society, the majority of whom fought for a bonus of cash and land rather than out of patriotism.
      4. The Continental army was also poorly provisioned and armed.
      5. Given all these handicaps, Washington was fortunate to escape an overwhelming defeat in the first year of the war.
C. Victory at Saratoga
1. The primary British goal, the isolation of New England, was to be achieved with the help of General John Burgoyne, a small force of Iroquois, and General Howe.
2. Howe had a scheme of his own; he wanted to attack Philadelphia—home of the Continental Congress—and end the rebellion with a single victory.
3. Although Howe took the city, the plan failed because Washington and his troops withdrew from Philadelphia, and the Continental Congress fled to the interior, determined to continue the fight.
4. After victory at Fort Ticonderoga, General Burgoyne, confident that his army would easily defeat the rebels, slowed his advance.
5. American militiamen cut British supply lines and surrounded Burgoyne’s forces near Saratoga, New York. After several skirmishes, Burgoyne surrendered to General Horatio Gates.
6. The American victory at Saratoga was the turning point of the war and virtually ensured the diplomatic success of a military alliance with France.

D. The Perils of War
1. Wartime difficulties after the victory at Saratoga included a British naval blockade that cut supplies of European manufactures, the occupation of Boston and other major cities, and rising unemployment for urban and rural workers.
2. Faced with a shortage of goods and rising prices, government officials began requisitioning goods directly from the people; women’s wartime efforts increased farm household productivity and also boosted their self-esteem (and prompted some women to expect greater rights in the new republican society).
3. Product scarcity contributed to inflation.
4. The fighting exposed tens of thousands of civilians to displacement and death. Soldiers from both armies looted, raped, and burned farms. Civilians on both sides punished those they deemed disloyal by imposing taxes, fines, and beatings.

E. Financial Crisis
1. On the brink of bankruptcy, the new state governments printed paper money that was worth very little.
2. Lacking the authority to impose taxes, the Continental Congress borrowed gold from France. When those funds were exhausted, Congress also printed currency and bills of credit, which quickly declined in value.
3. Inflation contributed to social unrest and rising fears that the rebellion would collapse.

F. Valley Forge
1. Farmers refused to sell their crops for worthless currency, even to the Continental army. Either out of pacifism or the hopes of higher prices, farmers hoarded their grains or accepted gold or silver for their crops that only the British could pay.
2. Military morale crumbled as the Continental army suffered from lack of necessities; the winter of 1777–1778 at Valley Forge took as many lives as two years of fighting.
3. To counter falling morale, Baron von Steuben instituted a system of drill and maneuver that shaped the smaller Continental army into a much tougher and better-disciplined force.

II. The Path to Victory, 1778–1783
A. The French Alliance
1. Although France and America were unlikely partners, the French were intent on avenging their loss of Canada to Britain in the French and Indian War.
2. Upon learning of the American victory at Saratoga, French foreign minister Comte de Vergennes sought a formal alliance with the Continental Congress.
3. The Treaty of Alliance of 1778 specified that neither France nor America would sign a separate peace agreement before America’s independence was ensured.
4. In return, American diplomats pledged that their government would recognize any French conquests in the West Indies.
5. Alliance with the French gave the American army access to supplies and money, strengthening the army and giving it new hope.
6. Upon the urging of Washington, Congress reluctantly agreed to grant officers half pay after the war for a period of seven years.

7. The war became increasingly unpopular in Britain.

8. In 1778, Parliament repealed the Tea and Prohibitory Acts and renounced its power to tax the colonies.

9. Due in part to America’s alliance with France, the Continental Congress rejected Britain’s offer to return to the constitutional condition that existed before the Sugar and Stamp Acts.

B. War in the South

1. Britain’s Southern Strategy
   a. American allies had ulterior motives for joining the war: France concentrated its forces in the West Indies because it wanted to capture a rich sugar island; Spain loaned naval assistance because it wanted to regain Florida and Gibraltar.
   b. The British strategy was to capture the rich tobacco and rice-growing colonies and to take advantage of racial divisions in the South.
   c. The Revolution became a “triangular war” because the British as well as the Americans recruited slaves to their militaries.
   d. By the end of 1779, Sir Henry Clinton and his men had reconquered Georgia, and in 1780, Lord Charles Cornwallis and his men took control of South Carolina.
   e. The tide of the battle turned when another republican-minded European aristocrat, the Marquis de Lafayette, convinced Louis XVI to send French troops to America.

2. Guerilla Warfare in the Carolinas
   a. General Nathanael Greene devised a new military strategy: divide the local militiamen into small groups with strong leaders so that they could harass the less mobile British.
   b. Weakened by the war of attrition, the British retreated, hoping for a decisive victory in Virginia.
   c. Abandoned by the British navy and surrounded by the French navy and Washington’s Continental army, Cornwallis surrendered at Yorktown in October 1781.
   d. Isolated diplomatically in Europe, stymied militarily in America, and lacking public support at home, Britain gave up prosecution of the war.

C. The Patriot Advantage

1. Angry members of Parliament demanded an explanation for how a mighty country such as Britain could be defeated by a motley colonial army; the ministry blamed the military leadership, pointing with some justification to a series of military blunders.

2. The Patriots had French support and, in George Washington, an inspired leader who kept morale from faltering and mobilized militiamen at crucial moments.

3. The American people, who tolerated inflation and deprecating paper currency, were crucial to victory.

D. Diplomatic Triumph

1. In the Treaty of Paris, signed in September 1783, Great Britain recognized independence of its seaboard colonies and relinquished claims to lands south of the Great Lakes.

2. This land, between the Appalachian Mountains and the Mississippi River, was the domain of undefeated, pro-British Indian peoples.

3. Leaving the Native Americans to their fate, British negotiators did not insist on a separate Indian territory. The Continental Congress and several states forced Indians to cede much of their land.

4. Other treaty provisions granted Americans North Atlantic fishing rights, forbade the British from “carrying away any negroes or other property,” and guaranteed freedom of navigation on the Mississippi to American citizens “forever.”

5. In return, the American government allowed British merchants to recover prewar debts and encouraged the state legislatures to return confiscated property to Loyalists and grant them citizenship.

6. The British made peace with France and Spain through the Treaty of Versailles.

7. Only Americans profited greatly from the treaties; they gained independence from Britain and access to the interior of the North American continent for settlement.
III. Creating Republican Institutions, 1776–1787

A. The State Constitutions: How Much Democracy?
   1. Pennsylvania’s Controversial Constitution
      a. In 1776, Congress urged Americans to suppress royal authority and establish new governing institutions by writing state constitutions to achieve republicanism.
      b. The Declaration of Independence stated that governments derive “their just powers from the consent of the governed.”
      c. Pennsylvania’s constitution abolished property owning as a test of citizenship, allowed all male taxpayers to vote and hold office, and created a unicameral (one-house) legislature with complete power.
      d. John Adams denounced the Pennsylvania unicameral legislature as “so democrical that it must produce confusion and every evil work.”
   2. Tempering Democracy
      a. In his *Thoughts on Government* (1776), Adams devised a system of government that dispersed authority by assigning lawmaking, administering, and judging to separate branches; called for a bicameral (two-house) legislature in which the upper house, filled with property-owning men, would check the power of the popular majorities in the lower house; and proposed an elected governor with the power to veto laws and an appointed—not elected—judiciary to review them.
      b. Conservative Patriots endorsed Adams’s system. The bicameral legislature emerged as the dominant branch of government, and state constitutions apportioned seats on the basis of population, but most states retained property qualifications for voting and office holding.
      c. Only in Vermont and Pennsylvania were radical Patriots able to take power and create truly democratic institutions; yet in all the new states, representative legislatures had more power and the day-to-day politics became much more responsive to the demands of average citizens.

B. Women Seek a Public Voice
   1. Upper-class women entered into the debate but remained second-class citizens unable to participate directly in politics.
   2. Although not demanding equality to men, women sought legal equality such as owning property and signing contracts.
   3. Most politicians ignored women’s requests, as did most men who insisted on traditional gender roles that empowered themselves.
   4. The republican quest for educated citizenry provided the avenue for the most important advances made by American women.

C. The War’s Losers: Loyalists, Native Americans, and Slaves
   1. While some Loyalist lands were either sold or given to Patriot tenants, in general the revolutionary upheaval did not alter the structure of rural communities.
   2. Social turmoil was greatest in the cities, as Patriot merchants replaced Loyalists at the top of the economic ladder.
   3. The war replaced a tradition-oriented economic elite—one that invested its profits from trade in real estate and became landlords—with a group of entrepreneurial-minded republican merchants who promoted new trading ventures and domestic manufacturing.
   4. The Revolution inspired yeomen and upstart entrepreneurs to demand property rights and access to land in the West from their new republican state governments.
   5. Native Americans challenged movement into the Ohio River Valley.
   6. Southern planters articulated Revolutionary principles to defend their right to human property.
   7. White Americans denied Native Americans and slaves the rights and liberties for which they had fought in the Revolution.

D. The Articles of Confederation
   1. Continuing Fiscal Crisis
      a. Congress approved in November 1777 the Articles of Confederation.
b. The Articles provided for a loose confederation in which each state retained its independence.
c. The confederation government had the authority to declare war and peace, make treaties, and adjudicate disputes between states, print money, and requisition funds from the states.
d. A major weakness under the Articles was that Congress lacked the authority to impose taxes.
e. Disputes between the states over land claims in the West delayed ratification of the Articles until 1781.
f. Robert Morris persuaded Congress to charter the Bank of North America in the hope that its notes would stabilize the inflated Continental currency.
g. The Confederation refused Morris’s proposal for an import duty to raise revenues for the national government.
h. Instead, Congress asserted the Confederation’s title to the trans-Appalachian west in order to sell it and raise revenue for the government.

2. The Northwest Ordinance
   a. By 1784, Congress created the Southwest and Mississippi Territories, the future states of Tennessee, Alabama, and Mississippi, on lands ceded by North Carolina and Georgia. Slavery was allowed.
   b. Congress established three ordinances that provided for orderly settlement of the “Old Northwest.” The Ordinance of 1784 created the principle of territories becoming states, and the Land Ordinance of 1785 inaugurated the rectangular-grid survey system and specified a minimum price of $1 an acre.
   c. The 1787 Northwest Ordinance outlined the step-by-step process territories had to follow to become states and outlawed slavery north of the Ohio River.
   d. These ordinances provided for orderly settlement in the West while reducing the prospect of dependent “colonies” of the states. But they also contributed to future rift over slavery and conflict with Native Americans.

E. Shays’s Rebellion
   1. In the East, peace brought recession; the British Navigation Acts barred Americans from trading with the British West Indies, and low-priced British goods flooded American markets.
   2. State governments were saddled with large war debts in the form of bonds, which speculators demanded state governments redeem quickly and at full value, a policy that required high taxes; yet yeomen farmers and artisans, hard hit by the postwar recession, demanded and were given tax relief.
   3. To assist indebted yeomen, many states printed more paper currency and passed laws allowing debtors to pay their creditors in installments.
   4. The lack of such debtor-relief legislation in Massachusetts provoked an armed uprising led by Captain Daniel Shays known as Shays’s Rebellion—a struggle against taxes imposed by an unresponsive government that resembled American resistance to the British Stamp Act.
   5. To preserve its authority, Massachusetts passed the Riot Act outlawing illegal assemblies.
   6. Governor James Bowdoin’s military force dispersed Shays’s dwindling army during the winter of 1786–1787.
   7. Many middling Patriot families who had suffered during the war believed that they had traded one kind of tyranny for another; others feared the fate of the republican experiment and called for a stronger national government.

IV. The Constitution of 1787
   A. The Rise of a Nationalist Faction
      1. Money questions dominated the postwar agenda, and officials looked at them from a national rather than a state perspective and became advocates of a stronger central government.
      2. Without tariff revenues, Congress could not pay the interest on foreign debt, but key commercial states in the North and most planters in the South opposed national tariffs.
      3. In order to prevent another internal conflict such as Shays’s Rebellion, nationalists in Congress called for a convention in Philadelphia and a revision of the Articles of Confederation.
   B. The Philadelphia Convention
      1. The Virginia and New Jersey Plans
         a. In May 1787, delegates from every state except Rhode Island arrived in Philadelphia; most were “monied men” who supported creditors’ property rights and a central government.
b. John Adams, Thomas Jefferson, Sam Adams, and Patrick Henry did not attend the convention. Nationalists were able to control the agenda.

c. Delegates elected George Washington as presiding officer and, to forestall popular opposition, voted to deliberate in secret.

d. The delegates decided not to revise the Articles of Confederation and instead considered James Madison’s Virginia Plan for national government.

e. Madison’s plan favored national authority, called for a national government that drew its authority from all the people and had direct power over them, and proposed a three-tier election system in which the people would elect only the lower house of the legislature.

f. The plan had two fatal flaws: most state politicians and citizens resolutely opposed the national government’s vetoing of state laws, and small states objected because they would have less influence than larger states.

g. Delegates from the small states preferred the New Jersey Plan, which strengthened the Confederation by giving it the power to raise revenue, control commerce, and make binding requisitions on the states. But it preserved the states’ control over their own laws and guaranteed their equality.

h. A bare majority of delegates passed the Virginia Plan, but the final plan had to be acceptable to existing political interests and social groups.

2. The Great Compromise

a. Delegates accepted the “Great Compromise” wherein the Senate would seat two members from each state, while seats in the House would be appointed on the basis of population.

b. The convention vested the judicial powers of the United States “in one supreme Court” and left the national legislature to decide whether to establish lower courts.

c. The convention did not interfere with state-set voting requirements, gave states the authority to elect members of the Senate, and placed the selection of the president in an electoral college chosen on a state-by-state basis.

3. Negotiations over Slavery

a. Gouverneur Morris forced debate over slavery through advocating protection of property rights but denying the legitimacy of feudal dues and slavery.

b. Southern planters succeeded in denying Congress the power to regulate slavery for twenty years.

c. To pacify southern slave owners, delegates agreed to a “fugitive clause” that allowed masters to reclaim enslaved blacks—or white indentured servants—who took refuge in other states; to mollify antislavery sentiment in the northern states, the delegates did not give slavery national legal recognition by explicitly mentioning it in the Constitution (which spoke instead of citizens and “all other Persons”); delegates also agreed to count three-fifth of all slaves toward representation as well as taxation, resulting in slave states influencing national politics until 1860.

4. National Authority

a. The Constitution was to be the “supreme” law of the land, and the national government held power over taxation, military defense, external commerce, and the making of laws.

b. The Constitution, signed on September 17, 1787, mandated that the United States honor the national debt and restricted the ability of state governments to assist debtors.

C. The People Debate Ratification

1. The Antifederalists

a. The Constitution would go into effect upon ratification by special conventions in at least nine of the thirteen states.

b. Nationalists began calling themselves Federalists and launched a political campaign supporting the proposed Constitution through pamphlets and newspaper articles.

c. Antifederalists opposed the Constitution, feared losing their power at the state level, dreaded elite rule, and pointed out that the document lacked a declaration of individual rights.

d. Well-educated Americans with a traditional republican outlook wanted the nation to remain a collection of small sovereign republics tied together only for trade and defense.
2. Federalists Respond
   a. The Federalists pointed out that national authority would be divided among a president, a bicameral legislature, and a judiciary; each branch would “check and balance” the others and so preserve liberty.
   b. Madison suggested that a republic was feasible in a large country because a multitude of special interests would prevent a single faction from becoming a dominant or oppressive power.

3. The Constitution Ratified
   b. After much debate, Massachusetts, Virginia and New York ratified the Constitution because Federalists promised to add a national bill of rights.
   c. Most Americans accepted the results of the ratifying conventions, reflecting their respect for republican principles of popular sovereignty and majority rule.
   d. Unlike the French Revolution, the American Constitutional Revolution of 1787 did not result in mob violence.

CHAPTER 7

Hammering Out a Federal Republic
1787–1820

AP PERIODIZATION AND KEY CONCEPTS

Period 3: 1491–1607
Period 4: 1800–1848

AP U.S. History Key Concepts

3.1 Conflicts among the British government, North American colonists, and Native Americans after the Great War for Empire culminated in the creation of the United States.
   • The French Revolution fueled debate over America’s role in the world.
3.2 Experiments with democratic ideas and republican forms of government challenged traditional imperial systems.
   • New ideas led to debates about and experiments with new structures of government.
   • American leaders wrote a new Constitution and Bill of Rights and continued debates about the balance between liberty and order.
   • Ideas promoting greater political democracy and personal liberty spread around the world.
3.3 Migration, cultural interactions, and competition for resources intensified conflicts over land and led to questions about a national identity.
   • Westward expansion resulted in competition for resources, changing alliances, and cultural assimilation.
   • Government policies encouraged western expansion, intensifying conflict among Native Americans and Europeans.
4.1 World’s first modern mass democracy developed in the United States; emergence of a new national culture; and struggles to define the nation’s democratic ideals and reform its institutions.
CHAPTER LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After reading and studying this chapter, students should be able to:

1. Understand the differences between Hamilton’s and Jefferson’s visions of the operation and the role of government.
2. Recognize the effects the French Revolution had on American policy and decision making.
3. Evaluate how and why public policy and economic incentives inspired settlers and speculators to migrate westward and what the consequences of this migration were for Native Americans.
4. Analyze Jefferson’s vision for the future of American government and society and how he implemented his beliefs during his presidency.
5. Recount the policies of the Republican presidents between 1801 and 1820, and evaluate how they contrasted with the Federalist programs of the 1790s.
6. Assess the reasons for the War of 1812, including American and British military strategies and the significance of the conflict’s outcome.

ANOTATED CHAPTER OUTLINE

The following annotated chapter outline will help you review the major topics covered in this chapter.

I. The Political Crisis of the 1790s
   A. The Federalists Implement the Constitution
      1. Devising the New Government
         a. Federalists swept the election of 1788; members of the electoral college chose George Washington as president, and John Adams became vice president.
         b. The Constitution gave the president the power to appoint major officials with the consent of the Senate. Washington chose Thomas Jefferson as secretary of state, Alexander Hamilton as secretary of the treasury, and Henry Knox as secretary of war.
         c. The Judiciary Act of 1789 created a hierarchical federal court system with a federal district court in each state, as well as three circuit courts to hear appeals.
         d. The Judiciary Act permitted constitutional matters to be appealed to the Supreme Court, which had the final say.
      2. The Bill of Rights
         a. The Federalists added the Bill of Rights to the Constitution, which safeguarded certain fundamental rights and mandated certain legal procedures to protect the individual.
         b. These ten amendments legitimized the Constitution but also intensified the debate over the balance of power between the national and state governments.
   B. Hamilton’s Financial Program
      1. Public Credit: Redemption and Assumption
         a. Alexander Hamilton, secretary of the treasury, devised bold and controversial policies to enhance the authority of the national government and to favor financiers and seaport merchants.
         b. Hamilton’s “Report on the Public Credit” asked Congress to redeem millions of dollars in securities issued by the Confederation, providing windfall profits to speculators and creating a permanent national debt owned mostly by wealthy families.
         c. The House rejected James Madison’s proposal for helping the shopkeepers, farmers, and soldiers who were the original owners of the Confederation securities.
         d. Congress approved Hamilton’s second proposal that the national government adopt an assumption plan to assume the war debts of the states (which unleashed a flurry of speculation and some government corruption) after Hamilton agreed to reimburse those states that had already paid off much of their war debt and supported locating the permanent national capital along the banks of the Potomac.
      2. Creating a National Bank
         a. Hamilton asked Congress to charter the Bank of the United States, which was to be jointly owned by private stockholders and the national government.
         b. Washington signed the legislation creating the bank, although Jefferson and Madison charged that a national bank was unconstitutional because the Constitution did not specifically provide for one.
3. Raising Revenue Through Tariffs
   a. At Hamilton’s insistence, Congress imposed a variety of domestic excise taxes and modestly increased tariffs on foreign imports. Hamilton did not support a high protective tariff that would exclude competing foreign productions. Instead, he favored revenue tariffs that would pay the interest on the debt and defray the expenses of the national government.
   b. Increased trade and customs revenue allowed the treasury to pay for Hamilton’s redemption and assumption programs.

C. Jefferson’s Agrarian Vision
   1. By 1793, most northern Federalists adhered to the political alliance led by Hamilton, while most southerners joined a rival group headed by Madison and Jefferson, the Republicans.
   2. Influenced by Enlightenment thought, Jefferson believed in social improvement and disliked corruption and class divisions.
   3. Jefferson pictured an America settled by farm families whose grain and meat would feed Europeans in exchange for clothing and other comforts.
   4. During the 1790s, Jefferson’s vision was fulfilled as warfare disrupted European farming.
   5. Simultaneously, a boom in the export of raw cotton boosted the economy of the lower South.

D. The French Revolution Divides Americans
   1. Ideological Politics
      a. American merchants profited from the European war because a Proclamation of Neutrality allowed American citizens to trade with both sides.
      b. The American merchant fleet increased dramatically, commercial earnings rose, and work was available to thousands of Americans.
      c. Even as they prospered from the European struggle, Americans argued passionately over its ideologies and events. Although many supported the French Revolution’s democratic ideology, wealthy Americans feared that the revolution would contribute to social upheaval in America.
      d. The ideological conflicts sharpened the debate over Hamilton’s economic policies and brought on disruptions such as the Whiskey Rebellion, a protest against new excise taxes on spirits.
   2. Jay’s Treaty
      a. In 1793, the Royal Navy began to prey on American ships bound for France from the West Indies.
      b. To avoid war, Washington sent John Jay to Britain. He returned with a treaty that Republicans denounced as too conciliatory.
      c. As long as the Federalists were in power, the United States would have a pro-British foreign policy.
   3. The Haitian Revolution
      a. The French Revolution inspired a massive slave uprising, resulting in the establishment of the first black republic in the Atlantic world, Haiti.
      b. The Haitian Revolution created the fear of slave rebellion in America. For many Americans, the notion of former slaves governing an independent nation seemed paradoxical to republican ideology.

E. The Rise of Political Parties
      a. State and national constitutions made no provisions for political parties because they were considered unnecessary and dangerous.
      b. Merchants, creditors, and urban artisans favored Federalist policies, while the Republican coalition included support from farmers and planters.
      c. During the election of 1796, the Federalists celebrated Washington’s achievements, and Republicans invoked the egalitarian principles of the Declaration of Independence.
      d. Federalists elected John Adams as president, and he continued Hamilton’s pro-British foreign policy.
      e. Responding to the XYZ Affair, the Federalist-controlled Congress cut off trade with France and authorized American privateers to seize French ships, which extended party conflict that had begun over Hamilton’s economic policies to foreign affairs.
      f. To silence their critics, Federalists enacted a series of coercive measures—the Naturalization Act, the Alien Act, and the Sedition Act—which created a constitutional crisis.
      g. Republicans charged that the Sedition Act violated the First Amendment’s prohibition against “abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press.”
      h. At Republicans’ urging, the Kentucky and Virginia legislatures declared the Alien and Sedition Acts to be “unauthoritative, void, and of no force.” The Virginia and Kentucky resolutions set forth a states’ rights interpretation of the Constitution, asserting that the states had a “right to judge” the legitimacy of national laws.
      i. Republicans strongly supported Jefferson’s bid for the presidency in 1800.
      j. Adams rejected the advice of Federalists to declare war on France and instead negotiated an end to the fighting.
2. The “Revolution of 1800”
   a. The 1800 presidential election campaign turned into a bitterly fought contest with both sides accusing the other of corruption and deceit.
   b. Jefferson won a narrow 73-to-65 victory in the electoral college, but Republicans also gave 73 votes to Aaron Burr, sending the election to the House of Representatives.
   c. Federalists in the House blocked Jefferson’s election until Hamilton, declaring Burr “unfit” for the presidency, persuaded key Federalists to vote for Jefferson.
   d. The bloodless transfer of power demonstrated that governments elected by the people could be changed in an orderly way, even amidst bitter partisan conflict and foreign crisis. Therefore, Jefferson termed the election the “Revolution of 1800.”

II. A Republican Empire is Born
A. Sham Treaties and Indian Lands
   1. The Treaty of Greenville
      a. Invoking the Treaty of Paris and viewing Britain’s Indian allies as conquered peoples, the U.S. government asserted its ownership of the trans-Appalachian west; Native Americans rejected this claim and pointed out that they had not signed the treaty and had never been conquered.
      b. In 1784, the United States used military threat to force the pro-British Iroquois peoples to sign the Treaty of Fort Stanwix and relinquish much of their land in New York and Pennsylvania.
      c. Farther to the west, the United States induced Indian peoples to give up most of the future state of Ohio.
      d. The Indians formed a Western Confederacy to defend themselves against aggressive settlers and defeated American soldiers sent by George Washington in 1790 and 1791.
      e. Washington increased the size of the U.S. Army, and under the leadership of General Anthony Wayne, it defeated the confederacy at the Battle of Fallen Timbers. Continued Indian resistance forced a compromise peace, the Treaty of Greenville in 1795.
      f. In practice, this agreement eventually brought the transfer of millions of acres of Indian land to the U.S. government and sparked a wave of American migration into the region, resulting in new conflicts with native peoples over land and hunting rights.
   2. Assimilation Rejected
      a. Most Native Americans resisted attempts to assimilate them into white society and maintained ancestral values and religious beliefs.
      b. Attempts by moderate chiefs to combine traditional animalistic rituals with Christian teachings resulted in divisions among Native Americans.
      c. Most Native American men also resisted efforts to turn them into farmers, and women insisted that they retain their politically influential gender roles within Indian society.

B. Migration and the Changing Farm Economy
   1. Southern Migrants
      a. During the 1790s, two major migration patterns developed in the southern states.
      b. Most migrants who flocked through the Cumberland Gap were white tenant farmers and yeomen families fleeing the depleted soils and planter elite of the Chesapeake region.
      c. Although poor migrants to Kentucky and Tennessee believed they had a customary right to occupy “waste vacant lands,” the Virginia government allowed them to purchase up to 1,400 acres of land at reduced prices but sold or granted estates of 20,000 to 200,000 acres to wealthy individuals and partnerships.
      d. Landlessness and opposition to slavery inspired many of these migrants to move across the Ohio River. Landownership, however, remained an elusive goal as more than half of Ohio’s white male population did not own land in 1810.
      e. A second stream of migrants, dominated by slave-owning planters and their enslaved workers, moved along the coastal plain of the Gulf of Mexico into the future states of Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana.
      f. Cotton financed the rapid settlement of this region as well as the expansion of slavery into the Old Southwest, as technological breakthroughs increased the demand for raw wool and cotton.
   2. Exodus from New England
      a. Seeking land for their children, a third stream of migrants flowed out of the overcrowded communities of New England into New York, Ohio, and Indiana.
      b. In New York, speculators snapped up much of the best land and attracted tenants to work it by offering farms rent-free for seven years, after which they charged rents. Many New England yeomen preferred the Holland Land Company, which allowed settlers to buy the land as they worked it.
   3. Innovation on Eastern Farms
a. Unable to compete against producers of low-priced western grains, eastern farmers adopted the higher yielding and nutritious potato as a cash crop. Farmers whose sons and daughters had moved inland made up for the loss of labor by adopting new implements. Changes in crops and technology kept yields high.

b. Easterners also changed their agriculture methods, including rotating crops and planting year round. Women contributed to the family economy by producing and selling milk, butter, and cheese.

c. Although working harder and longer, farmers increased their own standard of living and boosted the entire American economy.

C. The Jeffersonian Presidency

1. Between 1801 and 1825, three Republican presidents—Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, and James Monroe—the so-called Virginia Dynasty, reversed many Federalist policies and advocated westward expansion.

2. Jefferson’s first foreign policy challenge dealt with the Barbary States of North Africa. Refusing to pay bribes to assure safe passage for American ships in the Mediterranean, Jefferson engaged the United States in a four-year conflict with these extortionists, ending in lower payments yet continued attacks.

3. Before John Adams left office, the Federalist-controlled Congress had passed the Judiciary Act of 1801, which created sixteen new judgelships and six new circuit courts. Just before leaving office, Adams filled the judgeships and courts with “midnight appointees.”

4. James Madison’s refusal to deliver the commission of William Marbury, one of Adams’s midnight appointees, caused Marbury to petition the Supreme Court to compel delivery under the terms of the Judiciary Act of 1789. In *Marbury v. Madison* (1803), Chief Justice John Marshall asserted the Court’s power of judicial review.

5. Despite this setback, Jefferson mobilized Republicans to shrink back the national government’s size and power, which they believed was grossly over-expanded through Federalist policies.

6. Republicans refused to reenact the Alien and Sedition Acts when they expired, amended the Naturalization Act to permit resident aliens to become citizens after five years, and secured repeal of the Judiciary Act of 1801, thereby ousting forty of Adams’s midnight appointees, though Jefferson allowed competent Federalist bureaucrats to retain their jobs.

7. In fiscal matters, Jefferson also set a clearly republican course: he abolished internal taxes, reduced the size of the army, and tolerated the Bank of the United States.

8. With Thomas Jefferson and Albert Gallatin at the helm, the country reduced its national debt, and the interests of northeastern creditors and merchants no longer dominated the nation’s financial affairs.

D. Jefferson and the West

1. The Louisiana Purchase

   a. As president, Jefferson seized the opportunity to increase the flow of settlers to the West; Republicans passed laws reducing the minimum acreage available for purchase.

   b. In 1801, Napoleon Bonaparte coerced Spain into returning Louisiana to France; then he directed Spanish officials to restrict American access to New Orleans.

   c. To avoid hostilities with France, Jefferson instructed Robert Livingston, the American minister in Paris, to negotiate the purchase of New Orleans; simultaneously, he also sent James Monroe to Britain to seek its assistance in case of war with France.

   d. In April 1803, Bonaparte, Livingston, and Monroe concluded what came to be known as the Louisiana Purchase for $15 million (about $500 million in today’s dollars).

   e. Since the Constitution did not provide for adding new territory, Jefferson pragmatically reconsidered his strict interpretation of it.

2. Secessionist Schemes

   a. Fearing that western expansion would diminish their power, New England Federalists talked openly of leaving the Union.

   b. Refusing to support the secessionists, Alexander Hamilton accused their chosen leader, Aaron Burr, of participating in a conspiracy to destroy the Union. Burr challenged Hamilton to a duel. Hamilton accepted and was shot to death.

   c. As evidenced by Burr’s probable plan to either capture territory in New Spain or to foment a rebellion to establish Louisiana as a separate nation headed by himself, the Republicans’ policy of western expansion increased party conflict and generated secessionist schemes in both New England and the West.

3. Lewis and Clark Meet the Mandans and Sioux

   a. In 1804, Jefferson sent Meriwether Lewis and William Clark on an expedition to gather information about the topography, animals, plants, and people in Louisiana.

   b. After traveling for 1,000 miles on the Missouri River, the expedition spent the winter of 1804–1805 with the Mandan and Hidatsa peoples, farming tribes increasingly threatened by the powerful Sioux peoples.
c. During the 1,300 mile trek to the Pacific, Lewis and Clark ventured beyond the Louisiana Purchase and encountered many Native Americans who asked for guns to protect themselves from other armed tribes.
d. The journey’s detailed accounts of resources and inhabitants inspired predictions of America as a nation spanning the continent.

III. The War of 1812 and the Transformation of Politics
A. Conflict in the Atlantic and the West
1. The Embargo of 1807
   a. As the Napoleonic Wars ravaged Europe, Great Britain and France refused to respect the neutrality of American merchant vessels.
   b. Napoleon’s customs officials seized neutral American ships that had stopped in Britain. The British naval blockade stopped American ships carrying goods to Europe and also searched them for British deserters, who were then impressed (forced) back into service in the Royal Navy.
   c. Americans were outraged in 1807 when a British warship attacked the Chesapeake, killing or wounding twenty-one men, and seizing four alleged deserters.
   d. Jefferson devised the Embargo Act of 1807, which prohibited American ships from leaving their home ports until Britain and France repealed restrictions on U.S. trade.
   e. The act caused American exports to plunge, prompting Federalists to demand its repeal.
   f. Despite discontent over the embargo, voters elected Republican James Madison to the presidency in 1808. As president, Madison replaced the embargo with new economic restrictions, none of which persuaded Britain and France to respect America’s neutrality rights.
2. Western War Hawks
   a. Republican congressmen from the West thought Britain was the major offender, as evidenced by its assistance to the Indians in the Ohio River Valley.
   b. Republican expansionists in Congress condemned British support of Tecumseh and his brother Tenskwatawa, who had revived the Western Confederacy and mobilized western Indians for war.
   c. In 1811, following a series of clashes between settlers and the Western Confederacy, William Henry Harrison, the governor of the Indiana Territory, led an army against Tenskwatawa’s village of Prophetstown, fended off the confederacy’s warriors at the Battle of Tippecanoe, and burned the village to the ground.
   d. Henry Clay and John C. Calhoun, hoping to gain new territory and discredit the Federalists, pushed Madison toward war with Britain.
   e. With elections approaching, Madison demanded British respect for American sovereignty in the West and neutral rights on the Atlantic. When the British did not respond quickly, he asked Congress for a declaration of war. In June 1812, a sharply divided Senate voted 19 to 13 for war, and the House of Representatives concurred, 79 to 49.
   f. Although the United States officially entered into a war with Britain to protect the commercial rights of a neutral nation, the 1812 presidential election campaign revealed that the real reason for the war was protection of western interests.
B. The War of 1812
1. Federalists Oppose the War
   a. The War of 1812 was a near disaster for the United States, both militarily and politically.
   b. Political divisions in the United States prevented a major invasion of Canada in the East; New Englanders opposed the war, and Boston merchants declined to lend money to the government.
   c. After two years of sporadic warfare, the United States had made little progress along the Canadian frontier and was on the defensive along the Atlantic; moreover, the new capital city was in ruins, and a British blockade threatened the nation’s economy.
   d. In the Southwest, Andrew Jackson led an army of militiamen to victory over British-supported Creek Indians in the Battle of Horseshoe Bend (1814) and forced the Indians to cede 23 million acres of land.
   e. Federalists met in Hartford, Connecticut, to discuss a strategy “for a radical reform in the National Compact.” Though some proposed succession, the majority wanted an amendment to the Constitution that would limit presidents to a single four-year term and rotate the presidency among citizens of different states. They also suggested amendments restricting commercial embargoes and requiring a two-thirds majority in Congress to declare war, prohibit trade, or admit a new state to the Union.
   f. The war continued to go badly; an American naval victory on Lake Champlain narrowly averted a British invasion of the Hudson River Valley, and British troops landed outside New Orleans and threatened to cut American trade down the Mississippi River.
2. Peace Overtures and a Final Victory
a. American military setbacks strengthened opposition to the war; fortunately for the young American republic, Britain wanted peace, sapped from its twenty-year war with France.

b. The Treaty of Ghent, signed December 24, 1814, restored the prewar borders of the United States.

c. Andrew Jackson’s victory against the British at New Orleans not only made Jackson a national hero but also redeemed the nation’s pride, and together with the coming of peace, it undercut the Hartford Convention’s demands for a significant revision of the Constitution.

C. The Federalist Legacy

1. Marshall’s Federalist Law
   a. The War of 1812 ushered in a new phase of the Republican political revolution. Before the conflict, Federalists had strongly supported Alexander Hamilton’s program of national mercantilism. After the war, the Republicans split into two factions, National Republicans and Jeffersonian Republicans.
   b. Henry Clay of Kentucky led the National Republicans and in 1816 sponsored legislation that created the Second Bank of the United States and persuaded President Madison to sign it.
   c. Meanwhile, the Federalist Party was in severe decline. Nationalist Republicans had won the allegiance of many Federalist voters in the East, and the pro-farmer policies of Jeffersonian Republicans maintained their party’s dominance in the South and West.
   d. The election of 1818 demonstrated Republican power: Republicans outnumbered Federalists 37 to 7 in the Senate and 156 to 27 in the House.
   e. Despite the Federalists’ demise, their policies remained very much in evidence because of John Marshall’s long tenure on the Supreme Court.
   f. Marshall was a committed Federalist who shaped the evolution of the Constitution through three principles that formed the basis of his jurisprudence: a commitment to judicial authority, the supremacy of national over state legislation, and a traditional, static view of property rights.

2. Asserting National Supremacy
   a. Congress chartering the Second Bank resulted in renewed discussion over its constitutionality.
   b. In *McCulloch v. Maryland* (1819), Marshall introduced the “necessary and proper” concept arguing that the bank was constitutional because of Congress’ control over currency.
   c. In *Gibbons v. Ogden* (1824), the Court affirmed the dominance of national statutes over state legislation in cases regarding interstate commerce.

3. Upholding Vested Property Rights
   a. Under Marshall, the Supreme Court protected property rights of individuals from infringement by state legislatures.
   b. In *Fletcher v. Peck* (1810) and *Dartmouth College v. Woodward* (1819), the Court invoked the contract clause of the Constitution to protect private property from state seizure. These decisions limited state power and contributed to the development of the national capitalist economy.

4. The Diplomacy of John Quincy Adams
   a. Although Federalist legacies remained, more and more Americans embraced Republican ideology.
   b. The career of John Quincy Adams was a case in point. Although he was the son of Federalist president John Adams, John Quincy Adams had joined the Republican Party before the War of 1812.
   c. As the secretary of state under President James Monroe, Adams negotiated the Rush-Bagot Treaty in 1817, which limited American and British naval forces on the Great Lakes. In 1818, he concluded another agreement with Britain setting the forty-ninth parallel as the border between Canada and the lands of the Louisiana Purchase. Through the Adams-Onís Treaty of 1819, the United States gained Florida and a clearly defined border along Spanish claims in the West.
   d. As a result of Adams’s urging, Monroe announced a new American foreign policy (the Monroe Doctrine) declaring that the American continents were not “subject for further colonization.” In return, the United States agreed to not “interfere in the internal concerns” of European nations.
   e. Although the decline of the Federalists and party politics prompted observers to dub James Monroe’s two terms as president (1817–1825) the “Era of Good Feeling,” the Republican Party was now divided into a National faction, led by Clay and Adams, and a Jeffersonian or state-oriented faction, soon to be led by Martin Van Buren and Andrew Jackson.
   f. This division in the ranks of the Republican Party would produce a second party system in which national-minded Whigs faced off against state-focused Democrats.

CHAPTER
Creating a Republican Culture
1790–1820

AP PERIODIZATION AND KEY CONCEPTS

Period 3: 1754–1800
Period 4: 1800–1848

AP U.S. History Key Concepts

3.2 Experiments with democratic ideas and republican forms of government challenged traditional imperial systems.

• Ideas promoting greater political democracy and personal liberty spread around the world.

3.3 Migration, cultural interactions, and competition for resources intensified conflicts over land and led to questions about a national identity.

• Expansion of slavery in the Lower South, and its gradual disappearance elsewhere, contributed to the development of regional identities related to attitudes toward the institution.

• Enlightenment ideas and the independence movement promoted “republican motherhood.”

4.1 World’s first modern mass democracy developed in the United States; emergence of a new national culture; and struggles to define the nation’s democratic ideals and reform its institutions.

• Debates over federal power, states’ rights, and the authority of different branches of the federal government.

CHAPTER LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After reading and studying this chapter, students should be able to:

1. Understand the origins and operations of the emerging market economy in America.
2. Evaluate how Americans’ pursuit of republican ideals after the Revolution transformed the nation into a more egalitarian society.
3. Analyze why and how the role of women changed in republican society.
4. Examine how Anglo-Americans shaped the institution of slavery during the Revolution and early Republican eras.
5. Investigate the ways that the Missouri Compromise impacted the United States.
6. Comprehend how Protestant Christianity acted as a force for social change in the early republic.

ANNOTATED CHAPTER OUTLINE

The following annotated chapter outline will help you review the major topics covered in this chapter.

I. The Capitalist Commonwealth
   A. Banks, Manufacturing, and Markets
      1. Banking and Credit
a. For merchants, farmers, and political leaders, republicanism meant capitalism. But to create a dynamic market economy, Americans needed a banking system.

b. In 1791, Congress chartered the First Bank of the United States; however, it did not survive. When the bank’s twenty-year charter expired in 1811, President Madison did not seek its renewal.

c. Merchants, artisans, and farmers petitioned their state legislatures to charter new banks; by 1816, there were 246 state-chartered banks with $68 million in banknotes in circulation.

d. Many banks issued notes without adequate specie reserves and made ill-advised loans to insiders.

e. The Panic of 1819, sparked by a sharp drop in world agricultural prices, gave Americans their first taste of the business cycle—the periodic expansion and contraction of profits and employment.

2. Rural Manufacturing

a. The Panic of 1819 also revealed that artisans and yeomen as well as merchants now depended on regional or national markets.

b. As early as the 1790s, merchant-entrepreneurs had developed a rural-based manufacturing system similar to the European outwork, or putting-out, system that contributed to growth in the production of consumer goods. Technological developments, such as water-powered machines, made this system possible.

c. Household-based outwork inspired New England farmers to switch from subsistence crops to raising cattle and sheep.

d. As the rural economy turned out more goods, it significantly altered the environment; by the mid-nineteenth century, most of the forests in southern New England and eastern New York were gone, and mill dams altered the flow of New England’s rivers.

e. The new market system decreased the self-sufficiency of families and communities, even as it made them more productive and prosperous.

3. New Transportation Systems

a. State governments realized that improved infrastructure would contribute to economic growth.

b. States chartered corporations to dredge rivers and build turnpikes and canals.

c. Pennsylvania issued fifty-five charters, including one to the Lancaster Turnpike Company, which built a 65-mile graded road connecting Lancaster and Philadelphia, boosting the regional economy.

d. Western settlers paid premium prices for land along navigable rivers, and farmers and merchants built barges to float goods to the port of New Orleans.

B. Public Enterprise: The Commonwealth System

1. As early as the 1790s, state legislatures devised an American plan of mercantilism, known as the commonwealth system, as it aimed to increase the “common wealth” of citizens.

2. State legislatures granted hundreds of corporate charters to private businesses to build roads, bridges, and canals to connect inland market centers to seaport cities.

3. Incorporation often included a grant of limited liability, and transportation charters included the power of eminent domain.

4. Despite criticism that government charters violated principles of republicanism, judges affirmed the special privileges for private enterprises in the name of progress.

5. By 1820, innovative state governments had embraced the new political economy of the commonwealth system, which used state incentives to encourage business and improve the general welfare.

II. Toward a Democratic Republican Culture

A. Opportunity and Equality—for White Men

1. After independence, many Americans in the northern states embraced a democratic republicanism that celebrated political equality and social mobility, at least for white males.

2. These citizens, primarily members of the middle class, also redefined the nature of the family and of education by seeking more egalitarian marriages and more affectionate ways of rearing and educating their children.

3. Although many Americans preferred asocial ranking based on personal achievement instead of inherited privilege, some Americans from long-distinguished families questioned the morality of a social order based on mobility and financial success.

4. As ordinary white men benefited from the merit-based system, legislators erected barriers for women and black men, and regardless of their wealth, custom and prejudice ruled out their participation in public affairs.

B. Toward Republican Families
1. Republican Marriages
   a. The controversy over women’s political rights mirrored a debate over authority within the household. European and American husbands had long dominated their wives and controlled the family’s property.
   b. Women argued that their subordination was at odds with the republican belief in equal natural rights.
   c. Economic and cultural changes eroded customary paternal authority, as parents could no longer use land as an incentive to control their children’s lives and marriages.
   d. Young men and women began to be influenced by the new cultural attitude of sentimentalism, which originated in Europe as part of the Romantic movement and celebrated the importance of “feeling.”
   e. As the passions of the heart overwhelmed the cool logic of the mind, a new marriage system appeared.
   f. Rather than seeking to control them, fathers now sought to protect the best interests of their children in their marriages.
   g. Theoretically, the republican ideal of companionate marriage gave wives equality with their husbands; in reality, husbands still controlled the property and governments accepted no obligation to prevent domestic abuse.
   h. Though few sought divorces, most petitioners for divorce before 1800 charged their spouses with neglect, abandonment, or adultery; after 1800, emotional grounds dominated divorce petitions.

2. Republican Motherhood
   a. The main responsibilities of a married woman were running the household and raising the children.
   b. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the United States experienced a sharp decline in the birthrate (causes included migration of men, which left women without mates for life, or delayed marriage and thus childbirth) and an increase in the deliberate limitation on the size of families (birth control).
   c. Fewer children meant fathers could provide more adequately for each, while mothers were no longer willing to spend all their active years bearing and rearing children.
   d. Political leaders called on women to become loyal “republican mothers” who would correctly shape the character of American men.
   e. Christian ministers readily embraced the idea of republican motherhood; most, but not all, urged their audiences to dismiss the idea of public roles for women, such as voting or serving on juries.
C. Raising Republican Children

1. Two Modes of Parenting
   a. Unlike the English custom of primogeniture, most American states required that the estate of a man be divided equally among all his children if he died without a will.
   b. Some believed that republicanism encouraged American parents to relax parental discipline and give their children too much respect and freedom.
   c. A rationalist mode of child rearing became the preference among families in the well-to-do and the rapidly expanding middle class, influenced by the Enlightenment belief that children were “rational creatures” who could be trained to act properly and responsibly by means of advice and praise.
   d. By contrast, many poor families, influenced by the Second Great Awakening, had much stricter, authoritarian child-rearing practices.

2. Debates over Education
   a. The values taught within families were crucial because most education took place within the home.
   b. In the 1790s, Bostonian Caleb Bingham, an influential textbook author, called for “an equal distribution of knowledge to make us emphatically a ‘republic of letters.’” Thomas Jefferson and Benjamin Rush proposed ambitious schemes for a comprehensive system of primary and secondary schooling.
   c. Ordinary citizens, relying on the labor of their children and content with rudimentary instruction, thought such educational proposals smacked of elitism.
   d. Although the constitutions of many states encouraged the use of public resources to fund primary schools, there was not much progress until the 1820s.
   e. To instill self-discipline and individual enterprise in students, reformers chose textbooks that praised honesty and hard work while condemning gambling, drinking, and laziness. American history was also required learning.

3. Promoting Cultural Independence
   a. Noah Webster championed the goal of American intellectual greatness and his “blue-back speller,” first published in 1783, gave Americans of all backgrounds a common vocabulary and grammar.
   b. Other than Washington Irving, no American author was well-known in Europe; not until the 1830s and 1840s would American authors, part of the American Renaissance, make a significant contribution to the great literature of the Western world (Chapter 11).

III. Aristocratic Republicanism and Slavery

A. The Revolution and Slavery, 1776–1800

1. Manumission and Gradual Emancipation
   a. The Patriots’ struggle for independence from Britain raised the prospect of freedom for enslaved Africans; many slaves sought freedom by fleeing behind British lines.
   b. Many slaves also fought for the Patriot cause in return for the promise of freedom.
   c. In 1782, Virginia passed an act allowing manumission; within a decade, 10,000 slaves had been freed.
   d. Quakers and Christian evangelical churches advocated emancipation, and Enlightenment philosophy also worked to undermine slavery and racism.
   e. By 1800, every state north of Maryland had provided for the gradual termination of slavery, but the process of gradual emancipation dragged on until the 1830s.
   f. Emancipation came slowly because whites feared competition for jobs and housing and a melding of the races. Freedom for blacks in the North meant second-class citizenship.
2. Slavery Defended
   a. Southerners faced a dilemma: Although religiously inspired manumission laws set a sizable number of African Americans free, slaves also represented a huge financial investment.
   b. Resistance against freedom for blacks was strong. Although Virginia allowed manumission in 1782, Thomas Jefferson and others sent petitions arguing that slavery was a “necessary evil” required to maintain white supremacy and the luxurious planter lifestyle.
   c. The debate over emancipation among southern whites ended in 1800, when a group of slaves was hanged for planning an uprising.
   d. Southern whites redefined republicanism so that it only applied to the “master race.”

B. The North and South Grow Apart
1. Slavery and National Politics
   a. Both in theory and in practice, republicanism in the South differed significantly from that in the North, and European visitors to the South commonly noted the poverty and lack of strong work ethic there.
   b. Some southerners admitted that slavery corrupted their society and contributed to the ignorance and poverty of the mass of the white population.
   c. Slavery quickly found its way into national politics and remained a contested issue as the North ended slavery and the South expanded its slave-based agricultural economy.
   d. When Congress ended American participation in the Atlantic slave trade in 1808, northerners called for the regulation of the interstate trade in slaves, and southerners mounted a forceful defense of their labor system.

2. African Americans Speak Out
   a. Both African American abolitionists, who called for an end to the “relentless tyranny” of slavery, and white antislavery advocates hoped that slavery would disappear as tobacco production declined. The cotton boom, however, increased demand for slaves.
   b. In 1817, the founders of the American Colonization Society proposed to end slavery by encouraging southern planters to emancipate their slaves; the society would then arrange for their resettlement in Africa to prevent racial conflict.
   c. Most free blacks rejected the idea of colonization as contrary to republican principles and because they viewed themselves as American citizens.
   d. Lacking support from either blacks or whites, the American Colonization Society was a dismal failure, transporting only 6,000 African Americans to Liberia, a colony it established on the west coast of Africa.

C. The Missouri Crisis, 1819–1821
1. Constitutional Issues
   a. When Missouri applied for admission to the Union as a slave state in 1819, Congressman James Tallmadge of New York proposed a ban on the importation of slaves into Missouri and the gradual emancipation of its black inhabitants; when Missouri whites rejected Tallmadge’s proposals, the northern majority in the House of Representatives blocked the territory’s admission to the Union.
   b. To underline their commitment to slavery, southerners used their power in the Senate (where they held half the seats) to withhold statehood from Maine, which was seeking to separate itself from Massachusetts.
   c. Southerners advanced three constitutional arguments: they raised the principle of “equal rights” for the states; they argued that slavery was purely an internal state affair; and they maintained that Congress had no authority to infringe on the property rights of slaveholders.
   d. Henry Clay finally put together a series of political agreements known collectively as the Missouri Compromise; the compromise set a precedent for admission of states to the Union in pairs—one free and one slave—and southern senators accepted legislation that prohibited slavery in most of the Louisiana Purchase, all the lands north of latitude 36°30’ except for the state of Missouri.
   e. The task of reconciling regional differences had become difficult, and the specter of civil war lurked in the background.

IV. Protestant Christianity as a Social Force
A. A Republican Religious Order
   1. Religious Freedom
      a. In 1776, the Virginia constitutional convention issued a declaration of rights guaranteeing all Christians the “free exercise of religion.”
b. Thomas Jefferson’s ill for Establishing Religious Freedom made all churches equal before the law but granted financial support to none.

c. After the Revolution, an established church and compulsory religious taxes were no longer the norm in America.

2. Church-State Relations
   a. The separation of church and state was not complete because most church property and ministers were exempt from taxation.
   b. Many states enforced religious criteria for voting and holding office.
   c. Many Americans, fearing government control over religion, condemned these practices and encouraged church members to govern and voluntarily fund their churches.

3. Republican Church Institutions
   a. Churches that prospered in the new nation were those that proclaimed doctrines of spiritual equality and governed themselves in a relatively democratic fashion.
   b. Evangelical Methodist and Baptist churches attracted the most irreligious Americans as new members through communal singing and emotional services.

B. The Second Great Awakening
   1. A New Religious Landscape
      a. Through revivals, Baptist and Methodist preachers reshaped the spiritual landscape throughout the South, and revivalists were particularly successful at attracting those who had never belonged to a church.
      b. During the Second Great Awakening, the Congregationalist, Episcopalian, and Quaker churches grew slowly in membership by natural increase, while the Methodist and Baptist churches grew spectacularly by winning converts and became the nation’s largest religious denominations.
      c. Methodist “circuit riders” established new churches in remote areas by bringing families together for worship and appointing lay elders to enforce moral discipline until the circuit rider’s return.
      d. Evangelical ministers adopted “practical preaching” methods, theatrical gestures, and a flamboyant style to attract converts.
      e. Southern preachers adjusted to the initial threat from evangelical religion to planter patriarchy by preaching men’s natural superiority to women and slaves’ duty to be obedient and faithful.

2. Black Christianity
   a. Evangelists also encouraged planters to spread Protestant Christianity among slaves; Baptists and Methodists converted hundreds of African Americans.
   b. Southern blacks adapted the teachings of the Protestant churches to their own needs. Black Christianity celebrated God as a liberator and encouraged slaves to prepare for spiritual emancipation in the Promised Land.

C. Religion and Reform
   1. Ministers began stressing human ability and individual free will, making American religious culture more compatible with republican doctrines of liberty and equality.
   2. For some, individual salvation became linked with social reform through the concept of religious benevolence, the practice of disinterested virtue.
   3. Unlike the First Great Awakening, the Second Great Awakening fostered cooperation between denominations.
   4. Protestants across the nation saw themselves as part of a single religious movement that could change the course of history through politics.
   5. Because the Second Awakening aroused such pious enthusiasm in many Americans, religion became a central force in political life; some urged the United States to become an evangelical Christian nation dedicated to religious conversion at home and abroad.

D. Women’s New Religious Roles
   1. A Growing Public Presence
      a. The upsurge in religious enthusiasm provided women with new opportunities to demonstrate their piety and even to found new sects—for example, those of Mother Ann Lee and Jemima Wilkinson.
      b. Women in more mainstream churches (who formed the majority in many denominations) became active in religion and charitable work partly because they were excluded from other spheres of public life and partly because ministers relied increasingly on women to do the work of the church.
      c. The new practice of having church services for males and females together was accompanied by greater moral self-discipline.
d. Men scrutinized women’s religious activities and organizations and attempted to limit their power.

e. By the 1820s, mothers across the nation had founded local maternal associations to encourage Christian child rearing.

f. Religious activism advanced female education, as churches established seminaries and academies where girls received intellectual training and moral instruction.

g. Women gradually displaced men as public school teachers because women had few other opportunities and were willing to accept lower pay.

h. Along with republican and capitalist values, this Protestant religious impulse formed the core of an emerging national identity.

PART FOUR

OVERLAPPING REVOLUTIONS
1800–1860

AP PERIODIZATION AND KEY CONCEPTS

Period 4: 1800–1848

AP U.S. History Key Concepts

4.1 World’s first modern mass democracy developed in the United States; emergence of a new national culture; and struggles to define the nation’s democratic ideals and reform its institutions.

4.2 Developments in technology, agriculture, and commerce led to changes in settlement patterns, regional identities, gender and family relations, and political power.

4.3 Government policy shaped by interest in expanding trade and national borders.

Assessment Weight on the AP U.S. History Exam: 45% (Periods 2–5)

PART LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After you’ve taught this part, your students should be able to answer the following “Big Idea” questions:

Chapter 9: Transforming the Economy, 1800–1860

What were the causes and consequences of the Industrial and Market revolutions, and how did they change the way ordinary Americans lived?

Chapter 10: A Democratic Revolution, 1800–1844

What were the main features of the Democratic Revolution, and what role did Andrew Jackson play in its outcome?

Chapter 11: Religion and Reform, 1800–1860

To what extent did individualism, new religious sects, abolitionism, and women’s rights (as the movement was called in the nineteenth century) change American culture between 1820 and 1860?

Chapter 12: The South Expands: Slavery and Society, 1800–1860

How did the creation of a cotton-based economy change the lives of whites and blacks in all regions of the South?
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Work, Exchange, and Technology</th>
<th>Peopling</th>
<th>Politics and Power</th>
<th>Ideas, Beliefs, and Culture</th>
<th>Identity</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1810</td>
<td>Congress approves funds for a National Road (1806)</td>
<td>Congress outlaws Atlantic slave trade (1776–1809)</td>
<td>Struggle to expand the suffrage begins with Maryland reformers</td>
<td>In rural areas, people of different ranks share a common culture</td>
<td>American Colonization Society (1817)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>First American textile factory opens in Waltham, Massachusetts (1814)</td>
<td>Andrew Jackson forces Creeks to relinquish millions of acres during War of 1812</td>
<td>Martin Van Buren creates first statewide political machine (1817–1821)</td>
<td>Upper-class women sponsor charitable organizations</td>
<td>Benjamin Franklin’s Autobiography (1818) spreads notion of the self-made man</td>
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<td>1820</td>
<td>New England shoe industry expands</td>
<td>Slave trade moves African Americans west</td>
<td>Rise of Andrew Jackson and Democratic Party</td>
<td>Benevolent reform movements</td>
<td>David Walker’s Appeal... to the Colored Citizens (1829) attacks slavery</td>
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<td>Erie Canal completed (1825)</td>
<td>Rural women take factory work, alter gender roles</td>
<td>Anti-Masonic Party and Working Men’s Party rise and decline</td>
<td>Emerson champions transcendentalism</td>
<td>Rise of southern sectionalism</td>
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<td>Henry Clay’s “American System” of government-assisted development</td>
<td>Market economy expands nationwide</td>
<td>Charles Finney and others advance reviverist religion</td>
<td>Industrialism fragments society into more distinct classes and cultures</td>
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<td>1830</td>
<td>U.S. textiles compete with British goods</td>
<td>Indian Removal Act (1830) forces native peoples west</td>
<td>Tariff battles (1828, 1832) and nullification</td>
<td>Temperance crusade expands</td>
<td>W. L. Garrison’s American Anti-Slavery Society (1833)</td>
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<td>Canal systems expand trade in eastern U.S.</td>
<td>Cherokees’ “Trail of Tears” (1838)</td>
<td>Whig Party forms (1834)</td>
<td>Joseph Smith and Mormonism</td>
<td>Female Moral Reform Society (1834) defines gender identity</td>
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<td>Financial panic of 1837 begins six-year depression</td>
<td>Boom in cotton output</td>
<td>Jackson destroys Second Bank, expands executive power</td>
<td>Middle-class culture spreads</td>
<td>Texas gains independence (1836)</td>
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<td>Boom in cotton output</td>
<td>Increase in waged work sparks conflict between labor and capital</td>
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<td>Slavery defended as a “positive good”</td>
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<td>1840</td>
<td>American machine tool industry expands</td>
<td>Working-class districts emerge in cities</td>
<td>Log cabin campaign (1840)</td>
<td>Fourierist and other communal settlements</td>
<td>Antislavery Liberty Party (1840)</td>
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<td>Walker Tariff moves U.S. toward “free trade” system and principles of “classical liberalism”</td>
<td>German and Irish immigrants spark nativist movement</td>
<td>Second Party System flourishes</td>
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<td>New African American culture develops in Mississippi Valley</td>
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Transforming the Economy
1800–1860

AP PERIODIZATION AND KEY CONCEPTS

Period 4: 1800–1848

AP U.S. History Key Concepts

4.1 World’s first modern mass democracy developed in the United States; emergence of a new national culture; and struggles to define the nation’s democratic ideals and reform its institutions.
   • Americans debated the government’s role in the economy.
   • While Americans embraced a new national culture, various groups developed distinctive cultures of their own.

4.2 Developments in technology, agriculture, and commerce led to changes in settlement patterns, regional identities, gender and family relations, and political power.
   • A global market led to dramatic shifts in the nature of agriculture and manufacturing.
   • Regional economic specialization shaped settlement patterns and the economy.
   • The Market Revolution had significant effects on migration, gender and family relations, and the distribution of political power.

CHAPTER LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After reading and studying this chapter, students should be able to:

1. Understand how industrialization affected the American economy.
2. Analyze how and why a transportation revolution occurred before 1860.
3. Evaluate why Americans moved to cities during the first half of the nineteenth century.
4. Recognize how the rise of factories affected the social relationships of Americans.

ANNOTATED CHAPTER OUTLINE

The following annotated chapter outline will help you review the major topics covered in this chapter.

I. The American Industrial Revolution
   A. The Division of Labor and the Factory
      1. Two great changes defined the early-nineteenth-century American economy: the growth and mechanization of industry (the Industrial Revolution) and the expansion and integration of markets (the Market Revolution).
      2. Industrialization came to the United States between 1790 and 1860, as merchants and manufacturers increased output of goods by reorganizing work and building factories.
3. The outwork system was a more efficient division of labor and lowered the price of goods, but it eroded workers’ control over the pace and conditions of work as well as their wages.

4. For tasks not suited to outwork, factories were created where work was concentrated under one roof and divided into specialized tasks.

5. Manufacturers used newly improved coal-burning stationary steam engines to power their mills and used power-driven machines and assembly lines to produce new types of products.

6. Some Britons feared that American manufacturers would “become exporters not only to foreign countries, but even to England.”

B. The Textile Industry and British Competition

1. American and British Advantages
   a. British textile manufacturers were particularly worried about American competition; Britain prohibited the export of textile machinery and the emigration of mechanics who knew how to build it, but many British mechanics disguised themselves as ordinary laborers and set sail to the United States.
   b. Samuel Slater brought to America a design for an advanced cotton spinner; its use in 1790 marked the advent of the American Industrial Revolution.
   c. American manufacturers could rely on an abundance of natural resources, including cotton, wool, and water to power the factories sprouting along rivers in the northeastern states.
   d. British companies were better established and had less-expensive shipping rates, lower interest rates, and cheaper labor.
   e. Congress passed protective legislation in 1816, 1824, and 1828, levying high taxes on imported goods; tariffs were reduced again in the 1830s.

2. Better Machines, Cheaper Workers
   a. American producers used two other strategies to compete with their British rivals. First, they improved on British technology; second, they found less expensive workers.
   b. American producers more effectively competed with their British rivals by improving British technology. Francis Cabot Lowell’s Boston Manufacturing Company built the Waltham factory, the first American factory to perform all the clothmaking operations under one roof at higher speeds than British mills and with fewer workers.
   c. The Boston Manufacturing Company pioneered a labor system that became known as the Waltham-Lowell system, in which the company recruited farm women and girls as textile workers who would work for low wages.
   d. By the early 1830s, more than 40,000 New England women worked in textile mills. Mill owners provided rooms in boardinghouses with evening cultural activities, enforced strict curfews, prohibited alcoholic beverages, and required church attendance.
   e. Although some women found this work oppressive, many gained a new sense of freedom and autonomy.
   f. By combining improved technology, female labor, and tariff protection, the Boston Manufacturing Company sold textiles at cheaper prices than British companies.

C. American Mechanics and Technological Innovation

1. By the 1820s, American-born craftsmen had replaced British immigrants at the cutting edge of technological innovation.

2. The most important inventors in the Philadelphia region were members of the Sellars family, who helped found the Franklin Institute of Philadelphia in 1824.

3. Mechanic institutes were established in other states, which disseminated technical knowledge and encouraged innovation; in 1820, the U.S. Patent Office issued about two hundred patents each year, but by 1860, it was awarding four thousand patents annually.

4. American mechanics pioneered the development of machine tools thus fueling the spread of the Industrial Revolution.

5. In the firearms industry, Eli Whitney and others developed interchangeable and precision-crafted parts that enabled large-scale production.

6. Technological inventions resulted in more efficient machines and sped up mass production.
7. The increased availability of machines allowed the American Industrial Revolution to come of age; the volume and availability of output caused some products—Remington rifles, Singer sewing machines, and Yale locks—to become household names.

8. After the 1851 Crystal Palace Exhibition in London, Americans built factories in Great Britain and soon dominated many European markets.

D. Wageworkers and the Labor Movement

1. Free Workers Form Unions
   a. The Industrial Revolution changed the nature of work and workers’ lives. Many American craft workers had developed an artisan republicanism, an ideology of production based on the principles of liberty and equality. They saw themselves as small-scale producers, equal to one another and free to work for themselves.
   b. But as the outwork and factory systems spread, more and more workers took jobs as dependent wage earners.
   c. Skilled workers, such as carpenters and masons, united through a strong trade consciousness, created unions, and bargained with their employers, particularly with the hope of setting a ten-hour workday.
   d. By 1840, many trade workers and federal employees had won a ten-hour workday.
   e. Artisans whose occupations were threatened by industrialization—shoemakers, printers, and so on—were less successful, and some left their employers to set up specialized shops, resulting in the division of the traditional artisan class into two groups: self-employed craftsmen and wage-earning craftsmen.
   f. Under English and American common law, it was illegal for workers to form unions or organize themselves for the purpose of raising wages, because they prevented other workers from hiring themselves out for whatever wages they wished.

2. Labor Ideology
   a. In 1830, journeymen banded together to form mutual benefit societies to seek better conditions. In 1834, several trade unions combined to form the National Trades Union.
   b. Although workers gained the public’s support for their causes and Commonwealth v. Hunt (1842) upheld the right of workers to form unions and call strikes in order to enforce closed-shop agreements that limited employment to union members, many judges continued to issue injunctions forbidding strikes.
   c. Union leaders devised a labor theory of value and organized strikes for higher wages.
   d. Women textile workers took similar labor actions; others refused to work in the mills and were soon replaced by impoverished Irish immigrants.
   e. In 1857, surplus production and a financial panic contributed to a recession, and urban unemployment rose to 10 percent, reminding Americans of the social costs of industrial production.

II. The Market Revolution

A. The Transportation Revolution Forges Regional Ties

1. Canals and Steamboats Shrink Distance
   a. By the 1840s, the removal of Indians, generous federal land policies, and desire for landownership enticed nearly 5 million people to move to the trans-Appalachian west.
   b. To connect new western settlements with the east and encourage trade, Congress appropriated funds for construction of the National Road, and states established charter companies to build toll roads, or turnpikes.
   c. Interregional and government-funded highways were still too slow and expensive to transport goods and crops efficiently.
   d. Americans developed a water-borne transportation system of unprecedented size, beginning with the government-subsidized Erie Canal.
   e. The New York canal project had three things in its favor: the support of New York City merchants, the backing of the governor, and the gentle landscape west of Albany.
   f. The Erie Canal altered the region’s ecology as settlers cut trees to construct homes and to open land for crops and pastures.
   g. The Erie Canal brought prosperity to central and western New York, linked the economies of the Northeast and Midwest, and prompted a national canal boom.
h. Robert Fulton’s development of the first American steamboat ensured the success of the water-borne transportation system.

i. State and national governments encouraged the creation of this interregional transportation, trade, and communication system through subsidized construction; the Post Office Act of 1792 allowed letters and banknotes to be carried from one end of the country to the other, and the Supreme Court struck down state restrictions on commerce in *Gibbons v. Ogden* (1824).

2. Railroads Link the North and Midwest
   a. The development of the railroad created ties between the Northeast and the Midwest, and by the 1860s, railroads became the main carriers of freight.
   b. Interregional railroad lines connecting major Midwestern cities with adjacent states turned Chicago into a transportation center.
   c. Interregional trade grew by the 1840s once midwestern entrepreneurs began to produce goods that vastly increased output—John Deere plows, McCormick and Hussey reapers—and replaced products Americans had been importing from Britain and the Northeast. By 1847, entrepreneurs like Deere were creating factories that relied on mass production to manufacture plows.
   d. Improved trade and transportation networks allowed southerners to sell their cotton to northeastern textile plants and foreign markets. Most southern investors concentrated their resources in cotton and slaves. The southern economy remained predominantly agricultural and generated less per capita income than did the more industrial northern economy.

B. The Growth of Cities and Towns
   1. Because of the expansion of industry and trade, the urban population grew fourfold between 1820 and 1840.
   2. The most rapid growth occurred in the new industrial towns that sprang up along the “fall line”—for example, Lowell, Massachusetts; Hartford, Connecticut; Trenton, New Jersey; and Wilmington, Delaware.
   3. Western commercial cities such as New Orleans, Pittsburgh, Cincinnati, and Chicago grew almost as rapidly because of their location at points where goods were transferred from one mode of transport to another.
   4. As transportation hubs, several cities such as St. Louis and Chicago also became major manufacturing centers.
   5. By 1860, the largest cities in the United States were New York, Philadelphia, Brooklyn, St. Louis, and Chicago, in that order.
   6. The old Atlantic seaports—Boston, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Charleston, and especially New York City—retained their importance for foreign commerce and, increasingly, as centers of finance and small-scale manufacturing.
   7. New York’s growth stemmed primarily from its control of foreign trade; by 1840, New York handled almost two-thirds of foreign imports and almost half of all foreign trade.

III. New Social Classes and Cultures
   A. The Business Elite
      1. The Industrial Revolution shattered the traditional rural social order and created a society composed of distinct regions, classes, and cultures.
      2. In the large cities, the richest 1 percent of the population owned 40 percent of all tangible property and an even larger share of the stocks and bonds.
      3. The government taxed tangible property but almost never taxed stocks, bonds, or inheritances; thus government policies allowed the rich to accumulate even more wealth at the expense of the poor.
      4. The wealthiest families began to consciously set themselves apart, and many American cities became segregated communities divided geographically along the lines of class, race, and ethnicity.
   B. The Middle Class
      1. The increased number of farmers, mechanics, manufacturers, merchants, and skilled professionals contributed to a growing middle class.
      2. A distinct middle-class urban culture emerged as the per capita income of Americans rose about 2.5 percent per year between 1830 and 1857, and mass production lowered prices.
2. In addition to securing material comfort, middle-class Americans also invested in education for their children and stressed discipline, morality, and hard work.

3. The business elite and the middle class celebrated work as the key to a higher standard of living for the nation and social mobility for the individual.


C. Urban Workers and the Poor

1. The bottom 10 percent of the labor force, the casual workers, owned little or no property, and their jobs were unpredictable, seasonal, and dangerous.

2. Other laborers had greater job security, but few prospered; many families sent their children out to work, and the death of one parent often pushed the family into dire poverty.

3. Over time, urban factory workers and unskilled laborers lived in well-defined neighborhoods of crowded boardinghouses or tiny apartments, often with filthy conditions.

4. Many wage earners turned to alcohol as a form of solace, and police were unable to contain the lawlessness that erupted.

D. The Benevolent Empire

1. During the 1820s, Congregational and Presbyterian ministers joined with middle-class men and women to launch a program of social reform and regulation.

2. The Benevolent Empire targeted drunkenness and other social ills, but it also set out to institutionalize charity and combat evil in a systematic fashion.

3. The benevolent groups encouraged people to live well-disciplined lives, and they established institutions to assist those in need and to control people who were threats to society.

4. Upper-class women were an important part of the Benevolent Empire through sponsorship of charitable organizations.

5. Some reformers believed that one of the greatest threats to morality was the decline of the traditional Sabbath.

6. Popular resistance or indifference limited the success of the Benevolent Empire.

E. Charles Grandison Finney: Revivalism and Reform

1. Evangelical Beliefs
   a. Presbyterian minister Charles Grandison Finney conducted emotional revivals that stressed conversion rather than instruction; Finney’s ministry drew on and accelerated the Second Great Awakening.
   b. Finney’s message that man was able to choose salvation was particularly attractive to the middle class, but it also helped him to humble the pride of the rich and relieve the shame of the poor by celebrating their common fellowship in Christ.
   c. The business elite joined Finney’s movement, establishing savings banks and Sunday schools for the poor and helping to provide relief for the unemployed.
   d. Finney’s initiatives to create a harmonious community of morally disciplined Christians were not altogether effective; skilled workers argued for higher wages and better schools more than sermons and prayers, and his revival seldom attracted poor people, especially Irish Catholics.
   e. Revivalists from New England to the Midwest copied Finney’s evangelical message and techniques, and the movement swept through Pennsylvania, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Indiana.

2. Temperance
   a. In a society with high alcohol consumption, the temperance movement proved to be the most effective social reform.
   b. The American Temperance Society adapted methods that worked well in the revivals and helped the consumption of spirits to fall dramatically.
   c. Evangelical reformers celebrated religion as the moral foundation of the American work ethic; religion and the ideology of social mobility held society together in the face of the disarray created by the market economy, industrial enterprise, and cultural diversity.

F. Immigration and Cultural Conflict
1. Irish Poverty
   a. Between 1840 and 1860, millions of immigrants—Irish, Germans, and Britons—poured into the United States.
   b. Most avoided the South, and many Germans moved to states in the Midwest, while poorer Germans and most of the Irish settled in the Northeast.
   c. The most prosperous immigrants were the British, followed by the Germans; the poorest were from Ireland.
   d. Irish peasants and laborers, fleeing famine, took low-paying jobs, lived in cheap tenement housing, and were usually the first to die when epidemics hit cities.
   e. Many Germans and most Irish were Catholics who fueled the growth of the Catholic Church in America; Catholic institutions in turn allowed them to maintain their religion as well as their ethnic identities.

2. Nativism
   a. Because of the Protestant religious fervor stirred up by the Second Great Awakening, Catholic immigrants met with widespread hostility; in 1834, Samuel F. B. Morse published Foreign Conspiracy Against the Liberties of the United States, which warned of a Catholic threat to American republican institutions.
   b. Labor issues merged with anti-Catholic sentiment: mobs of workers attacked Catholics, blaming them for high unemployment and low wages.
   c. Social reformers often supported the anti-Catholic movement, hoping to prevent the diversion of tax resources to Catholic schools and opposing alcohol abuse by Irish men.
   d. In most large northeastern cities, differences of class and culture led to violence and split the North, similar to the way that race and class divided the South.

CHAPTER 10

A Democratic Revolution
1800–1844

AP PERIODIZATON AND KEY CONCEPTS

Period 4: 1800–1848

AP U.S. History Key Concepts

4.1 World's first modern mass democracy developed in the United States; emergence of a new national culture; and struggles to define the nation’s democratic ideals and reform its institutions.
   • Debates over federal power, states’ rights, and the authority of different branches of the federal government.
4.2 Developments in technology, agriculture, and commerce led to changes in settlement patterns, regional identities, gender and family relations, and political power.
   • The Market Revolution had significant effects on migration, gender and family relations, and distribution of political power.
4.3 Government policy shaped by interest in expanding trade and national borders.
   • Policymakers aimed at dominating the North American continent.
Various individuals and groups initiated, supported, and/or resisted expansion of territory and/or government powers. Westward expansion gave rise to debates and compromises over the extension of slavery.

CHAPTER LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After reading and studying this chapter, students should be able to:

1. Understand why popular politics came about during the 1820s.
2. Evaluate the significance of Andrew Jackson’s presidency.
3. Analyze the origins and ideology of the Whig Party.
4. Assess how the events of the 1820s and 1830s shaped American culture.
5. Evaluate the Indian Removal Act and its impact.

ANNOTATED CHAPTER OUTLINE

The following annotated chapter outline will help you review the major topics covered in this chapter.

I. The Rise of Popular Politics, 1820–1828

A. The Decline of the Notables and the Rise of Parties
   1. The Rise of Democracy
      a. Expansion of the franchise was the most dramatic expression of the democratic revolution; beginning in the late 1810s, many states revised their constitutions to give the franchise to nearly every white male farmer and wage earner.
      b. In America’s traditional agricultural society, wealthy notables dominated the political system and managed local elections by building up supporting factions.
      c. Smallholding farmers and ambitious laborers in the Midwest and Southwest launched the first challenges to the traditional political order; the constitutions of new states prescribed a broad male franchise, and voters usually elected middling men to local and state offices.
      d. To deter migration to the western states, the elites in most eastern legislatures grudgingly accepted a broader franchise for their states.
      e. By the mid-1820s, only a few states—North Carolina, Virginia, and Rhode Island—required the ownership of freehold property for voting.
      f. Between 1818 and 1821, some eastern states reapportioned legislatures on the basis of population and instituted more democratic forms of local government.
      g. Americans began to turn to government in order to advance business, religious, and cultural causes.
   2. Parties Take Command
      a. As the power of the notables declined, the political party emerged as the organizing force in the American system of government.
      b. Parties were political machines that gathered the diverse agenda of social and economic groups into a coherent legislative program.
      c. Although the beneficiary of elitist education and financial support, Martin Van Buren advocated a political system based on merit, not privilege.
      d. Between 1817 and 1821, Van Buren created the first statewide political machine, and he later organized the first nationwide political party, the Jacksonian Democrats.
      e. Keys to Van Buren’s political success were his systematic use of party newspapers to promote a platform and drum up the vote and his use of patronage; he and his party made six thousand political appointments in New York. Van Buren then used the spoils system to award public jobs to political supporters after an electoral victory.
      f. Van Buren also insisted on party discipline and required state legislators to follow the dictates of a caucus, or meeting of party leaders.

B. The Election of 1824
1. With the democratization of politics, the aristocratic Federalist Party virtually disappeared, and the Republicans broke up into competing factions.

2. The election of 1824 had five candidates who all called themselves Republicans: John Quincy Adams, John C. Calhoun, William H. Crawford, Henry Clay, and Andrew Jackson.

3. Congress selected William Crawford as the official candidate, yet the other candidates refused to accept the selection and sought support among ordinary voters.

4. Adams campaigned on his success as secretary of state; Clay promoted the American System, an integrated program of national economic development; Crawford advocated adherence to Jeffersonian ideals; and Calhoun withdrew to support Jackson, war hero and self-made man.

5. Although Jackson received nationwide support, no candidate received an absolute majority in the electoral college, so members of the House of Representatives had to choose the president.

6. Clay assembled a coalition of congressmen that voted for Adams, and Adams repaid Clay by appointing him secretary of state.

7. Clay’s appointment was a politically fatal mistake for both men; Calhoun accused Adams of using the power and patronage of the executive to thwart the popular will, and Jacksonians in Congress condemned Clay for arranging this “corrupt bargain.”

C. The Last Notable President: John Quincy Adams

1. The Fate of Adams’s Policies
   a. Adams embraced the American System proposed by Clay: protective tariffs, federally subsidized transportation improvements, and a national bank.
   b. Adams’s policies favored the business elite of the Northeast and the entrepreneurs and commercial farmers in the Midwest but won little support among southern planters and smallholding farmers who feared powerful banks and opposed inflation resulting from tariffs.
   c. Congress approved only a few of Adams’s proposals for internal improvements, such as a short extension of the National Road, because politicians believed such legislation was the prerogative of states.

2. The Tariff Battle
   a. The most far-reaching battle of the Adams administration came over tariffs; Adams’s Tariff of 1824 protected manufacturers in New England and Pennsylvania against imports of more expensive woolen and cotton textiles as well as iron goods.
   b. Disregarding southern opposition, northern Jacksonians joined with the supporters of Adams and Clay to enact the Tariff of 1828, which raised duties on raw materials, textiles, and iron goods.
   c. The new tariff enraged the South; as the world’s cheapest producer of raw cotton, the tariff cost southern planters about $100 million a year as planters had to buy either higher-cost American textiles and iron goods or highly taxed British goods.
   d. Southerners thought the tariff was legalized pillage and labeled it a Tariff of Abominations.
   e. Southerners also opposed Adams’s Indian policy that recognized Native American land rights and advocated the negotiation of treaties.
   f. Adams was the last of the elitist politicians and refused to adjust to the new style of party politics.

D. “The Democracy” and the Election of 1828

1. Martin Van Buren and the professional politicians handling Andrew Jackson’s campaign had no reservations about “running” for the presidency.

2. Jacksonians organized a massive publicity campaign advocating Jeffersonian political ideals and celebrated Jackson’s achievements as a self-made man.

3. Jacksonians initially called themselves “Democratic Republicans” but eventually became simply “Democrats,” and their name conveyed their message that through them the middling majority—the democracy—would rule.

4. Jackson’s appeal as a candidate was his message of equal rights and popular rule, his hostility to business corporations and to Clay’s American System, his animus toward Native Americans, and his personal preference for a “judicious” tariff.
5. Jackson received 178 of 261 electoral votes and became the first president from a western state; however, the massive outpouring of popular support for Jackson frightened men of wealth and influence.

II. The Jacksonian Presidency, 1829–1837
A. Jackson’s Agenda: Rotation and Decentralization
   1. To decide policy, Jackson primarily relied on his so-called Kitchen Cabinet—an informal group of advisors.
   2. Using the spoils system, Jackson created a loyal and disciplined national party and dispensed government jobs to aid his friends and win support for his legislative program.
   3. Jackson’s main priority was to destroy Clay’s American System.
   4. He rejected national support for transportation projects, which he also opposed on constitutional grounds, and in 1830 vetoed four internal improvement bills.

B. The Tariff and Nullification
   1. Although opposition to the Tariff of 1828 helped Jackson win the election, a major political crisis saddled him with protecting it.
   2. To sidetrack the possibility that government would try to end slavery, South Carolina politicians tried to limit the power of the central government and chose the tariff as their target.
   3. The crisis began in 1832 when high-tariff congressmen ignored southern warnings that they were “endangering the Union” and reenacted the Tariff of Abominations.
   4. In response, the South Carolina state convention adopted an Ordinance of Nullification, which declared the tariffs of 1828 and 1832 null and void and threatened secession.
   5. South Carolina’s act of nullification rested on the constitutional arguments developed by Vice President John C. Calhoun, in which he maintained that the Constitution had been ratified by state conventions and, therefore, a state convention could declare a congressional law, if it affected states unequally, null and void.
   6. Jackson denounced this radical redefinition of the constitutional system, declaring that nullification violated the Constitution and threatened the union of the United States.
   7. At Jackson’s request, Congress passed a Force Bill authorizing the use of the army and navy to force South Carolina’s obedience.
   8. At the same time, a tariff act was passed that gradually reduced rates; by 1842, tariffs reverted to the modest rates of 1816, thereby eliminating another part of Clay’s American System.
   9. South Carolina rescinded its nullification of the tariff, and Jackson had established the principle that no state could nullify a law of the United States.

C. The Bank War
   1. Jackson’s Bank Veto
      a. By collecting notes and regularly demanding specie, the Second Bank of the United States kept state banks from issuing too many notes—preventing monetary inflation and higher prices.
      b. Most Americans did not understand the regulatory role of the Second Bank and feared its ability to force bank closures, which left them holding worthless paper.
      c. In 1832, Jackson’s opponents in Congress persuaded the Second Bank’s president, Nicholas Biddle, to seek an early extension of the bank’s charter with the hope of luring Jackson into a veto that would split the Democrats just before the 1832 elections.
      d. Jackson vetoed the bank bill and became a public hero; he declared that the Second Bank promoted the advancement of the few at the expense of the many.
      e. Jackson won the election of 1832, jettisoned Calhoun as vice president, and chose Martin Van Buren instead.
2. The Bank Destroyed
   a. Jackson had Secretary of the Treasury Roger B. Taney withdraw the government’s gold from the Second Bank and deposit it in state “pet” banks.
   b. The “bank war” escalated into an all-out political battle. Jackson’s opponents in the Senate passed a resolution censuring the president for acting independently of Congress, although Jackson ultimately won out. When the Second Bank’s national charter expired in 1836, Jackson prevented its renewal.
   c. Jackson had destroyed both national banking and the American System of protective tariffs and internal improvements. The result was a profound reduction in the purview and powers of the national government.

D. Indian Removal
1. Cherokee Resistance
   a. In the late 1820s, whites in both the West and East called for the resettlement of the Indians west of the Mississippi River.
   b. Indian peoples still controlled vast tracts of ancestral land and were determined to retain them.
   c. Several Native American peoples, such as the Cherokee, had established a bicultural society, created a written language, chartered a government similar to the U.S. Constitution, and some even owned slaves.
   d. Mixed-race Cherokees advocated integration into American society to protect property and ancestral lands.
   e. Setting Indian preferences aside, the Georgia legislature demanded a fulfillment of the promise to extinguish Indian landholdings in the state in return for its 1802 ceding of western land claims.
   f. Jackson gave full support to Georgia. He declared states were sovereign within their borders, and he withdrew the federal troops that had protected Indian enclaves.

2. The Removal Act and Its Aftermath
   a. Jackson then pushed through Congress the Indian Removal Act of 1830, which provided territory in modern-day Oklahoma and Kansas to Native Americans who would give up their ancestral holdings on the promise that they could live on the new lands in perpetuity.
   b. When Chief Black Hawk and his followers refused to move from their rich farmland in western Illinois, Jackson sent troops to expel them, which resulted in the army pursuing him into the Wisconsin Territory and engaging in the brutal eight-hour Bad Axe Massacre of 1832.
   c. Over the next five years, American diplomatic pressure and military power forced seventy Indian nations to sign treaties and move west of the Mississippi.
   d. In Cherokee Nation v. Georgia (1831), the Supreme Court denied Indian independence; however, in Worcester v. Georgia (1832), the Supreme Court voided Georgia’s extension of state law over the Indians.
   e. Rather than guaranteeing the Cherokees’ territory, the U.S. government took it from them.
   f. When a vast majority of Cherokees had not departed to the new territory by the deadline of May 1838, President Martin Van Buren ordered General Winfield Scott to forcibly march them 1,200 miles to the new Indian Territory—a journey remembered as the Trail of Tears.
   g. Though Seminoles were the exception, the national government had forced the removal of most eastern Indian peoples to the West.

E. The Jacksonian Impact
1. The Taney Court
   a. Although Jackson permanently expanded the authority of the nation’s chief executive, using the rhetoric of popular sovereignty to declare that the president is the direct representative of the American people, he also reduced the power of the national government to eliminate the American System.
   b. Appointed chief justice by Jackson, Roger B. Taney persuaded the Court to give constitutional legitimacy to Jackson’s policies of anti-monopoly and states’ rights.
   c. In Charles River Bridge Co. v. Warren Bridge Co. (1837), Taney’s ruling undermined the legal positions of chartered corporations and encouraged competitive enterprise (thus challenging John Marshall’s interpretation of the contract clause in Dartmouth College v. Woodward, which had emphasized the binding nature of public charters).
d. In 1837, Taney’s decisions enhanced the regulatory role of state governments (*Mayor of New York v. Miln*) and restored some of the states’ economic powers (*Briscoe v. Bank of Kentucky*).

2. States Revise Their Constitutions
   a. Most states mounted a constitutional revolution—extending the vote to all white men, reappportioning legislatures on the basis of population, and mandating the election of officials.
   b. Most Jacksonian-era constitutions prohibited states from granting exclusive charters to corporations or extending loans and credit guarantees to private businesses and protected taxpayers by setting strict limits on state debts and encouraging judges to enforce them.
   c. Jacksonian “populists” embraced a small-government outlook, based on classical liberalism, or laissez-faire; in public, at least, they attacked government-granted special privileges and celebrated the power of ordinary people.

III. Class, Culture, and the Second Party System
   A. The Whig Worldview
      1. Calhoun’s Dissent
         a. The rise of the Democracy and Jackson’s tumultuous presidency sparked the creation in the mid-1830s of a second national party—the Whigs.
         b. Although a heterogeneous group initially, the Whigs gradually elaborated a distinct vision—a political world dominated by men of ability and wealth, chosen by talent, not birth.
         c. Northern Whigs called for a return to Clay’s and Adams’s American System; southern Whigs advocated economic development but did not support high tariffs and social mobility.
         d. Calhoun, the spokesman for the southern Whigs, opposed social equality and suggested that slave owners and factory owners shared common enemies: enslaved blacks and propertyless whites.
         e. During the 1834 election, Whigs successfully appealed to evangelical Protestants and upwardly mobile Americans in New England and the Midwest and gained control of the House of Representatives.
      2. Anti-Masons Become Whigs
         a. Many Whig voters previously were Anti-Masons, members of a powerful but short-lived political movement of the late 1820s.
         b. Whigs and Anti-Masons shared convictions such as temperance, the American System, equal access to opportunity, and evangelical morality.
         c. In the election of 1836, the Whigs faced Martin Van Buren; Van Buren emphasized his opposition to the American System and his support for individual rights.
         d. The Whigs ran four regional candidates in the election in hope of throwing the presidential contest to the House, which they controlled, but the plan failed and Van Buren won.
   B. Labor Politics and the Depression of 1837–1843
      1. Urban artisans and workers in several states formed Working Men’s Parties to express their discontent with elitist social and political order.
      2. Campaigning for a more egalitarian society, the new parties joined the Jacksonians in demanding equal rights and attacking chartered corporations and monopolistic banks.
      3. Although several Working Men’s candidates won offices in cities, their artisan republicanism rhetoric, which emphasized proprietorship, impeded alliances with dependent wage earners.
      4. At this juncture, the Panic of 1837 threw the American economy into disarray; the panic began when the Bank of England sharply curtailed the flow of money and credit to the United States.
      5. To pay their foreign loans and commercial debts, Americans had to withdraw specie from domestic banks. Lacking adequate specie and a national bank on which to rely, domestic banks suspended all payments in specie.
      6. By 1839, the American economy fell into deep depression: canal construction fell by 90 percent, prices dropped nearly 50 percent, and unemployment rose to 20 percent in some areas.
7. The depression devastated the labor movement by depleting the membership of unions and destroying their bargaining power. Some state courts also issued injunctions, orders that prohibited workers from picketing or striking. By 1843, most unions had disappeared.

C. “Tippecanoe and Tyler Too!”

1. The Log Cabin Campaign
   a. The Whigs blamed Jackson’s policies for the Panic of 1837, and, as Van Buren had just entered office, the public turned its anger on him because he did nothing to stop the downturn.
   b. Van Buren’s Independent Treasury Act of 1840 actually delayed recovery because it took specie out of state banks and put it in government vaults.
   c. In 1840, the Whigs nominated William Henry Harrison, victor of the Battle of Tippecanoe, for president and John Tyler for vice president.
   d. Harrison had little political experience, but the Whigs wanted someone who would rubber-stamp their programs for protective tariffs and a national bank.
   e. The contest—the great “log cabin campaign”—was the first time two well-organized parties competed for the loyalties of a mass electorate, using organized public events to draw in voters. The Whigs used the log cabin as an icon of their candidate’s (largely fictional) egalitarian tastes and common background.
   f. The Whigs boosted their political hopes and their populist image by welcoming women to their festivities.
   g. Harrison was voted into the White House, and the Whigs had a majority in Congress, but a month later Harrison died of pneumonia, so Tyler became president.

2. Tyler Subverts the Whig Agenda
   a. Tyler—who was more like a Democrat when it came to economic issues—was hostile toward the Second Bank and the American System and vetoed many Whig bills.
   b. The split between Tyler and the Whigs allowed the Democrats to regroup and recruit more supporters; the Democrats remained the majority party in most parts of the nation by drawing on ethnocultural politics, the practice of voting along ethnic and religious lines.
   c. Unlike most of the contemporary world, the United States now had a highly organized system of representative government that was responsive to ordinary citizens.

CHAPTER 11

Religion and Reform
1800–1860

AP PERIODIZATION AND KEY CONCEPTS

Period 4: 1800–1848
Period 5: 1844–1877
AP U.S. History Key Concepts

4.1 World’s first modern mass democracy developed in the United States; emergence of a new national culture; and struggles to define the nation’s democratic ideals and reform its institutions.
   - Americans struggled with how to match political ideals to social realities.
   - While Americans embraced a new national culture, various groups developed distinctive cultures of their own.

5.1 An expansionist foreign policy connected the United States to the world and made it a destination for migration.
   - Westward expansion, increased migration, and the end of slavery shaped boundaries and led to conflicts.

CHAPTER LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After reading and studying this chapter, students should be able to:

1. Understand how the economic and political changes that accelerated in the 1820s and 1830s transformed the way Americans thought about themselves and their society.
2. Evaluate how and why transcendentalists promoted social reform.
3. Analyze why communal settlements increased during the mid-eighteenth century, and what objectives their participants had.
4. Assess how and why the public and private roles of women changed between 1820 and 1860.
5. Examine how and why abolitionism became the dominant American reform movement.
6. Evaluate the impact of anti-slavery activists on American society and politics.

ANNOTATED CHAPTER OUTLINE

The following annotated chapter outline will help you review the major topics covered in this chapter.

I. Individualism: The Ethic of the Middle Class
   A. Ralph Waldo Emerson and Transcendentalism
      1. The reform movement reflected the social conditions and intellectual currents of American life; Alexis de Tocqueville coined the word *individualism* to describe the condition and values of native-born white Americans.
      2. Ralph Waldo Emerson of New England was the leading spokesman for transcendentalism.
      3. Emerson’s vision influenced thousands of Americans and a generation of important artists and sparked the American Renaissance, a movement characterized by an outpouring of first-class novels, poetry, and essays.
      4. English romantics and Unitarian radicals believed in an ideal world; to reach this deeper reality, people had to transcend the rational ways in which they normally comprehended the world.
      5. Emerson thought people were trapped in unquestioned and unexamined customs, institutions, and ways of thinking; remaking themselves depended on their discovery of their “original relation with Nature.”
      6. Emerson believed that all nature was saturated with the presence of God, and he criticized the new industrial society, predicting that it would drain the nation’s spiritual energy.
      7. Emerson’s message reached hundreds of thousands of people through writings and lectures on the Lyceum circuit.
      8. Emerson celebrated the individual who was liberated from social controls but remained a self-disciplined and responsible member of society.
      9. Transcendentalists created ideal communities called utopias. The most important was Brook Farm, founded in 1841, where members hoped to develop their minds and then uplift society.
     10. The experiment failed financially, and after a fire in 1846, the organizers disbanded and sold the farm. Yet their passion for individual freedom and social progress lived on in the reform and abolition movements.
   B. Emerson’s Literary Influence
      1. Thoreau, Fuller, and Whitman
         a. Emerson urged American writers to celebrate democracy and individual freedom and to find inspiration in the familiar.
b. Henry David Thoreau heeded Emerson’s call and turned to nature for inspiration. In 1854, he published *Walden, or Life in the Woods*.

c. Thoreau became an advocate for social nonconformity and civil disobedience against unjust laws, both of which he practiced.

d. Margaret Fuller, also a writer, began a transcendental discussion group for elite Boston women and published *Woman in the Nineteenth Century*, which proclaimed that a “new era” was coming in the relations between men and women.

e. Fuller believed that women, like men, had a mystical relationship with God and that every woman deserved psychological and social independence.

f. In 1855, Walt Whitman—a teacher, journalist, and publicist for the Democratic Party—published the first edition of *Leaves of Grass*, which recorded his attempts to pass a number of “invisible boundaries.”

g. Whitman did not seek isolation but rather perfect communion with others; he celebrated democracy as well as himself, arguing that a poet could claim a profoundly intimate, mystical relationship with a mass audience.

II. Rural Communalism and Urban Popular Culture

A. The Utopian Impulse

1. Mother Ann and the Shakers

   a. In rural Northeastern and Midwestern states, communalists established utopias as protests to social conformity and economic change.

   b. Led by “Mother” Ann Lee Stanley, the Shakers were the first successful American communal movement.

   c. The Shakers accepted the common ownership of property and a strict government by the church and pledged to abstain from alcohol, tobacco, politics, and war.

   d. Shakers believed that God was both male and female, but they eliminated marriage and were committed to a life of celibacy.

   e. Beginning in 1787, the Shakers founded twenty communities, mostly in New England, New York, and Ohio.

   f. Their agriculture and crafts, particularly furniture making, enabled most of the communities to become self-sustaining and even comfortable.

   g. Shaker communities attracted more than three thousand converts during the 1830s and they welcomed blacks as well as whites.

   h. Because Shakers had no children of their own, they relied on conversion or adoption of orphans to replenish their numbers.

   i. The Shakers had virtually disappeared by the end of the nineteenth century.

2. Albert Brisbane and Fourierism

   a. Charles Fourier, a French utopian reformer, devised an eight-stage theory of social evolution and predicted the decline of individualism and capitalism.

   b. Albert Brisbane, Fourier’s disciple, believed that cooperative work groups called phalanxes would replace capitalist wage labor with socialism and liberate both men and women.

   c. Brisbane skillfully promoted Fourier’s ideas in his influential book *The Social Destiny of Man* (1840), through a regular column in the *New York Tribune*, and via hundreds of lectures.

   d. In the 1840s, Brisbane and his followers started nearly 100 cooperative communities, but they quickly collapsed because of internal disputes over work responsibilities and social policies.
3. John Humphrey Noyes and Oneida
   a. The minister John Humphrey Noyes set about creating a community that defined sexuality and gender roles in radically new ways.
   b. Noyes, who was inspired by the preaching of Charles Finney, was expelled from his Congregational church and became a leader of perfectionism.
   c. Perfectionists believed that the Second Coming of Christ had already occurred and that people could therefore aspire to perfection in their earthly lives.
   d. Noyes and his followers embraced complex marriage—all the members of the community being married to one another.
   e. Noyes sought to free women from being regarded as their husbands’ property and to free them from endless childbearing and childrearing.
   f. Opposition to complex marriage in Noyes’s hometown of Putney, Vermont, prompted him to move to Oneida, New York, in the mid-1840s.
   g. The Oneida community became financially self-sufficient when one of its members invented a steel animal trap, and others turned to silver manufacturing; the silver-making business survived into the twentieth century.
   h. The historical significance of the Shakers, the Fourierists, and Noyes and his followers is that they attempted to live their lives in what they conceived of as a more egalitarian social order and left their counter-cultural blueprints to posterity.

B. Joseph Smith and the Mormon Experience
   1. Joseph Smith
       a. In contrast to the Shakers and the Oneidians, the Mormons aroused more hostility because they were more cohesive and successfully attracted thousands of members.
       b. Mormonism emerged from the religious fervor in New England during the Second Great Awakening.
       c. Founder Joseph Smith believed God had singled him out to receive a special revelation of divine truth—*The Book of Mormon*.
       d. Smith organized the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints; affirmed traditional patriarchal authority; encouraged hard work, saving of earnings, and entrepreneurship; and started a church-directed community intended to inspire moral perfection.
       e. The Mormons eventually settled in Nauvoo, Illinois, and became the largest utopian community in America.
       f. Resentment toward the Mormons turned to overt hostility when Smith refused to abide by some Illinois laws, asked that Nauvoo be turned into a separate federal territory, and then declared himself a candidate for president.
       g. Smith believed in polygamy—having more than one wife at a time.
       h. In 1844, Smith was murdered in jail after being arrested for trying to create a Mormon colony in Mexico.

2. Brigham Young and Utah
   a. Led by Brigham Young, the Mormons settled in the Great Salt Lake Valley and spread planned agricultural communities across present-day Utah (then part of Mexico).
   b. Mormons who did not support polygamy remained in the United States; led by Smith’s son, they formed the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.
   c. Congress established the Utah Territory in 1850 and named Brigham Young its governor. Young and the territorial legislature resisted federal law to maintain autonomy of the church.
   d. Although President James Buchanan was afraid that if he tried to eliminate polygamy it might set a precedent that could be used to end slavery, he sent a small army to Utah contributing to the short-lived “Mormon War.”
   e. Mormons in Utah and the Midwest succeeded because they reinvigorated the patriarchal family, endorsed private ownership of property, and accepted the entrepreneurial spirit of a market economy.

C. Urban Popular Culture
   1. Sex in the City
       a. As utopian reformers organized new communities on the land, rural migrants and foreign immigrants created a new culture in the cities.
b. Between 1800 and 1840, America experienced a high rate of urban growth. By 1860, New York numbered over 1 million residents.
c. Urban growth generated a new urban culture as young men and women adjusted to a life of hard work.
d. Young working-class laborers, domestic servants, and factory operatives engaged in commercialized sex and serial monogamy while dressing in the latest fashion style, such as the “B’hoy” and the “Bowery Gal.”

2. Minstrelsy
   a. Popular entertainment was another facet of the new urban culture, particularly in New York. Blood sports, performances of Shakespeare, and museums run by P. T. Barnum were popular attractions.
   b. The most important form of entertainment was blackface minstrelsy, a complex blend of racist caricature and social criticism in which white men masqueraded as African Americans.
   c. The shows reinforced white supremacy, nativism, and class criticism of elite control of industry and politics.

3. Immigrant Masses and Nativist Reaction
   a. A growing number of Irish and German immigrants settled in northeastern cities like New York, and their cultural traits became part of urban society.
   b. Many urban New Yorkers and northeasterners disdained these immigrants, particularly the Irish, and beginning in the 1830s created a violent and political nativist movement in an attempt to halt their arrival.
   c. Inspired by temperance, anti-Catholicism, and nativism, urban organizations such as the Female Moral Reform Society and Washington Temperance Society aimed to reform a society in turmoil.

III. Abolitionism
   A. Black Social Thought: Uplift, Race Equality, and Rebellion
      1. David Walker’s Appeal
         a. Inspired by the Second Great Awakening, abolitionists increasingly defined slavery as a sin and demanded its immediate termination.
         b. Leading African Americans in the North advocated policies of social uplift; they encouraged free blacks to “elevate” themselves through education, temperance, moral discipline, and hard work and, by securing “respectability,” to assume a position of equality with the white citizenry.
         c. Some whites felt threatened by this and in the mid-1820s led mob attacks against blacks.
         d. In 1829, David Walker’s *An Appeal … to the Colored Citizens of the World* justified slave rebellion, warning of a slave revolt if their freedom was delayed.
         e. In 1830, African American activists called a national convention in Philadelphia. The delegates did not endorse Walker’s radical call for revolt but made collective equality for all blacks their fundamental demand. This new generation of African American leaders focused on “race-equality” rather than individual uplift and respectability.
      2. Nat Turner’s Revolt
         a. As Walker called for a violent black rebellion in Boston, Nat Turner staged a bloody revolt in Southampton County, Virginia.
         b. Turner, a slave, believed that he was chosen to carry Christ’s burden of suffering in a race war.
         c. Turner’s men killed nearly sixty whites in 1831; he hoped other slaves would rally to his cause, but few did, and they were dispersed by a white militia.
         d. Vengeful whites began to take the lives of blacks at random, and Turner was captured and hanged.
         e. Shaken by Turner’s Rebellion, the Virginia legislature debated a bill for emancipation and colonization, but the bill was rejected and the possibility that southern planters would legislate an end to slavery faded.
         f. Southern states toughened their slave codes and prohibited anyone from teaching a slave to read.
   B. Evangelical Abolitionism
      1. William Lloyd Garrison, Theodore Weld, and Angelina and Sarah Grimké
         a. A dedicated cadre of northern and Midwestern evangelical whites launched a moral crusade to abolish slavery.
c. Garrison condemned the American Colonization Society, attacked the U.S. Constitution for its implicit acceptance of racial bondage, and demanded the immediate abolition of slavery.
d. In 1833, Garrison, Theodore Weld, and Arthur and Lewis Tappan, along with other delegated, established the American Anti-Slavery Society. Women joined the movement and founded the Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society and the Anti-Slavery Conventions of American Women.
e. In 1837, Weld’s publication, The Bible Against Slavery, cited passages from Christianity’s holiest book to discredit slavery.
f. Weld and Angelina and Sarah Grimké provided the abolitionist movement with a mass of evidence in American Slavery as It Is: Testimony of a Thousand Witnesses (1839), which depicted the actual condition of slavery in the United States.

2. The American Anti-Slavery Society
a. The development of the steam-powered press allowed the Anti-Slavery Society to use mass communication to sway public opinion.
b. The abolitionist leaders also assisted blacks who fled from slavery via the Underground Railroad.
c. Abolitionists limited the effectiveness of the Fugitive Slave Law by attacking slave catchers, setting captives free, and taking run-away slaves to Canada.
d. Members of the Anti-Slavery Society flooded Congress with petitions demanding abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, an end to the interstate slave trade, and a ban on admitting any new slave states.
e. Thousands of men and women were drawn to the abolitionist movement, including Ralph Waldo Emerson and Henry David Thoreau.

C. Opposition and Internal Conflict
1. Attacks on Abolitionism
a. The abolitionist crusade won the wholehearted allegiance of only a small minority of Americans.
b. Americans feared that abolitionist agitation would contribute to sectional rift, destruction of property rights, empowerment of women, declining wages, increased competition for jobs, loss of profits, and, most importantly, racial mixing.
c. Northern opponents of abolitionism often turned to violence and thus demonstrated the extent of racial prejudice and heightened race consciousness in that region.
d. Southern whites reacted to abolitionists with fury, offering a reward for Garrison’s kidnapping and destroying abolitionist literature.
e. In 1835, Andrew Jackson asked Congress to restrict the use of the mails by abolitionist groups; Congress did not comply, but the House adopted the notorious gag rule that automatically tabled any legislation about slavery.
2. Internal Divisions
a. Abolitionists were divided among themselves over issues of gender; Garrison not only broadened his reform agenda to include pacifism and the abolition of prisons, but also to women’s rights when he demanded that the society “emancipate” women from their servile positions and make them equal with men.
b. Garrison’s opponents founded the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society.
c. Some abolitionists turned to politics, establishing the Liberty Party and nominating James G. Birney for president in 1840; he won few votes.
d. The very strength of abolitionism proved to be its undoing because its radical program aroused the hostility of a substantial majority of the white population.

IV. The Women’s Rights Movement
A. Origins of the Women’s Movement
1. Moral Reform
a. During the American Revolution, the belief arose that women should limit their political role to that of “republican mothers” who would instruct “their sons in the principles of liberty and government.” A woman should inhabit a “separate sphere” made up of her home and members of her family.
b. Many middle-class women transcended these rigid boundaries by joining in the Second Great Awakening, through which they gained authority and influence over many areas of family life, including the timing of pregnancies.

c. Some women used their newfound religious authority to increase their involvement outside the home, beginning with moral reform.

d. The Female Moral Reform Society, founded in 1834 and led by Lydia Finney, had as its goals ending prostitution, redeeming fallen women, and protecting single women from moral corruption.

2. Improving Prisons, Creating Asylums, Expanding Education
   a. Dorothea Dix served as a vanguard in women’s efforts to reform social institutions by setting up schools for disadvantaged children.
   b. Dix’s discovery that insane women lingered in prisons alongside male criminals inspired her to campaign for the establishment of state asylums and public hospitals.
   c. Northern women supported the movement led by Horace Mann to increase the number of public elementary schools and improve their quality.
   d. Catharine Beecher, the intellectual leader of a new corps of women teachers, argued that women were the best qualified to instruct the young.
   e. By the 1850s, most teachers were women, in part because of Beecher’s arguments but also because women could be paid less than men.

B. From Black Rights to Women’s Rights
   1. Abolitionist Women
      a. Women were crucial participants in the antislavery movement because they understood the sexual abuse female slaves experienced during their life time. Harriet Jacobs’s *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl* and Harriet Beecher Stowe’s *Uncle Tom’s Cabin* graphically described the horrors of slavery for women.
      b. Maria W. Stewart, a Garrisonian abolitionist and an African American, lectured to mixed audiences in the early 1830s; white women also began to deliver abolitionist lectures.
      c. A few women began to challenge the subordinate status of their sex; the most famous were Angelina and Sarah Grimké, who used Christian and Enlightenment principles to claim equal civic rights for women.
      d. By 1840, female abolitionists were asserting that traditional gender roles amounted to the “domestic slavery” of women.
      e. Drawn into public life by abolitionism, thousands of northern women had become firm advocates of greater rights not only for enslaved African Americans but also for themselves.

   2. Seneca Falls and Beyond
      a. During the 1840s, women’s rights activists, often with support from affluent men, tried to strengthen the legal rights of married women; three states enacted married women’s property laws between 1839 and 1845, and an 1848 New York statute gave a woman full legal control over the property she brought to a marriage, which became the model for similar laws in fourteen other states.
      b. Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Lucretia Mott organized a gathering in Seneca Falls, New York, that outlined a coherent statement of women’s equality.
      c. The Seneca Falls activists relied on the Declaration of Independence and repudiated the idea that the assignment of separate spheres for men and women was the natural order of society.
      d. Although most men and many women rejected the activists and their message, in 1850, the first national women’s rights convention began to hammer out a reform program and began a concerted campaign for more legal rights and to win the vote for women.
      e. Susan B. Anthony joined the women’s rights movement and created a network of female political “captains” who lobbied state legislatures for women’s rights.
      f. In 1860, New York granted women the right to collect and spend their own wages, to bring suit in court, to control property, and to serve as guardians of their children in the event they became widows.

   **CHAPTER**
The South Expands:
Slavery and Society
1800–1860

AP PERIODIZATION AND KEY CONCEPTS

Period 4: 1800–1848

AP U.S. History Key Concepts

4.1 World’s first modern mass democracy developed in the United States; emergence of a new national culture; and struggles to define the nation’s democratic ideals and reform its institutions.
  • White Americans in the South asserted their regional identity.
  • Federal and state governments continued to restrict African American citizenship possibilities.
  • Enslaved and free African Americans created communities and strategies to protect their dignity.

4.3 Government policy shaped by interest in expanding trade and national borders.
  • Policy aimed at dominating the North American continent.

CHAPTER LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After reading and studying this chapter, students should be able to:

1. Understand how the domestic slave trade functioned in the United States, and how it impacted African American people.
2. Comprehend how power was distributed in southern white society.
3. Assess in what ways African Americans expressed spirituality during the slavery era.
4. Evaluate the most important aspects of slave society and culture.
5. Analyze the challenges and opportunities experienced by the free black community.

ANNOTATED CHAPTER OUTLINE

The following annotated chapter outline will help you review the major topics covered in this chapter.

I. The Domestic Slave Trade
   A. The Upper South Exports Slaves
      1. By 1817, the southern plantation system was rapidly expanding, as was the demand for slave labor.
      2. By 1860, the slave frontier extended into Texas.
      3. The federal government played a major role in this expansion of slavery by securing Louisiana from the French in 1803, removing Indians from the southeastern states in the 1830s, and annexing Texas and Mexican territories in the 1840s.
      4. To cultivate this vast area, white planters turned first to Africa for slaves and then to the Chesapeake region.
5. Throughout the Old South, the African American population was growing rapidly from natural increases, an average of 27 percent per decade, creating a surplus of slave laborers.

6. High demand for slaves contributed to the creation of the domestic slave trade or the massive forced migration of one million African Americans from the Upper to the Lower South.

7. By 1860, a majority of African Americans lived and worked in the New South.

8. The internal slave trade took two forms: owners transferred their slaves from old to new plantations in the Southwest or traders sold slaves southward.

9. The coastal trade system ran through the Atlantic seaports to the sugar plantations of Louisiana. Northern abolitionists condemned this highly visible slave trade.

10. The sugar fields of Louisiana acquired a bad reputation because disease, overwork, and brutal treatment resulted in a high death rate.

11. The more extensive but less visible route of the domestic slave trade was the inland system that followed rivers and roads.

12. The majority of the human cargo came from the Chesapeake and Carolinas.

13. The domestic slave trade allowed cotton and sugar planters to prosper and improved the profit margin for slave owners from the Upper South.

B. The Impact on Blacks

1. The impact on slave families was profound, emphasizing their vulnerability as movable personal property.

2. The capital invested in slave property strengthened the southern economic system.

3. The sale of a slave became a form of discipline as well as punishment resulting in the breaking up of countless families and destroying one in four marriages.

4. Nearly one-third of all slave children under the age of fourteen were separated from their parents through the domestic slave trade.

5. Despite sales, slave families remained strong. Many slave marriages remained unbroken, and the majority of children lived with one or both parents until puberty.

6. Many slave owners perceived themselves as benevolent masters who took care of their black and white family members and sold only the troublemakers.

7. Few southern whites questioned the morality of the domestic slave trade.

II. The World of Southern Whites

A. The Dual Cultures of the Planter Elite

1. The Traditional Southern Gentry

   a. American slavery had taken root on tobacco plantations in the Chesapeake and in the rice fields of the Carolina low country. It grew to maturity on the cotton fields and sugar plantations of the Mississippi Valley.

   b. Westward movement had a profound impact on the approximately three thousand wealthy planter families of southern society.

   c. The plantation elite consisted of two groups: traditional aristocrats of the Old South and the market-driven entrepreneurs who made their wealth in the cotton industry.

   d. By 1700, tobacco and rice cultivation in the Chesapeake and Carolinas had produced a wealthy class of southern planters who identified themselves with the English landed gentry and viewed their lives as embodiments of classical republican values; this was their justification for practicing slavery.

   e. Most planters criticized the increasingly democratic polity and egalitarian society of the Northeast and Midwest, preferring a society led by wealthy men of talent.

   f. To maintain their identity, aristocratic planters entertained lavishly and married their sons and daughters to one another, teaching them to follow in their footsteps.

   g. As the nineteenth century progressed, rice planters remained at the top of the plantation aristocracy.

   h. In tobacco-growing regions, the lives of the planter aristocracy developed differently, in part based on the diffuse ownership of slaves.

2. The Ideology and Reality of “Benevolence”
Planters defended slavery as a benevolent social system and a “positive good” based on Christian ideology. Slavery produced a civilized lifestyle for whites and tutelage for blacks, planters argued.

Based on a desire to control their workers, extend Christian teachings, and counter abolitionism, planters increasingly intervened in the lives of their slaves, requiring them to attend religious services.

Although defenders of slavery often used religious explanations to justify human bondage, many absentee owners rarely knew about the day-to-day brutality in their slaves’ lives.

3. Cotton Entrepreneurs
   a. Among the entrepreneurial slave masters, less religious justifications and more capitalistic calculations dictated treatment of slaves.
   b. Making a profit required hard work, and slaves who failed or refused to produce received severe punishment.
   c. Cotton was a demanding crop because of its long growing season and few slaves acquired craft skills.
   d. To increase profit and efficiency, cotton planters during the 1820s began to use a gang-labor system, a disciplined system of assigning work “gangs” closely supervised by black drivers and white overseers.
   e. Cotton planters’ use of gang labor had mixed results. The increase in cotton cultivation exhausted the soil and reduced output per acre. Still, the system produced enormous wealth for whites, approximately four million bales of cotton each year.

B. Planters, Smallholding Yeomen, and Tenants
   1. Planter Elites
      a. Although slavery impacted all of southern society, most whites did not own slaves. In 1830, 36 percent of southern whites owned slaves. By 1860, less than 25 percent did.
      b. Slave ownership varied by region: in the cotton belt, 40 percent of whites owned slaves, compared to only 10 percent in the hilly Appalachian Mountains.
      c. In 1860, the richest planter families, which constituted 5 percent of the South’s white population, held over twenty or more slaves each. Along with the rest of the southern aristocracy, they collectively owned 50 percent of all slaves and grew 50 percent of the South’s cotton crop.
      d. Middle-class planters owned 40 percent of the slave population. Most pursued dual careers as skilled artisans or professional men.
      e. Lawyers, who represented the interests of slave owners, became wealthy, powerful, and influential office holders.
   2. Smallholding Planters and Yeomen
      a. Smallholders usually owned one to five slaves and achieved modest prosperity through hard work and determination.
      b. Influenced by the patriarchal ideology of the planter class, these yeomen farmers ruled their smallholdings and families with a firm hand.
      c. Most yeomen lived and died hardscrabble farmers, working alongside their slaves in the field and moving regularly in search of new lands to farm.
      d. Some whites became propertyless due to debts and worked as tenant farmers for wealthy landowners.
   3. Poor Freemen
      a. Propertyless whites enjoyed few of the benefits of slavery and suffered many of its ill consequences.
      b. Although destitute, poor white men considered themselves fortunate to rank above blacks in society.
      c. Many southern whites fled the planter-dominated areas to work farms in the Appalachian hill country and further west where they could achieve independence and respect.

III. Expanding and Governing the South
   A. The Settlement of Texas
      1. After winning independence from Spain in 1821, the Mexican government, short on population and cash for settling the region, encouraged settlement by Mexicans and by migrants from the United States.
      2. As the Mexican government asserted greater political control over Texas in the mid-1830s, the Americans split into two groups: the “peace party,” led by Stephen Austin, wanted more autonomy for the province, and the “war party” wanted independence from Mexico.
3. After provoking a rebellion, the war party proclaimed the independence of Texas on March 2, 1836, and adopted a constitution legalizing slavery.
4. Vowing to put down the rebellion, Santa Anna’s army wiped out the war party’s rebel garrison that was defending the Alamo and then captured Goliad.
5. Hundreds of American adventurers influenced by press reports and lured by offers of land grants flocked to Texas to join the rebel army. Led by General Sam Houston, the war party routed the Mexicans in the Battle of San Jacinto.
6. The Mexican government abandoned efforts to reconquer Texas, but refused to accept its status as an independent republic.
7. Texans quickly voted for annexation to the United States, but President Van Buren refused to act on the issue, knowing that adding Texas as a slave state would divide the Democratic Party and the nation and almost certainly lead to war with Mexico.

B. The Politics of Democracy

1. Taxation Policy
   a. Despite their economic and social prominence, the slave-owning elite did not dominate the political life of the Cotton South.
   b. Planters lived in a republican society with democratic institutions that had granted suffrage to all white men and provided for a secret ballot and apportionment based on population. Thus, they had to compete with other classes of whites for popular favor.
   c. Most elected officials were mid-level planters and planter lawyers and levied taxes on property as well as luxury goods instead of on the ordinary people.
   d. Southern Democrats endorsed low taxes to curry popular support, while Whigs advocated government support for banks, high taxes, and internal improvements.
   e. Most southern state legislatures enacted policies that reflected the interests of the slave-owning population but were also careful not to alienate non-slave-owning whites.

2. The Paradox of Southern Prosperity
   a. In 1860, the southern economy ranked fourth in the world. Although white southerners experienced a high standard of living, African Americans lived in poverty, and northern wealth was rapidly increasing.
   b. Southerners invested most of their wealth in land and slaves, neglecting economic diversification and industrial investment in favor of short-term profits.
   c. Urban growth was limited to commercial cities. Only 10 percent of the nation’s manufactured goods were produced in the South. Few planters invested in railroads, and only to service cotton regions.
   d. Slavery worked in other ways to deter industrialization. Fearing competition from slave labor, European immigrants avoided the South, depriving the region of needed free workers to reclaim the land for development.
   e. Thus, the South remained an economic colony of Europe and the North and did not enjoy real economic independence and diversity despite outward signs of wealth and prosperity.

IV. The African American World

A. Evangelical Black Protestantism

1. African Religions and Christian Conversion
   a. The emergence of a black form of evangelical Christianity exemplified the synthesis of African and European culture that composed a new African American culture.
   b. Evangelical Protestantism came to the South in the late eighteenth century with the Second Great Awakening and the conversion of thousands of whites and blacks.
   c. Until the Second Great Awakening, the overwhelming majority of African American slaves retained an African religious culture, but white Protestant preachers and planters began to convert slaves.
   d. Many assimilated blacks crusaded for Protestantism, and after being traded to the Deep South, spread evangelical Christianity to slaves there.

2. Black Worship
   a. Enslaved blacks and unofficial black ministers reinterpreted the teachings of Christianity to meet their own needs and emphasized oneness of people and the antislavery ethos of Christ and God.
b. Despite believing in a European religion, black slaves expressed their spirituality in African ways, including the use of ring shouts and the creation of a joyous brand of Protestant worship to sustain them under slavery.

B. Forging Families and Communities
1. By 1820, most black slaves in America had been born in the United States, and the domestic slave trade had eliminated regional variations. These developments helped to create a homogenous black culture based on evangelical Christianity, English as a common language, and labor in a slave regime.
2. Although the black population was becoming more homogeneous, African cultural influences remained important, such as dancing, marriage, and religion.
3. Unlike white marriages, slave marriages were not recognized in law and followed African forms of union, such as jumping the broomstick.
4. The creation of fictive kinship networks and the naming practices for children were part of a complex community building process of order in which family and community values remained intact despite the slave trade and slavery itself.

C. Negotiating Rights
1. Working Lives
   a. African Americans created a sense of order and sometimes control over their lives in an otherwise uncontrollable world.
   b. In the rice-growing regions, slaves used the task system to their advantage, ending work early and planting food for their own use.
   c. On sugar and cotton plantations, the gang-labor system limited such independence, but surplus slaves hired out as teamsters, drovers, or railroad workers gained new freedoms and skills.
   d. Planters worried constantly that enslaved African Americans would rebel against them.
   e. African American passive resistance severely limited a master’s power. Slaves slowed the pace of work by feigning illness, breaking tools, and running away.
   f. Fear of slave resistance reduced a white master’s use of violence and increased the use of positive incentives and work discipline as control mechanisms.
   g. The violence of the slave regime, such as rape and beatings, meant that violent slave resistance was infrequent.
2. Survival Strategies
   a. Coordinated large-scale slave revolts, such as the Prosser revolt (1800) and Turner revolt (1832), were rare.
   b. Blacks realized the futility of violent resistance because they lacked communal resources to fight well-armed whites.
   c. Escape was difficult since families would be left behind and the distance to the North was great, leading some blacks to escape to Florida or form hidden communities in swamps and woods and intermarry with Indians.
   d. Given these limitations, most slaves created the best possible lives for themselves and their families, in part by demanding from masters a greater share of the fruits of their labor as slaves, such as the right to have a garden or time off.
   e. Even well treated slaves did not accept the legitimacy of their status.

D. The Free Black Population
1. Northern Blacks
   a. Some enslaved blacks found freedom through escape or manumission. In 1790, the proportion of free blacks in the total black population was 8 percent. Between 1820 and 1840, it became 13 percent and then dropped to 11 percent by 1860.
   b. Half of all free blacks lived in the North. Most were southern refugees. A minority were the offspring of families that had been free for generations.
   c. Even in the North, few free blacks enjoyed a truly free existence.
   d. Most whites viewed blacks as socially inferior economic competitors and thus confined them to low-paying menial work. In rural areas, they were farm laborers. In urban areas, they worked as domestic servants and day laborers. Only a small number owned any land.
e. Only a few states allowed free black men to vote, attend public schools, and sit next to whites in churches. Only in Massachusetts could blacks testify against whites in court. The federal government forbade blacks from being employed in postal service, claiming public lands, or holding a U.S. passport.

f. Despite limitations, a few free blacks amassed relative wealth. Mathematician Benjamin Banneker, painter Joshua Johnston, and merchant Paul Cuffee achieved public distinction for their work for whites.

g. To improve American institutions and give blacks a sense of autonomy, free African Americans created churches, orphanages, and fellowship groups. One of the most famous was the African Methodist Episcopal Church, founded by Bishop Richard Allen.

h. Class distinctions developed in the black community based on elite appeals to white beneficence and working-class rejection of white violence and oppression.

2. Standing for Freedom in the South
   a. Most free blacks in the South (225,000 in 1860, up from 94,000 in 1810) lived in large coastal cities, especially in the Upper South.
   b. Free southern blacks consisted almost entirely of the artisan class of skilled workers, due in part to the lack of European immigration to the South.
   c. Free southern blacks accused of crimes were often denied a jury trial and were sometimes forced back into slavery.
   d. Some wealthy, free southern blacks distanced themselves from working-class free blacks and identified more with the planter aristocracy, even owning slaves.
   e. Most free blacks, understanding the precariousness of their own lives, found racial solidarity with other blacks and worked toward the end of slavery by helping fugitive slaves, supporting the antislavery movement, or entering black politics. Slaves viewed them as signs of hope; whites perceived them as a menace.

PART FIVE

CREATING AND PRESERVING A CONTINENTAL NATION 1844–1877

AP PERIODIZATION AND KEY CONCEPTS

Period 5: 1844–1877
Period 6: 1865–1898

AP U.S. History Key Concepts

5.1 An expansionist foreign policy connected the United States to the world and made it a destination for migration.
5.2 Debates over slavery and other economic, cultural, and political issues led to civil war.
5.3 Union victory in the Civil War and Reconstruction settled the slavery issue and secession, but questions remained about the power of the federal government and citizenship rights.
6.1 The rise of big business encouraged large-scale migrations, urbanization, and new efforts to reshape the environment and the economy.

6.2 An emerging industrial culture led to both opportunities and restrictions for immigrants, minorities, and women.

**Assessment Weight on the AP U.S. History Exam: 45% (Periods 2–5); 45% (Periods 6–8)**

**PART LEARNING OBJECTIVES**

After you’ve taught this part, your students should be able to answer the following “Big Idea” questions:

**Chapter 13: Expansion, War, and Sectional Crisis, 1844–1860**

In the first two decades of the Cold War, how did competition on the international stage and a climate of fear at home affect politics, society, and culture in the United States?

**Chapter 14: Two Societies at War, 1861–1865**

Why did consumer culture become such a fixture of American life in the postwar decades, and how did it affect politics and society?

**Chapter 15: Reconstruction, 1865–1877**

How did the civil rights movement evolve over time, and how did competing ideas and political alliances affect its growth and that of other social movements?

**Chapter 16: Conquering a Continent, 1854–1890**

What were liberalism’s social and political achievements in the 1960s, and how did debates over liberal values contribute to conflict at home and reflect tension abroad?

**PART THEMES**

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<th>IDEAS, BELIEFS, AND CULTURE</th>
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|                    | Whig Party disintegrates; Know-Nothing Party attacks immigrants | President Pierce opens Japan to trade; seeks to expand American territory and slavery into Caribbean by diplomacy and filibustering actions | Dred Scott decision (1857) opens way to legalize slavery nationwide | White settlers expand farm society to trans-Mississippi west |
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| 1860 | • Eleven southern states secede from Union, sparking Civil War (1861–1865); the Union’s triumph preserves a continental nation • Fourteenth Amendment (1868) extends legal and political rights | • U.S. diplomacy and Union army victories in 1863 cause British government to stop sale of ironclad ships to the Confederacy • Secretary of State Seward buys Alaska from Russia (1867) • Burlingame Treaty (1868) protects missionaries in China and limits Chinese immigration • Confederate States of America (1861–1865) vow to continue slavery • Republicans seek to impose equal rights ideology on South • Black families accept ideal of domesticity • Republicans enact Whigs’ economic policies: Homestead Act (1862), railroad aid, high tariffs, and national banking • Women assume new tasks in war economies • Emancipation Proclamation (1863) and Thirteenth Amendment (1865) free blacks from slavery • Aided by Freedman’s Bureau, African Americans struggle for freedom, land, and education | | 1870 | • Fifteenth Amendment (1870) extends vote to black men • Compromise of 1877 ends Reconstruction | • Britain pays the U.S. $15.5 million for the depredations of the Alabama during the war • Anti-Chinese riots in San Francisco in late 1870s prompt Chinese Exclusion Act (1882) • Ku Klux Klan attacks Reconstruction governments • Republicans embrace classical liberalism • White elites challenge ideal of universal suffrage and deny women’s suffrage • Sharecropping spreads in South • Ranchers create cattle empire on Great Plains • Depression of 1873 halts railway expansion • U.S. wars against Plains Indians (Cheyennes, Sioux, Apaches, and Nez Perce) open their lands to white miners, ranchers, and farmers • Dawes Act (1887) seeks Indian assimilation |
Expansion, War, and Sectional Crisis
1844–1860

AP PERIODIZATION AND KEY CONCEPTS

Period 5: 1844–1877

AP U.S. History Key Concepts

5.1 An expansionist foreign policy connected the United States to the world and made it a destination for migration.
   • A desire for territorial expansion resulted in war, the creation of new markets, territory acquisition, and ideological conflicts.
   • Westward expansion, increased migration, and the end of slavery shaped boundaries and led to conflicts.

5.2 Debates over slavery and other economic, cultural, and political issues led to civil war.
   • Sectionalism intensified.
   • Attempts at political compromise failed to calm tensions over slavery, leading to the secession of southern states after the election of 1860.

CHAPTER LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After reading and studying this chapter, students should be able to:

1. Explain how western expansion became inextricably linked with sectional identity during the 1840s.
2. Evaluate how and why southerners changed their position on slavery.
3. Assess why the United States fought the war with Mexico, and evaluate the larger impact of this war.
4. Analyze how and why divisions within American society during the 1850s brought the Second Party System to an end.
5. Consider what choices were available to Americans in the election of 1860, and explain why Abraham Lincoln’s victory was significant.

ANNOTATED CHAPTER OUTLINE

The following annotated chapter outline will help you review the major topics covered in this chapter.

I. Manifest Destiny: South and North
   A. The Push to the Pacific
      1. Oregon
a. In 1845, John L. O’Sullivan coined the phrase Manifest Destiny; he believed that Americans had a right to develop the entire continent as they saw fit, which implied a sense of cultural and racial superiority.
b. The Oregon Country stretched along the Pacific coast from the border with Mexican California to the border with Russian Alaska; both Great Britain and the United States claimed it.
c. “Oregon fever” raged in 1843 as thousands, lured by reports of fine harbors, mild climate, and fertile soil, journeyed for months across the continent to the Willamette Valley.
d. By 1860, about 250,000 Americans had braved the Oregon Trail; many died en route from disease and exposure, although relatively few died from Indian attacks.
e. Some pioneers left the Oregon Trail and traveled south along the California Trail, settling along the Sacramento River in the Mexican province of California.

2. California
   a. To promote California’s development, the Mexican government took over the California missions and liberated the 20,000 Indians who worked on them, many of whom intermarried with mestizos and worked as laborers and cowboys on large cattle ranches.
b. The rise of cattle ranching created a new society and economy, as agents from New England firms assimilated to Mexican life and married into the families of the Californios.
c. Many American migrants in California had no desire to assimilate into Mexican society and hoped for eventual annexation to the United States; however, at that time American settlers in California were too few.

B. The Plains Indians
   1. As the Pacific-bound wagon trains rumbled across Nebraska, the migrants encountered the Great Plains, a vast sea of grass stretching north from Texas to Saskatchewan in Canada, and west from the Missouri River to the Rocky Mountains.
   2. Nomadic buffalo-hunting Indian peoples roamed the western plains, while the tall grass lands and river valleys to the east were home to semisedentary tribes.
   3. A line of military forts—stretching from Fort Jesup in Louisiana to Fort Snelling, then in the Wisconsin Territory—policed the boundary between white America and what Congress in 1834 designated as Permanent Indian Territory.
   4. For centuries, the Indians who lived on the eastern edge of the plains, such as the Pawnees and the Mandans on the Upper Missouri River, subsisted primarily on food crops—corn and beans—supplemented by buffalo meat.
   5. They also exchanged goods with traders and travelers along the Sante Fe Trail, which cut through Comanche and Kiowa territory as it connected Missouri and New Mexico. By the early 1840s, goods worth nearly $1 million moved along the trail each year.
   6. By the 1830s, the Kiowas, Cheyennes, and Arapahos had also adopted the horse culture and, allied with the Comanches, dominated the plains between the Arkansas and Red rivers.
   7. As European horses enhanced the mobility and wealth of the Plains Indians, European diseases and guns thinned their ranks. A devastating smallpox epidemic spread northward from New Spain in 1779–1781, killing half of the Plains peoples.
   8. European weapons also altered power relationships between Native American peoples allowing the Blackfeet, for example, to drive the Shoshones and Crows southward.
   9. The powerful Sioux, who acquired guns and ammunition from French, Spanish, and American traders along the Missouri River, also remained buffalo hunters. As nomadic people who lived in small groups, the Sioux largely avoided major epidemics and increased their numbers.
   10. Buffalo hunting evolved into a business for many Indians as they traded surplus hides and dried meat for pots, knives, guns, and other Euro-American manufactured goods.
   11. Few Native American peoples began to realize that increasing the size of the kill diminished the buffalo herds and consequently would bring an end to the Plains Indians.

C. The Fateful Election of 1844
   1. The election of 1844 influenced the American government’s western policy.
2. To thwart rumored British schemes of North American expansion, southern expansionists demanded the immediate annexation of Texas.

3. Oregon fever and Manifest Destiny were also altering the political and diplomatic landscape in the North. Responding to “Oregon conventions” that called for an end to joint occupation of the region, a bipartisan national convention in 1843 demanded that the United States seize Oregon all the way to the 54°40' north latitude.

4. Texas and Oregon became the central issues in the election of 1844; Democrats selected Governor James K. Polk of Tennessee, a slave owner and expansionist who favored annexation of both Texas and Oregon.

5. The Whigs nominated Henry Clay, who again championed his American System of internal improvements, high tariffs, and national banking, and begrudgingly supported the annexation of Texas.

6. Polk’s strategy of linking the issues of Texas and Oregon was successful; immediately after Polk’s victory, Democrats in Congress approved annexation of Texas by a joint resolution to bring it into the Union.

II. War, Expansion, and Slavery, 1846–1850

A. The War with Mexico, 1846–1848

1. Polk’s Expansionist Program
   a. President Polk saw Texas as just the beginning; he wanted American control over all Mexican territory between Texas and the Pacific Ocean and was prepared to go to war to get it.
   b. Mexico was determined to retain its territories, and when the Texas Republic accepted American statehood in 1845, Mexico broke off diplomatic relations with the United States.
   c. Polk, hoping to inspire a revolution in California that would lead to an independent republic and request for annexation, asked Thomas O. Larkin to encourage influential Californios to seek independence, ordered naval commanders to seize coastal towns in case of war, and dispatched Captain John C. Frémont’s heavily armed troops deep into Mexican territory.
   d. Polk also sent John Slidell to Mexico on a secret diplomatic initiative to secure Mexican acceptance of the Rio Grande boundary and to buy New Mexico and California; however, Mexican officials refused to see him.
   e. To intimidate the Mexican government, Polk ordered General Zachary Taylor to occupy the disputed lands between the Nueces River and the Rio Grande. When a clash occurred, Polk blamed the Mexicans for the bloodshed and called for war.
   f. Ignoring Whig pleas for a negotiated settlement, the Democratic majority in Congress voted for war with Mexico.
   g. To avoid simultaneous war with Britain, the president accepted a British proposal to divide the Oregon Country at the forty-ninth parallel.

2. American Military Successes
   a. By the end of 1846, the United States controlled much of northeastern Mexico.
   b. Naval attacks, a staged revolt supported by Frémont’s unit, and army reinforcements allowed American forces to secure control of California in 1847.
   c. Santa Anna went on the offensive, attacking Zachary Taylor’s units at Buena Vista in 1847, and only superior artillery enabled a narrow American victory.
   d. General Winfield Scott’s troops seized Mexico City in September 1847; Santa Anna was overthrown and the new Mexican government agreed to make peace.

B. A Divisive Victory

1. The Wilmot Proviso
   a. “Conscience Whigs” viewed the Mexican War as a conspiracy to add new slave states in the West.
   b. Voters seemed to agree, giving Whigs control of Congress through the 1846 election.
   c. Polk’s expansionist policy also split the Democrats into sectional factions.
   d. Antislavery Democrats supported the Wilmot Proviso (1846), a plan intended to prohibit slavery in any new territories acquired from Mexico; the Senate killed the proviso.
   e. To reunite Democrats before the election, Polk and Buchanan abandoned their expansionist hopes for Mexico and agreed to take only California and New Mexico.
f. In the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo (1848), the United States agreed to pay Mexico $15 million for Texas north of the Rio Grande, New Mexico, and California.
g. The establishment of the Oregon Territory and the acquisition of New Mexico and California in 1848 seemed to have fulfilled Manifest Destiny.

2. Free Soil
   a. The political debate over expansion and the desire to limit the power of southern slave owners encouraged many northerners to join a new free-soil movement.
   b. The Free Soil Party, organized in 1848, viewed slavery as a threat to republicanism and to the Jeffersonian ideal of a freeholder society (and not, as the Liberty Party believed, a sin against the natural rights of African Americans).
   c. The free-soil movement attracted much popular support, including Frederick Douglass, the foremost black abolitionist. However, radical abolitionists such as William Lloyd Garrison opposed the Free Soilers’ emphasis on whiteness.

3. The Election of 1848
   a. Democrats nominated Senator Lewis Cass of Michigan as their presidential candidate for the election of 1848; Cass was an avid expansionist who proposed squatter sovereignty, which allowed settlers in each territory to determine whether its status should be free or slave.
   b. The Free-Soilers, including northern Democrats, nominated Martin Van Buren for president.
   c. The Whigs nominated General Zachary Taylor, a war hero and slave owner who was firmly committed to the defense of slavery in the South but not in the territories, a position that won him support in the North.
   d. Taylor and his running mate Millard Fillmore won the election, but the electoral margin was thin because the Free-Soil ticket took New York’s vote.

C. California Gold and Racial Warfare
   1. The Forty-Niners
      a. Even before Taylor took office, workers for John A. Sutter in the Sierra Nevada foothills of California discovered flakes of gold in January of 1848.
      b. By January 1849, sixty-one crowded ships had left northeastern ports to sail around Cape Horn to San Francisco; by May, twelve thousand wagons had crossed the Missouri River bound for the goldfields. By the end of 1849, more than 80,000 people, mostly men—the so-called forty-niners—had arrived in California.
      c. American miners treated alien whites fairly but limited Indian, Mexican, and Chilean access to goldfields and called for laws to expel Chinese miners from California.
      d. Few miners became rich, but instead they faced disease and death, and many returned home penniless.
      e. Most miners eventually found themselves working for wages for companies that engaged in hydraulic or underground mining; many others turned to farming.

2. Racial Warfare and Land Rights
   a. Farming required arable land, which was owned by Mexican grantees or occupied by Indian peoples.
   b. The subjugation of the Indians came first. In 1848, there were about 150,000 Indians in California; by 1861, there were only 30,000.
   c. European diseases took the lives of thousands of natives. But in California, white settlers also undertook systematic campaigns of extermination, and local political leaders did little to stop them.
   d. Congress abetted these assaults by repudiating treaties that federal agents had negotiated with 119 tribes and had provided the Indians with 7 million acres of land. Instead, in 1853, Congress authorized five reservations of only 25,000 acres each and refused to provide the Indians with military protection.
   e. Some settlers simply murdered Indians to push them off nonreservation lands. Other white Californians turned to slave trading.
   f. The Mexicans and Californios who held grants to thousands of acres were harder to dislodge. The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo guaranteed that Spanish and Mexican land grants would be “inviolably respected.”
g. Although many of the 800 grants in California were either fraudulent or questionable, the Land Claims Commission created by Congress upheld the validity of 75 percent of them.

h. In the meantime, hundreds of American squatters, rejecting the notion that so much unoccupied and unimproved land could be held by a few families, set up farms on these grants. They successfully pressured local land commissioners and judges to void suspect grants and encouraged landowners to sell at bargain prices.

i. In northern California, farmers found that they could grow most eastern crops. Ranchers gradually replaced Spanish cattle with American breeds, which found a ready market as California’s population shot up to 380,000 by 1860 and 560,000 by 1870.

j. Wheat and barley farmers cultivated hundreds of acres, using the latest technology and scores of hired workers to produce huge crops, which San Francisco merchants exported to Europe at high prices. The gold rush gradually turned into a wheat boom.

D. 1850: Crisis and Compromise
1. Constitutional Conflict
   a. The California gold rush and subsequent influx of settlers revived the national debate over free soil; in November 1849, Californians ratified a state constitution that prohibited slavery.
   b. John C. Calhoun warned of possible secession by slave states and advanced the doctrine that Congress had no constitutional authority to regulate slavery in the territories.
   c. Many southerners and some northern Democrats were willing to extend the Missouri Compromise line to the Pacific Ocean, guaranteeing slave owners access to some western territory.
   d. A third choice, squatter (popular) sovereignty, placed decisions about slavery in the hands of local settlers and their territorial governments.
   e. Antislavery advocates were unwilling to accept any plan for California that might involve the expansion of slavery in the territories and urged federal authorities to restrict slavery within its existing boundaries and eventually extinguish it completely.

2. A Complex Compromise
   a. Whigs and Democrats desperately sought a compromise to preserve the Union and organized the Compromise of 1850.
   b. The Compromise included a new Fugitive Slave Act to mollify the South; it admitted California as a free state and abolished the slave trade (but not slavery) in the District of Columbia, to satisfy the North; and finally, it organized the rest of the lands acquired from Mexico into the territories of New Mexico and Utah on the basis of popular sovereignty.
   c. The Compromise averted a secession crisis in 1850, but resulted in special conventions in the South; in exchange for support of the Compromise, moderate southern politicians agreed to support secession in the future if Congress abolished slavery anywhere or refused to grant statehood to a territory with a proslavery constitution.

III. The End of the Second Party System, 1850–1858
A. Resistance to the Fugitive Slave Act
   1. Under the terms of the Fugitive Slave Act, federal magistrates in the northern states determined the status of alleged runaway slaves. The law denied accused blacks a jury trial and even the right to testify, and it allowed the re-enslavement of about 200 fugitives (as well as some free blacks).
   2. The plight of runaway slaves and the appearance of slave catchers aroused popular hostility in the North and Midwest, and free blacks and abolitionists defied the new law.
   3. Harriet Beecher Stowe’s Uncle Tom’s Cabin (1852), which evoked sympathy for slaves and outrage against slavery throughout the North, increased northern opposition to the Fugitive Slave Act.
   4. Northern legislatures enacted personal liberty laws, and in Ableman v. Booth (1857), the Wisconsin Supreme Court said the act violated the Constitution.
   5. The U.S. Supreme Court in 1859 upheld the constitutionality of the Fugitive Slave Act, but by then, the act had become a “dead letter.”

B. The Whigs Disintegrate and New Parties Rise
1. Proslavery Initiatives
   a. The conflict over slavery split both major political parties along sectional lines and stymied creative political leadership.
   b. The Whig Party chose General Winfield Scott. Democrats were divided at their convention and settled on a compromise nominee, Franklin Pierce.
   c. The Democrats swept the election because the Whig Party had split into sectional wings, fragmented over slavery.
   d. Pierce pursued an expansionist foreign policy to assist northern merchants; he secured railroad rights in northern Mexico with the Gadsden Purchase to mollify southern planters.
   e. Pierce’s acceptance of the Ostend Manifesto (1854) that suggested the seizing of Cuba from Spain to satisfy southern expansionists infuriated northern Democrats and revived fears of a “Slave Power” conspiracy.

2. The Kansas-Nebraska Act
   a. Events in the trans-Mississippi west created major controversy. Illinois Senator Stephen A. Douglas suggested the voiding of Indian rights in the Great Plains, the construction of a transcontinental railroad linking Chicago with California, and the establishment of a large free territory called Nebraska.
   b. To attract southern support, Douglas’s Kansas-Nebraska Act divided the northern Louisiana Purchase into two territories, Kansas and Nebraska, and voided the Missouri Compromise line by opening the area to slavery through the principle of popular sovereignty.
   c. The Kansas-Nebraska Act barely passed in 1854.

3. The Republican and American Parties
   a. The Kansas-Nebraska Act proved to be the end of the Second Party System. Antislavery northern Whigs and “anti-Nebraska Democrats” formed a new party in 1854, the Republicans.
   b. The new party stood for opposition to slavery and a celebration of the moral virtues of a society based on “the middling classes who own the soil and work it with their own hands.”
   c. The American, or Know-Nothing, Party had its origins in the anti-immigrant and anti-Catholic organizations of the 1840s. It hoped to unite native-born Protestants against the “alien menace” of Irish and German Catholics, prohibit further immigration, and institute literacy tests for voting.

4. Bleeding Kansas
   a. In 1855, the Pierce administration recognized the controversial territorial legislature in Lecompton, Kansas, which had adopted proslavery legislation.
   b. Free-Soilers rejected the legitimacy of the territorial government; proslavery and antislavery sides turned to violence, including the Pottawatomie massacre led by John Brown.

C. Buchanan’s Failed Presidency
   1. The Election of 1856
      a. The Republican Party counted on anger over “Bleeding Kansas” to boost its fortunes and nominated Colonel James C. Frémont, a free-soiler who had won fame in the conquest of Mexican California, as its presidential candidate.
      b. The American Party split into sectional factions over slavery; the northern faction endorsed Frémont, and the southern faction nominated Millard Fillmore.
      c. The Democrats reaffirmed their support for popular sovereignty and the Kansas-Nebraska Act, and they nominated James Buchanan.
      d. James Buchanan won, and the Republicans replaced the Whigs as the second major party.
      e. Republicans had no support in the South, however; if they were to win in the next presidential election, it might prompt the southern states to withdraw from the Union. President Buchanan was left to devise a way of maintaining the nation.

2. Dred Scott: Petitioner for Freedom
   a. In *Dred Scott v. Sandford* (1857), the U.S. Supreme Court opined that a slave’s residence in a free state did not make him a free man.
b. Chief Justice Taney declared that, contrary to state laws recognizing the citizenship of free blacks, African Americans were not citizens and therefore could not sue in a federal court. Taney also claimed that the provisions of the Northwest Ordinance and the Missouri Compromise that prohibited slavery had never been constitutional, and he also declared that Congress could not give to territorial governments any powers that Congress itself did not possess.

c. Taney thereby endorsed Calhoun’s interpretation of popular sovereignty: only when settlers wrote a constitution and requested statehood could they prohibit slavery.

d. The Court had declared the Republicans’ antislavery platform to be unconstitutional; Republicans countered by accusing the Supreme Court and President Buchanan of participating in the Slave Power conspiracy.

e. In 1858, Buchanan recommended the admission of Kansas as a slave state; by pursuing a proslavery agenda—first with Dred Scott, then in Kansas, and also in supporting the purchase of Cuba—he had helped to split his party and the nation.

IV. Abraham Lincoln and the Republican Triumph, 1858–1860

A. Lincoln’s Political Career

1. An Ambitious Politician

a. Abraham Lincoln came from an impoverished yeoman farming family in Illinois; in 1831, he rejected the farmer’s life and became a store clerk.

b. Lincoln was an ambitious man: he was admitted to the bar in 1837, married the more socially prominent Mary Todd in 1842, and served four terms as a Whig in the Illinois assembly.

c. In 1846, Lincoln won election to Congress, where he had to take a stand on the issue of slavery; he believed that slavery was unjust but did not think that the federal government had the constitutional authority to tamper with it.

d. Lincoln argued that prohibiting the expansion of slavery, gradual emancipation, and the colonization of freed slaves were the only practical ways to address the issue.

e. Both abolitionists and proslavery activists derided Lincoln’s pragmatic policies, he lost his bid for reelection, and for a while, he withdrew from politics in order to devote his time to law.

f. Lincoln returned to politics after the passage of Stephen Douglas’s Kansas-Nebraska Act; he attacked the doctrine of popular sovereignty and reaffirmed his opposition to slavery in the territories.

2. The Lincoln-Douglas Debates

a. Lincoln abandoned the Whig Party and joined the Republicans; he soon emerged as their leader in Illinois.

b. In his “House Divided” speech, Lincoln predicted a constitutional crisis over slavery.

c. In the 1858 duel for the U.S. Senate, Stephen Douglas declared his support for white supremacy, and Lincoln, put on the defensive by Douglas, advocated economic opportunity for blacks but not equal political rights.

d. Douglas’s Freeport Doctrine asserted that settlers could exclude slavery by not adopting local legislation to protect it; this upset proslavery advocates and abolitionists.

e. Douglas was reelected to the Senate, but Lincoln had established a national reputation.

B. The Union Under Siege

1. The Rise of Radicalism

a. Southern Democrats divided into two groups: the moderates (“southern rights” Democrats) pursued protection of slavery in the territories, and the fire-eaters, who repudiated the Union and actively promoted secession. Northern antislavery radicals called for stronger action.

b. In October 1859, John Brown led a raid that temporarily seized the federal arsenal at Harpers Ferry, Virginia; his purpose was to supply the arms for a major slave rebellion that would end slavery.

c. Brown was charged with treason, sentenced to death, and hanged. He was a martyr to abolitionists, which horrified southerners.

d. In 1860, northern Democrats rejected Jefferson Davis’s program to protect slavery in the territories, so the delegates from eight southern states quit the meeting. Southern Democrats nominated as their candidate John C. Breckinridge of Kentucky. Meeting separately, northern and midwestern delegates nominated Stephen Douglas.

2. The Election of 1860
a. Republicans chose Lincoln as their candidate for his moderate position on slavery, his appealing egalitarian image, and his important Midwest political base.
b. The fourth candidate was John Bell, a former Tennessee Whig, who was the nominee of the compromise-seeking Constitutional Union Party.
c. Lincoln received only 40 percent of the popular vote but won a majority in the electoral college by carrying every northern and western state except New Jersey; Douglas won electoral votes only in Missouri and New Jersey; Breckinridge captured every state in the Deep South as well as Delaware, Maryland, and North Carolina; John Bell carried the Upper South states.
d. The Republicans had united the Northeast, the Midwest, and the Far West behind free soil.
e. To many southerners, it seemed their constitutional order of slavery was now under siege, and they had to rethink their future.

CHAPTER 14

Two Societies at War
1861–1865

AP PERIODIZATION AND KEY CONCEPTS

Period 4: 1844–1877

AP U.S. History Key Concepts

5.2 Debates over slavery and other economic, cultural, and political issues led to civil war.
   • Attempts at political compromise failed to calm tensions over slavery, leading to the secession of southern states after the election of 1860.
5.3 Union victory in the Civil War and Reconstruction settled the slavery issue and secession, but questions remained about the power of the federal government and citizenship rights.
   • The Union defeated the Confederacy in the Civil War.
   • The Thirteenth Amendment ended slavery.

CHAPTER LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After reading and studying this chapter, students should be able to:

1. Explain why the North and the South chose the path of military conflict in 1861.
2. Assess the stated war aims and military strategies of each side as the war progressed.
3. Evaluate how and why the Civil War became a total war.
4. Understand the significance of emancipation toward the conduct and outcome of the war.
5. Analyze how and why the North won the war in 1865.
The following annotated chapter outline will help you review the major topics covered in this chapter.

I. Secession and Military Stalemate, 1861–1862
   A. The Secession Crisis
      1. The Lower South Secedes
         a. The Civil War was called the War Between the States by southerners and the War of Rebellion by northerners.
         b. On December 20, 1860, the South Carolina convention voted unanimously to secede from the Union; fire-eaters elsewhere in the Deep South quickly followed.
         c. The secessionists met in Montgomery, Alabama, in February 1861 and proclaimed a new nation—the Confederate States of America. They adopted a new constitution and named Jefferson Davis as its provisional president.
         d. Secessionist fervor was less intense in the four slave states of the Middle South (Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Arkansas), where there were fewer slaves, and their leaders urged compromise.
         e. In December 1860, President James Buchanan declared secession illegal but denied that the federal government had the authority to restore the Union by force.
         f. South Carolina demanded the surrender of Fort Sumter, a federal garrison in Charleston Harbor. President Buchanan refused to order the navy to resupply the fort.
      2. The Crittenden Compromise
         a. Congress responded with a compromise—the Crittenden plan—which called for a constitutional amendment that would permanently protect slavery from federal interference in any state where it already existed. Crittenden’s second provision called for the westward extension of the Missouri Compromise line to the California border. Slavery would be barred north of the line and protected to the south, including any territories “hereafter acquired.”
         b. Lincoln upheld the first part of the Crittenden plan to protect slavery where it already existed but was not willing to extend the Missouri Compromise line to the California border because that would lead to further expansion.
         c. Lincoln declared that secession was illegal and that acts against the Union constituted insurrection; he would enforce federal laws as well as continue to possess federal property in seceded states.
   B. The Upper South Chooses Sides
      1. Jefferson Davis forced the surrender of Fort Sumter on April 14, 1861; Lincoln called in state militiamen to put down the insurrection.
      2. Although some northerners were wary of Lincoln’s Republican administration, they remained supportive of the Union cause and responded positively to Lincoln’s call for the mobilization of the militias.
      3. The states of Middle and Border South were forced to choose sides in the dispute. Support from these states was crucial to the Confederacy because of these states’ high populations and access to industry and fuel.
      4. Virginia, Arkansas, Tennessee, and North Carolina joined the Confederacy after the fall of Fort Sumter.
      5. Lincoln reacted quickly and ordered General McClellan to secure railway lines between Washington and the Ohio River in western Virginia. Farmers opposed to secession now had opportunity to vote for a breakaway territory, West Virginia. It joined the Union in 1863. Delaware voted to stay in the Union, and Unionists secured control of Maryland.
      6. The Union retained control over Missouri in part owing to the support by German Americans. After a Confederate loss in September 1861, Kentucky stayed with the Union.
   C. Setting War Objectives and Devising Strategies
      1. Union Thrusts Toward Richmond
         a. Jefferson Davis focused on the defense of the Confederacy rather than conquering western territories; the Confederacy only needed a military stalemate to guarantee independence.
         b. Lincoln portrayed secession as an attack on popular government, and he insisted on an aggressive military strategy and a policy of unconditional surrender.
         c. In July 1861, General P. G. T. Beauregard’s Confederate troops routed General Irwin McDowell’s troops near Manassas Creek (also called Bull Run).
d. Lincoln replaced McDowell with George B. McClellan and enlisted an additional million men, who would serve for three years in the newly created Army of the Potomac.

e. In 1862, McClellan launched a thrust toward Richmond, Virginia, the Confederate capital, but he moved too slowly and allowed the Confederates to mount a counterattack.

f. A Confederate army under “Stonewall” Jackson marched north up the Shenandoah Valley in western Virginia and threatened Washington, D.C.

g. General Robert E. Lee launched an attack outside Richmond and suffered heavy casualties, but McClellan failed to exploit the advantage, and Richmond remained secure.

2. Lee Moves North: Antietam

a. Jackson and Lee routed a Union army in the Second Battle of Bull Run in August 1862.

b. The battle at Antietam Creek on September 17, 1862, was the bloodiest single day in U.S. military history; Jackson’s troops arrived just in time to save Lee’s troops from defeat.

c. Lincoln replaced General McClellan with Ambrose E. Burnside, who later resigned and was replaced by Joseph “Fighting Joe” Hooker.

3. The War in the Mississippi Valley

a. The Union dominated the Ohio River Valley, and in 1862, General Ulysses S. Grant took Fort Henry on the Tennessee River and Fort Donelson on the Cumberland River.

b. In April, a Confederate army caught Grant by surprise near Shiloh; Grant forced a Confederate withdrawal but suffered a great number of casualties.

c. Union naval forces commanded by David G. Farragut captured New Orleans, the South’s financial center and largest city, giving it a base for future naval operations.

d. Union victories in the West had significantly undermined Confederate strength in the Mississippi River Valley.

II. Toward Total War

A. Mobilizing Armies and Civilians

1. The Military Draft

a. The military carnage of 1862 forced both sides into total war, utilizing all of the resources of both nations to win at all costs.

b. Although the armies of both sides could initially count on volunteers to fill their ranks, both governments had to resort to conscription. After the defeat at Shiloh in April 1862, the Confederate Congress imposed the first legally binding draft in American history.

c. The Confederate draft had two loopholes: it exempted one white man for each twenty slaves on a plantation, and it allowed drafted men to hire substitutes.

d. Some southerners refused to serve, and the Confederate government lacked the power to compel them; the Confederate Congress overrode state judges’ orders to free conscripted men.

e. To prevent sabotage and concerted resistance to the war effort in the Union, Lincoln suspended habeas corpus and imprisoned about 15,000 Confederate sympathizers without trial. He also extended martial law to civilians who discouraged enlistment or resisted the draft.

f. The Union government’s Militia Act of 1862 set a quota of volunteers for each state, which was increased by the Enrollment Act of 1863. The Union also allowed men to avoid military service by providing a substitute or paying a $300 fee.

g. Hostility to the Enrollment Act of 1863 draft and to African Americans spilled into the streets of New York City when Irish and German workers sacked the homes of Republicans, killed a dozen African Americans, and forced hundreds of black families from their homes. Lincoln rushed in Union troops to suppress the insurrection.

h. The Union Army Medical Bureau and the United States Sanitary Commission provided medical services to the soldiers and tried to prevent deaths from disease, which killed more men than did the fighting.

i. The Confederate health system was poorly organized, and soldiers died from camp diseases at a higher rate than Union soldiers.
j. High death numbers contributed to the creation of modern funeral practices and establishment of military cemeteries; the destructive war also produced a new “cult of mourning” among the middle and upper classes.

2. Women in Wartime
   a. Women took a leading role in the Sanitary Commission and other wartime agencies.
   b. Dorothea Dix was the first woman to receive a major federal appointment.
   c. Women staffed growing bureaucracies, volunteered to serve as nurses, and filled positions traditionally held by men.
   d. A number of women took on military duties as spies, scouts, and (disguised as men) soldiers.

B. Mobilizing Resources
1. Republican Economic and Fiscal Policies
   a. The Union entered the war with a distinct advantage; its economy was far superior to the South’s, and its arms factories were equipped for mass production.
   b. The Confederates had substantial industrial capacity, and by 1863, they were able to provide every infantryman with a modern rifle-musket.
   c. Confederate leaders counted on King Cotton to provide revenue to purchase clothes, boots, blankets, and weapons from abroad.
   d. The British government never recognized the independence of the Confederacy, but it did recognize the rebel government as a belligerent power with the right under international law to borrow money and purchase weapons.
   e. To sustain the allegiance of northerners to their party while bolstering the Union’s ability to fight the war, the Republicans raised tariffs; created a national banking system; devised a system of internal improvements, especially railroads; and developed the Homestead Act of 1862.
   f. Congress’s authorization for the construction of a transcontinental railroad in 1862 encouraged the allegiance of farmers, workers, and entrepreneurs and allowed the Union to fight a protracted war.
   g. Railroads connected new industries manufacturing guns, clothes, and food with resources and the Union army.
   h. Bankers and financiers benefitted from the government’s modern system of public finance. Republicans financed the war by imposing broad-based taxes, issuing U. S. Treasury bonds, and creating a national monetary system through the Legal Tender Act of 1862, which authorized the printing of paper money, soon known as greenbacks.
   i. This new fiscal system resulted in the concentration of capital in the hands of industrialists and financiers and appeared to threaten the small producer society and the future of democratic self-government.

2. The South Resorcts to Coercion and Inflation
   a. The Confederate government’s economic policy changed from reliance on states to centralization. The Davis administration built and operated shipyards, armories, foundries, and textile mills; commandeered food and raw materials; requisitioned slaves to work on fortifications; and directly controlled foreign trade.
   b. The Confederate Congress and ordinary people opposed Davis’s initiatives, fearing strong government and high taxes.
   c. The government financed about 60 percent of its war expenses with unbacked paper money, which created inflation, resulted in riots, and led to the violation of citizens’ property rights in order to sustain the war.

III. The Turning Point: 1863
A. Emancipation
   1. “Contrabands”
      a. As war casualties mounted in 1862, Lincoln and some Republican leaders accepted Frederick Douglass’s argument and began to redefine the war as a struggle against slavery.
      b. Exploiting the disorder of wartime, tens of thousands of slaves escaped and sought refuge behind Union lines, where they were known as “contrabands.”
      c. Congress passed the First Confiscation Act in 1861, which authorized the seizure of all property—including slaves—used to support the rebellion.
      d. In April 1862, Congress, influenced by Radical Republicans, enacted legislation ending slavery in the District of Columbia; in June, it enacted the Wilmot Proviso.
e. In July 1862, the Second Confiscation Act declared “forever free” all fugitive slaves and all slaves captured by the Union army.

2. The Emancipation Proclamation
a. Lincoln initially opposed emancipation as a war goal but cautiously gave in to pressure by Radical Republicans and escaped slaves.
b. After the Battle of Antietam, Lincoln issued a preliminary proclamation of emancipation on September 22, 1862, offering rebel states to return to the Union prior to January 1863 and thus preserve slavery in their borders.
c. The proclamation did not immediately free all slaves, as it authorized slavery to continue in the border states, areas already under Union control, and Indian Territory.
d. However, the Emancipation Proclamation of January 1, 1863, changed the nature of the conflict: Union troops became agents of liberation.
e. The Proclamation was controversial in the South as well as in the North, where Democrats feared race warfare and competition for employment.

B. Vicksburg and Gettysburg
1. The Battle for the Mississippi
a. In 1862, Democrats gained seats in Congress as popular support was growing for a negotiated peace. General Lee’s army defeated Union forces at Fredericksburg in December 1862 and at Chancellorsville in May 1863, which further eroded northern support for the war.
b. General Grant aimed to split the Confederacy and searched for a decisive victory. Vicksburg, Mississippi, surrendered to the Union army on July 4, 1863, followed by Port Hudson, Louisiana, five days later, which established Union control of the entire Mississippi River.
c. Grant had cut off Louisiana, Arkansas, and Texas from the rest of the Confederacy; hundreds of slaves deserted their plantations.
d. General Lee suggested that instead of sending the army to Tennessee, the Confederacy should invade the North to either force Grant to move east or win a decisive battle that would break the North’s will to fight.

2. Lee’s Advance and Defeat
a. Confederate and Union armies met at Gettysburg, Pennsylvania.
b. The three-day battle was a great Union victory but also the most lethal battle of the Civil War.
c. After Union victories at Gettysburg and Vicksburg, the tide of the war turned. Republicans reaped political gains in their elections, while Confederate elections went sharply against politicians who supported Davis.
d. The Confederates’ defeats at Vicksburg and Gettysburg ended their prospect of winning foreign recognition and acquiring advanced weapons from the British.
e. British manufacturers were no longer dependent on the South for cotton; however, they were dependent on the North for cheap wheat. Also, the British championed the abolitionist cause and wanted to avoid provoking a well-armed United States.

IV. The Union Victorious, 1864–1865
A. Soldiers and Strategy
1. The Impact of Black Troops
a. Lincoln initially refused to consider blacks for military service; nonetheless, by 1862, some African Americans had formed their own volunteer regiments in New England, South Carolina, Louisiana, and Kansas.
b. The Emancipation Proclamation changed popular thinking and military policy; some northern whites argued that if blacks were to benefit from a Union victory, they should share in the fighting and dying.
c. As white resistance to conscription increased, the Lincoln administration was recruiting as many African Americans as it could.
d. Military service did not end racial discrimination, yet African Americans volunteered for Union military service in disproportionate numbers.

2. Capable Generals Take Command
a. Lincoln placed Ulysses S. Grant in charge of all Union armies and directed him to advance against all major Confederate forces simultaneously; they wanted a decisive victory before the election of 1864.

b. Grant knew how to fight a modern war that relied on technology and focused on an entire society, and he was willing to accept heavy casualties in assaults on strongly defended positions in the belief that attempts of earlier Union commanders “to conserve life” through cautious tactics had prolonged the war.

c. Lee was narrowly victorious in the battles of the Wilderness and Spotsylvania Court House. At Cold Harbor, Grant severely eroded Lee’s forces, yet the Union losses were even greater.

3. Stalemate
   a. Union and Confederate soldiers suffered through protracted trench warfare around Richmond and Petersburg.
   b. The enormous casualties and military stalemate threatened Lincoln with defeat in the November 1864 election.
   c. To punish farmers who provided a base for Jubal Early and food for Lee’s army, Grant ordered General Philip H. Sheridan to turn the region into “a barren waste.” Sheridan’s troops conducted a scorched-earth campaign, destroying grain, barns, and any other resource useful to the Confederates.
   d. Grant’s decision to carry the war to Confederate civilians changed the definition of conventional warfare.

B. The Election of 1864 and Sherman’s March

1. The National Union Party versus the Peace Democrats
   a. In June 1864, the Republican convention endorsed Lincoln’s war measures, demanded the surrender of the Confederacy, and called for a constitutional amendment to abolish slavery.
   b. The Republican Party temporarily renamed itself the National Union Party and nominated Democrat Andrew Johnson for vice president.
   c. The Democrats, divided into War Democrats who wanted to continue fighting and the Peace Democrats who wished an immediate end to fighting, nominated at their convention General George McClellan, who promised to recommend an immediate armistice and peace convention if elected.

2. The Fall of Atlanta and Lincoln’s Victory
   a. On September 2, 1864, William T. Sherman forced the surrender of Atlanta, Georgia.
   b. Sherman’s success resulted in celebrations in the North, deep pessimism in the Confederacy, McClellan’s abandonment of the peace platform, and Republican empowerment.
   c. Lincoln won a decided victory in November, and Republicans increased their majorities in Congress.
   d. The pace of emancipation accelerated; Maryland and Missouri freed their slaves, followed by Tennessee, Arkansas, and Louisiana.
   e. On January 31, 1865, the Republican-dominated Congress approved the Thirteenth Amendment, which prohibited slavery throughout the United States.

3. William Tecumseh Sherman: “Hard War” Warrior
   a. Sherman’s philosophy of war defined civilians as enemies and combatants who should feel the effect of war.
   b. He declined to follow the Confederate army into Tennessee after the capture of Atlanta; instead he wanted to “cut a swath through to the sea” that would devastate Georgia and score a psychological victory.
   c. After burning Atlanta, Sherman destroyed railroads, property, and supplies during his 300-mile March to the Sea; many Confederate soldiers deserted and fled home to protect their farms and families.
   d. Sherman issued Special Field Order No. 15, setting aside hundreds of thousands of acres of captured land for the exclusive use of freedmen.
   e. In February 1865, Sherman invaded South Carolina with a desire to wreak vengeance upon the state where secession had begun.

4. The Confederate Collapse
   a. Because of class resentment from poor whites, the Confederacy had such a manpower shortage that they were going to arm the slaves in exchange for their freedom; the war ended before this had a chance to transpire.
   b. The symbolic end to the war occurred on April 9, 1865, when Lee surrendered to Grant at Appomattox Court House, Virginia; by May, the Confederate army and government had dissolved.
c. For the South, the Union armies had destroyed slavery as well as the Confederacy and much of the South’s economy. Almost 260,000 Confederate soldiers paid for secession with their lives.
d. For the North, the struggle had preserved the Union and destroyed slavery, but the cost of victory was enormous in terms of money, resources, and lives, with over 360,000 Union soldiers dead and thousands more maimed.
e. The war had also set into motion a new industrial and financial order in the North but had not entirely ended the sectional struggle.

CHAPTER

15

Reconstruction
1865–1877

AP PERIODIZATION AND KEY CONCEPTS

Period 5: 1844–1877

AP U.S. History Key Concepts

5.3 Union victory in the Civil War and Reconstruction settled the slavery issue and secession, but questions remained about the power of the federal government and citizenship rights.
   • Altered relationships between the states and the federal government and among the executive, legislative, and judicial branches.
   • Constitutional changes led to conflicts over northern definitions of citizenship for African Americans, women, and other minorities.

CHAPTER LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After reading and studying this chapter, students should be able to:

1. Evaluate how Presidents Lincoln and Johnson envisioned Reconstruction.
2. Analyze how and why Republicans in Congress took control of Reconstruction.
3. Understand what African Americans expected after the Civil War and the realities that they encountered during Reconstruction.
4. Examine the southern response(s) to Reconstruction.
5. Evaluate why a political crisis emerged in 1877 and how it shaped Reconstruction.
6. Analyze the successes and failures of Reconstruction.

ANNOTATED CHAPTER OUTLINE

The following annotated chapter outline will help you review the major topics covered in this chapter.

I. The Struggle for National Reconstruction
   A. Presidential Approaches: From Lincoln to Johnson
1. The Constitution did not address the question of secession or any procedure for Reconstruction, so it did not say which branch of government was to handle the readmission of rebellious states.

2. Lincoln offered general amnesty to all but high-ranking Confederates willing to pledge loyalty to the Union; when 10 percent of a state’s voters took this oath—and abolished slavery—the state would be restored to the Union.

3. Most Confederate states rebuffed the offer, ensuring that the war would have to be fought to the bitter end.

4. Congressional Republicans proposed the Wade-Davis Bill, a stricter substitute for Lincoln’s Ten Percent Plan, which laid down, as conditions for the restoration of the rebellious states to the Union, an oath of allegiance by a majority of each state’s adult white men, new state governments formed only by those who had never carried arms against the Union, and permanent disfranchisement of Confederate leaders.

5. Rather than openly challenge Congress, Lincoln executed a pocket veto of the Wade-Davis Bill by not signing it before Congress adjourned.

6. Lincoln also initiated informal talks with congressional leaders aimed at finding common ground; Lincoln’s successor Andrew Johnson, however, held the view that Reconstruction was the president’s prerogative.

7. Andrew Johnson, a Unionist Democrat, championed farmers and laborers.

8. The Republicans had nominated Johnson for vice president in 1864 to promote wartime political unity.

9. After Lincoln’s death, Johnson offered amnesty to all southerners, except high-ranking Confederate officials and wealthy property owners, who took an oath of allegiance to the Constitution. His reconstruction plan required only that southern states revoke their ordinances of secession, repudiate their Confederate debts, and ratify the Thirteenth Amendment.

10. Within months, all the former Confederate states had met Johnson’s requirements for rejoining the Union and had functioning, elected governments.

11. Southerners held fast to the antebellum order and enacted Black Codes designed to drive the ex-slaves back to plantations; they had moved to restore slavery in all but the name.

12. Southerners perceived Johnson’s liberal amnesty policy as tacit approval of the Black Codes; emboldened, the ex-Confederates filled southern congressional delegations with old comrades, even including former vice president of the Confederacy, Alexander Stephens.

B. Congress Versus the President

1. Republicans in both houses refused to admit the southern delegations when Congress convened in early December 1865, blocking Johnson’s Reconstruction program.

2. In response, some Black Codes were replaced with nonracial ordinances whose effect was the same, and across the South a wave of violence erupted against the freedmen.

3. Republicans concluded that the federal government had to intervene.

4. Congress voted to extend the life of the Freedmen’s Bureau, gave it direct funding for the first time, and authorized its agents to investigate cases of discrimination against blacks.

5. President Johnson was particularly angered by a congressional civil rights bill, the Civil Rights Act of 1866, that declared formerly enslaved people to be citizens and granted them equal protection and rights of contract, with full access to the courts.

6. In early 1866, Andrew Johnson vetoed both bills, declaring that the U.S. government was for white men only.

7. Galvanized by Johnson’s attack on the civil rights bill, Republicans overrode the president’s veto, enacted the Civil Rights Act in April 1866, and renewed the Freedmen’s Bureau. Republican resolve was reinforced by news of mounting violence in the South.

8. Republicans moved to enshrine black civil rights in the Fourteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution.

9. Johnson opposed ratification, but Republicans won a 3-to-1 majority in the 1866 congressional elections, which registered overwhelming support for securing the civil rights of ex-slaves.

10. The Republican Party had a new sense of unity, coalescing around the unbending program of the Radical Republican minority led by Charles Sumner in the Senate and Thaddeus Stevens of the House. Both men represented the party’s abolitionist strain.

11. For the Radicals, Reconstruction was never primarily about restoring the Union but rather remaking southern society.

C. Radical Reconstruction

1. The Impeachment of Andrew Johnson
   a. The Reconstruction Act of 1867 divided the South into five military districts, each under the command of a Union general.
b. The price for reentering the Union was granting suffrage or the vote to the freedmen and disenfranchising the South’s leading ex-Confederates.
d. Johnson “suspended” Secretary of War Edwin M. Stanton and replaced him with General Ulysses S. Grant.
e. The Senate overruled Stanton’s suspension, and Grant—now Johnson’s open enemy—resigned so that Stanton could resume office.
f. On February 21, 1868, Johnson dismissed Stanton; the House Republicans introduced articles of impeachment against Johnson.
g. A vote on impeachment was one vote short of the required two-thirds majority needed, but Johnson was left powerless to alter the course of Reconstruction.

2. The Election of 1868 and the Fifteenth Amendment
a. Grant was the Republicans’ 1868 presidential nominee, and he won out over the Democrats’ Horatio Seymour; Republicans retained two-thirds majorities in both houses of Congress.
b. The Fifteenth Amendment forbade either the federal government or the states to deny citizens the right to vote on the basis of race, color, or “previous condition of servitude,” although it left room for poll taxes and literacy tests. Both were concessions to northern and western states that sought such provisions to keep immigrants and the “unworthy” from the polls.
c. States still under federal control were required to ratify the amendment before being readmitted to the Union; the Fifteenth Amendment became part of the Constitution in 1870.
d. Passage of the Fifteenth Amendment was an astonishing feat. Lawmakers elsewhere in the Western Hemisphere had left emancipated slaves in a condition of semi-citizenship, with no voting rights.
e. After the amendment was ratified, hundreds of thousands of African American men flocked to the polls across the South, in an atmosphere of collective pride and celebration.

D. Woman Suffrage Denied
1. Women’s rights advocates were outraged that the Fifteenth Amendment did not address women’s suffrage.
2. Radicals used the vote for black men to punish ex-Confederates and establish Republican control in the South. They feared that woman suffrage would hinder these goals.
3. At the 1869 annual meeting of the Equal Rights Association, Frederick Douglass, an abolitionist and women’s rights advocate, pleaded with white women to understand the importance of granting the vote for black men before white women. The convention ended in bitter debate.
4. The majority of women’s rights activists, led by Lucy Stone of the American Woman Suffrage Association, accepted the priority of black suffrage over women’s suffrage.
5. Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony established a new organization, the National Woman Suffrage Association (NWSA), which focused exclusively on women’s rights and took up the battle for a federal woman suffrage amendment.
6. In 1873, NWSA members decided to test the limits of the new constitutional amendments. Suffragists tried to register to vote across the United States; most were turned away.
7. In Minor v. Happersett (1875), the Supreme Court dashed suffragist hopes for protection of women’s voting rights under the Fourteenth Amendment. The Court ruled that suffrage rights were not inherent in citizenship; women were citizens, but state legislatures could deny women the ballot if they wished.
8. Despite these defeats, Radical Reconstruction created the conditions for a high-profile, nationwide movement for women’s voting rights.
9. In 1869, Wyoming granted women the right to vote. Proponents argued that voting women in Wyoming continued to carry out their responsibilities as mothers and wives, contrary to dire predictions.

II. The Meaning of Freedom
A. The Quest for Land
1. Freed Slaves and Northerners: Conflicting Goals
   a. For the former slaves, freedom meant family, education, political rights, and economic opportunity without interference by others. One of freedmen’s most pressing goals was landownership. Thousands of former slaves expected to receive small pieces of the former plantations of their owners.
   b. After Johnson’s order restoring confiscated lands to the ex-Confederates, African Americans reacted angrily and fought pitched battles with plantation owners in some locations. But white landowners frequently prevailed.
c. Republicans wanted to restore cotton as the country’s leading export, so they attempted to transform former slaves into wageworkers on cotton plantations, but not independent farmers.

d. Only a small number of Radical Republicans, like Thaddeus Stevens, believed in giving former slaves pieces of their former owner’s estates. Congressmen, believing in the sanctity of legal title, suggested giving away land that had been taken from Indian tribes instead and returning plantations to their former owners to restart the southern cotton industry.

e. Only a small number of rural blacks became landowners.

2. Wage Labor and Sharecropping

a. Landowners wanted to retain the old gang-labor system, with wages replacing the food, clothing, and shelter that slaves had once received. Landowners paid low wages for black agricultural work, leading to major poverty for the former slaves.

b. Blacks fought back by organizing strikes, by seeking work in lumber and turpentine and railroad camps, and bargaining for fairer wages.

c. A major conflict raged between employers and freed people over the labor of women. When planters demanded that freedwomen go back into the fields, blacks resisted resolutely.

d. For African American women, emancipation may have increased subordination within the black family. Some black women, however, headed their own households. For many freedpeople, the opportunity for a stable family was one of the major successes of post-Civil War life.

e. Many African American families accepted the northern ideal of domesticity. Women attempted to remain in the home and devote themselves to motherhood, while men were urged to work diligently and support their families.

f. Southern planters had to yield to demands to pay field workers. Cotton planters, however, lacked cash and offered to pay in the form of a share of the crop.

g. Sharecropping was a distinctive labor system for cotton agriculture in which the freedmen worked as tenant farmers, exchanging their labor for the use of land, house, and implements.

h. Sharecropping was an unequal relationship, since the sharecropper had no way of making it through the first growing season without borrowing for food and supplies.

i. Storekeepers furnished the sharecropper with provisions and took as collateral a lien on the crop; as cotton prices declined during the 1870s, many sharecroppers fell into permanent debt. If the merchant was also the landowner, the debt became a pretext for peonage, or forced labor.

j. For ex-slaves, sharecropping was preferable to laboring for their former owners, but it was devastating to southern agriculture; it committed the South inflexibly to cotton because it was a cash crop and limited southern incentives for agricultural improvements. A rural economy emerged that was mired in widespread poverty and based on an uneasy compromise between landowners and laborers.

B. Republican Governments in the South

1. Between 1868 and 1871, all the southern states met the congressional stipulations and rejoined the Union.

2. Reconstruction governments were ambitious and established reforms in education, family law, social services, commerce, and transportation.

3. Republicans in the South needed the African American vote and helped to organize organizations like the Union League, a biracial secret fraternal order that functioned as a powerful political club to uphold justice to freedmen.

4. The Freedmen’s Bureau also helped freedmen on economic matters and established schools for African Americans, including black colleges such as Fisk, Tougaloo, and the Hampton Institute. By 1869, there were over three thousand teachers, over half of whom were black, instructing freedmen in the South.

5. Southern white Republicans were called scalawags by Democratic ex-Confederates; white northerners who moved to the South were called carpetbaggers. Both groups wanted to bring northern capital into the South for economic development and personal gain.

6. Contrary to Southern Democrats’ perception of black politicians as ignorant field hands, most were indeed skilled and educated, had achieved economic success, and were accomplished reformers. Northern black ministers, teachers, and Union veterans also moved south to support Reconstruction.

7. Although never proportionate to their size in population, black officeholders were prominent throughout the South.

8. Republicans modernized state constitutions, eliminated property qualifications for voting, abolished the Black Codes, and expanded the rights of married women.
9. Reconstruction social programs called for hospitals and more humane penitentiaries and asylums; Reconstruction
governments built roads and revived the railroad network.

10. Most impressive of Republican Reconstruction government achievements was in the field of education. By 1875, over
half of black children were attending school in several deep southern states. White children also benefitted from higher
graduation rates during this progressive period in southern public education.

11. One flawed development was the adoption of convict leasing allowing private companies to hire prisoners as laborers.
The system was riddled with corruption and prisoners worked in horrible conditions.

C. Building Black Communities

1. After emancipation, Southern blacks could engage in open community building. In doing so, they cooperated with
northern missionaries and teachers.

2. Independent churches quickly became central institutions of black life. Black churches served as schools, social
centers, and meeting halls. Black ministers were community leaders and often political spokesmen.

3. Teachers and charity leaders embarked on a project of “racial uplift” while black entrepreneurs built businesses that
catered largely to a black clientele.

4. Some black leaders promoted integration of public facilities, but most stayed away from the thorny issue, while many
black parents preferred all-black schooling to protect their children from hostile whites.

5. At the national level in 1870, Congress addressed desegregation with a civil rights bill championed by Radical
Republican Charles Sumner. By the time it passed in 1875, it was a narrower version, requiring full and equal access to
jury service and to transportation and public accommodations irrespective of race. Another near-century would pass
before Congress passed the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

III. The Undoing of Reconstruction

A. The Republicans Unravel

1. The death of Radical Charles Sumner in 1874 signaled the wane of Reconstruction.

2. Events of the 1870s, as well as racist media reports, deepened northern white disinterest in southern black issues.

3. Scandals in the Republican administration of President Ulysses S. Grant eroded public confidence in Grant’s policies,
particularly during his second term in office.

4. Republicans’ hopes for economic growth ended with a sudden economic depression in 1873.

5. The depression discredited the Republicans, resulted in plunging crop prices, and created massive unemployment.

6. The southern economy came to a screeching halt, public credit collapsed, and public spending and private investment
in the South for reform programs such as the Freedmen’s Bureau decreased.

7. The economic crisis also revealed widespread corruption among Republicans and Southern Democrats alike.

8. The collapse of the Freedman’s Savings and Trust Company and Republican controlled Congress’s refusal to step in
signaled that the party of Reconstruction was losing its moral leadership.

9. The Disillusioned Liberals

a. Classic liberals, those who believed in free trade, smaller government, low property taxes, and limited voting rights,
broke away from the Republican Party and formed the Liberal Republican Party.

b. They ran Horace Greeley in the presidential election in 1872, longtime publisher of the New York Tribune.

c. Grant won reelection overwhelmingly, capturing 56 percent of the popular vote and every electoral vote.

d. Liberals denounced universal suffrage, decried that blacks were unfit to govern, and turned northern public opinion
against Reconstruction.

e. Scandals during Grant’s second administration, such as Crédit Mobilier and the Whiskey Ring, further eroded
public confidence in government and confirmed the Liberals’ argument.

B. Counterrevolution in the South

1. The undoing of Reconstruction was as much about southern resistance as northern acquiescence. Most white
southerners believed that Reconstruction governments were illegitimate “regimes.”

2. Democrats worked hard to get the vote restored to ex-Confederates and violently attacked Republicans and black
political leaders in an undemocratic and violent process they called “Redemption.”

3. The Ku Klux Klan first appeared in Tennessee in 1866 under Nathan Bedford Forrest, a fiery secessionist and white
supremacist, with the purpose of ending the state’s Republican government.

4. By 1870, the Klan was operating almost everywhere in the South as an armed force whose terrorist tactics served to
reinstate governments under the control of the Democratic Party and terminate Reconstruction programs.

5. Congress between 1869 and 1871 attempted to suppress the Klan through legislation known as the Enforcement Laws.
6. The Grant administration’s assault on the Klan illustrated how dependent African Americans and the southern Republicans were on the federal government.
7. But northern Republicans were growing weary of Reconstruction and the bloodshed it seemed to produce.
8. Prosecuting Klansmen was an uphill battle with U.S. attorneys, who usually faced all-white juries and lacked the resources to handle the cases; after 1872, prosecutions began to drop off and many Klansmen received hasty pardons.

C. Reconstruction Rolled Back
1. Republican governments that were denied federal help found themselves overwhelmed by the massive resistance of their ex-Confederate enemies; between 1873 and 1875, Democrats overthrew Republican governments in Texas, Alabama, and Arkansas.
2. Voters reacted by handing Republicans stunning defeats and turning the Democrats into the majority party during the 1874 congressional election.
3. Republicans had lost control over the South, evident in Mississippi, when armed local Democrats paraded and stuffed ballot boxes, taking control of the state in 1875.
4. By 1876, Republican governments remained in only Louisiana, South Carolina, and Florida; elsewhere the former Confederates were back in control.
5. The Supreme Court Rejection of Equal Rights
   a. Although constitutional amendments and federal laws protecting civil right remained in force, Supreme Court decisions began to weaken them.
   b. As early as 1873, in the Slaughter-House Cases, the Court began to undercut the power of the Fourteenth Amendment. In the Civil Rights Cases (1883), the justices also struck down the Civil Rights Act of 1875. The Court effectively had cut off the avenue of the federal courts for the pursuit of justice and equal rights.
6. The Political Crisis of 1877
   a. Republicans nominated Rutherford B. Hayes as their presidential candidate, and his Democratic opponent was Samuel J. Tilden; both favored home rule for the South.
   b. The election outcome was unclear as both candidates claimed Florida, South Carolina, and Louisiana. When Congress met in early 1877, it had to resolve this electoral crisis.
   c. The Constitution declares that Congress regulates its own elections, so Congress appointed an electoral commission; the commission awarded the disputed votes to Hayes by a vote of 8 to 7.
   d. Democrats controlled the House and set about stalling a final count of the electoral votes, but on March 1 they suddenly ended their delaying tactics and Hayes was inaugurated on March 4. Reconstruction had ended.

D. Lasting Legacies
1. In the short run, the political events of 1877 had little impact on the lives of most southerners. The long, slow decline of Radical Republican power and the rise of Confederate and southern Democratic power exerted the most impact on southerners.
2. Although southern whites used violence to put down black aspirations to political power, they could not return the South to the antebellum reality of slavery.
3. Reconstruction had shaken the entire legal framework that justified the United States as a white man’s country. The Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments existed and were the legal basis for the civil rights movement of the twentieth century.
4. Reconstruction, however, had also failed because it had not prevented the widespread poverty and denial of rights for African Americans.
5. The South may have lost the war, but it controlled the construction of the nation’s memory of Reconstruction by ignoring vigilante violence and describing Radical Republicans and black activists as corrupt and ignorant.

CHAPTER 16
Conquering a Continent
1854–1890

AP PERIODIZATION AND KEY CONCEPTS

Period 6: 1865–1898

AP U.S. History Key Concepts

6.1 The rise of big business encouraged large-scale migrations, urbanization, and new efforts to reshape the environment and the economy.
   • Westward migration, new farming and transportation technologies, and economic unrest led to conflict.
6.2 An emerging industrial culture led to both opportunities and restrictions for immigrants, minorities, and women.
   • Transcontinental railroads intensified westward migration, threatening the culture, identity, and very existence of Native Americans.

CHAPTER LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After reading and studying this chapter, students should be able to:

1. Evaluate how and why Republicans created an integrated economy during and after the Civil War.
2. Understand what strategies Americans utilized to deal with aridity in the West.
3. Assess in what ways mining, farming, and ranching shaped the development of the West.
4. Explain how Native Americans responded to U.S. government policies and what strategies Indians used for survival.
5. Distinguish the mythical from the real West.

ANNOTATED CHAPTER OUTLINE

The following annotated chapter outline will help you review the major topics covered in this chapter.

I. The Republican Vision
   A. The New Union and the World
      1. Reshaping the former Confederacy after the Civil War accompanied a Republican drive to strengthen the national economy to overcome limitations of market fluctuations that took place under previous Democratic regimes.
      2. Republicans believed that failure to fund internal improvements left different regions of the country disconnected, helping to trigger the Civil War.
      3. During the Civil War and after, the Republican-dominated Congress made vigorous use of federal power, passing protective tariffs that gave U.S. manufacturers a competitive advantage against foreign firms.
      4. Republican administrations strengthened the economy through a massive public-private partnership that modern historians argue represented a turn away from a laissez faire or “hands off” approach of previous administrations towards the economy.
      5. Following the Civil War, the United States achieved greater leverage with foreign nations like Britain. American expansionists expected to add more territories to the nation.
      6. The use of the Hawaiian Islands and the invention of steam transportation facilitated expansion across the Pacific.
      7. During the 1850s, the American government initiated economic and diplomatic relations with Japan and signed the Treaty of Kanagawa, allowing U. S. ships access to two Japanese ports for refueling purposes.
8. Union victory also increased trade with Latin America. Mexico freed itself from French rule in 1867, but it risked economic manipulation by its larger northern neighbor, the United States.

9. International trade became a new model for asserting power in Latin America and Asia. Under the leadership of Secretary of State William Seward (1861–1869), the nation forced the Japanese to remain open to trade.

10. Seward also advocated the purchase of strategic locations for naval bases and refueling stations, such as Hawaii, the Philippines, and land in Nicaragua for a canal.

11. In 1868, Seward achieved significant success with congressional approval of the Burlingame Treaty with China, regulating immigration. The same year, Seward also purchased Alaska from Russia, further establishing the United States as a global power.

B. Integrating the National Economy

1. Tariffs and Economic Growth
   a. Railroad developments in the United States began well before the Civil War but peaked after the Civil War.
   b. Railroad companies, although privately owned, could not have constructed the vast network that by 1900 connected virtually every corner of the country without government loans, subsidies, and grants of public land.
   c. Railroads transformed American capitalism by adopting a legal form of organization, the corporation, enabling them to raise private capital in large amounts.
   d. Along with the transformative power of railroads, Republicans’ protective tariffs also helped build thriving U.S. industries. A Civil War debt of $2.8 billion was erased during the 1880s by income from tariffs that generated huge budget surpluses.
   e. Fierce tariff debates marked American politics in the 1880s and 1890s. Democrats argued that the tariff had not slowed poverty in the United States, and Republicans asserted that tariffs protected and uplifted workers by creating jobs.
   f. Protective tariffs had contributed to economic growth but had also helped to foster the growth of trusts, giant corporations that dominated whole sectors of the economy and wielded near-monopoly power.

2. The Role of Courts
   a. The rise of railroads and trusts prompted a pushback by companies against new state and federal regulatory laws. In *Munn v. Illinois* (1877), the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that states possessed the right to regulate key businesses, such as railroads and grain elevators, but not at the expense of fragmenting the national marketplace.
   b. In the Southwest, federal courts promoted economic development at the expense of racial justice. Although the United States had taken control of New Mexico and Arizona after the Mexican War (1846–1848), much of the land still remained in Mexican farmers and ranchers.
   c. As the post–Civil War years brought railroads and Anglo-American settlers, Mexican Americans lost about 64 percent of their lands through special courts that ruled on land titles.
   d. The Santa Fe Ring was a notorious group of politicians and lawyers who conspired to defraud Mexican Americans of their lands.

3. Silver and Gold
   a. After the Civil War, U.S. and European policymakers attempted to transform their economies to the gold standard. However, basing money supplies on gold was a divisive issue that framed U.S. politics for a generation.
   b. In 1873, Congress directed the U.S. Treasury, over a six-year period, to retire the greenback paper dollars issued during the Civil War and replace them with notes from an expanded system of national banks. After 1879, the treasury exchanged notes for gold upon request.
   c. Silver adherents received a modest victory when Congress passed the Bland-Allison Act of 1878, requiring the U.S. Mint to coin a modest amount of silver.
   d. Although adoption of the gold standard reduced the circulating money supply, it also encouraged European investments in the burgeoning American economy.
   e. Republican nationalist policies fostered rapid economic growth in the form of an expansion of telecommunications, corporations, and capital, making the United States a mighty industrial power by 1900.

II. Incorporating the West
A. Mining Empires
1. Conquest and development of the American West became the domestic foundation for national supremacy in the late 1800s. Farm development was as vital as factory development to Republican policymakers.
2. Republicans sought to bring families to the West by offering 160 acres of land through the Homestead Act (1862).
3. Innovative federal policies, such as the series of geological surveys, charting western territory and resources, and the Morrill Act, establishing land-grant universities, contributed to the opening up and settlement of western lands.
4. These federal policies helped to incorporate the trans-Mississippi West.
5. In the late 1850s as California gold panned out, other mineral discoveries helped to develop the Far West in places like Nevada, the Colorado Rockies, and South Dakota’s Black Hills.
6. The Comstock Lode in Nevada was a major silver discovery. The boomtown of Virginia City followed the path of many mining towns: it became a ghost town surrounded by a devastated environment.
7. Congress passed the General Mining Act of 1872 to encourage development of western resources.
8. The idealized independent, hard-working prospector was a rarity among speculators who set up massive mining and smelting operations in several far-flung places. Although mines created town and jobs, conditions were dangerous and wages were low.
9. Western mining created a market for Oregon’s produce and timber and hastened the growth of Pacific Northwest cities such as Portland, Tacoma, and Seattle.

B. Cattlemen on the Plains
1. To make room for cattle, professional buffalo hunters eliminated the buffalo.
2. Texas ranchers inaugurated the famous Long Drive, hiring cowboys to herd cattle hundreds of miles north to the railroads that pushed west across Kansas.
3. Public grazing lands attracted investors in the beef industry, but natural disasters and overgrazing of the plains’ native grasses contributed to the collapse of the cattle boom.
4. As railroads reached the Texas range country during the 1870s, ranchers abandoned the Long Drive. Stockyards appeared beside the rapidly extending railroad tracks, and trains took these gathered cattle to giant slaughterhouses in large Midwestern cities like Chicago. These places became the center of a new industry, meatpacking.

C. Homesteaders
1. Women in the West
a. Upon first encountering the Great Plains, Euro-Americans thought the land barren and referred to it as the Great American Desert.

b. Railroads, land speculators, steamship lines, and the western states and territories did all they could to encourage settlement of the Great Plains.

c. New technology—steel plows, barbed wire, and strains of hard-kernel wheat—helped settlers to overcome obstacles.

d. Between 1878 and 1886, settlers experienced exceptionally wet weather instead of the more typical dry weather.

e. “American fever” took hold in northern Europe as Norwegians and Swedes came to the United States.

f. For some southern blacks known as Exodusters, Kansas was the promised land; by 1880, 40,000 blacks lived in Kansas—the largest concentration of blacks in the West aside from Texas.

g. By the turn of the century, the Great Plains had fully submitted to agricultural development. In this process, there was little of the “pioneering” that Americans associated with the westward movement; farming required capital investment and the willingness to risk boom and bust cycles just like any other business.

h. Although miners, lumber workers, and cowboys were overwhelmingly men, many women accompanied families as homesteaders.

i. Westward movement brought Americans into closer contact with Mormons already living in Utah.

j. Most Americans disliked Mormons because of the practice of polygamy and the powerful role of women in Mormon life, including their right to vote since 1870.

k. When Utah became a state in 1896, several women won seats in the new legislature, illustrating that, despite hardship and controversy, women living in the West had striking new opportunities.
2. Environmental Challenges
   a. A hostile environment existed on the Great Plains in the form of grasshoppers, prairie fires, hailstorms, droughts, tornados, blizzards, the lack of water, and minimal wood supplies. Many families built homes made of sod.
   b. When the more typical dry weather returned to the Great Plains by the late 1880s, over 50,000 homesteaders fled the Dakotas and many others gave up their settled lands.
   c. Dry farming techniques helped to alleviate some of the challenges of Great Plains farming. But it favored the growth of large corporations. Family farms required over 300 acres of grain to survive low prices and harsh weather conditions.
   d. By 1900, about half of the nation’s cattle and sheep, one-third of its cereal crops, and nearly three-fifths of its wheat came from the Great Plains. But environmental costs multiplied as wasteful anti-biodiversity agricultural practices continued.
   e. Encouragement from experts like John Wesley Powell, a geologist who explored the West, to infuse federal funding into western development ignited a debate over corporate versus small family farms.
   f. Eventually, federal funding for dams and canals would support intensive agriculture in many parts of the West.

D. The First National Park
1. Rampant overdevelopment led to a preservation movement by Congress. In 1864, Congress gave 10 square miles of the Yosemite Valley to California for public use. In 1872, Congress set aside 2 million acres of Wyoming’s Yellowstone Valley as the world’s first national park.
2. Railroad tourism, a new western industry on the rise, accompanied the movement to preserve nature for the enjoyment of the public. National parks, however, lacked consistent management policies until the early 1900s.
3. The U.S. Fisheries Commission, created in 1871 with the task of stemming the decline of wild fish, would become the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service in the 1930s.
4. Indian eviction accompanied land preservation. In 1877, the Nez Perce under Chief Joseph utilized Yellowstone for survival as they fled forced reservation life by the federal military. Americans realized that the West was not empty.

III. A Harvest of Blood: Native Peoples Dispossessed
A. The Civil War and Indians on the Plains
1. Before the Civil War, Congress gave the Great Plains to Native Americans because they thought it could not be farmed. But railroads, steel plows, and the desire for land reversed that decision.
2. In Minnesota, the Dakota Sioux, who had agreed to settle on a small strip of federal land in exchange for regular payments and supplies, became disillusioned because corrupt Indian agents, contractors, and territorial officials skimmed most of the funds.
3. In 1862, the Sioux responded by massacring white settlers.
4. Minnesotans reacted by hastily trying and sentencing to death over 300 Dakota Sioux. Although President Lincoln reviewed the trial records and commuted most of the sentences, he authorized the hanging of 38 Dakota men and exiled the remainder from the state.
5. The Dakota Sioux uprising escalated tensions elsewhere between whites and Indians.
6. In 1864, Colorado militia leader John M. Chivington led his troops to commit the Sand Creek massacre of Cheyenne in eastern Colorado.
7. The Sioux and Arapaho responded with more attacks. In December of 1866, the Sioux wiped out eighty men under Captain Fetterman and successfully closed the Bozeman Trail.
8. General Sherman’s intent to fight and defeat defiant Indians failed.
9. By 1869, public opinion had turned against warfare as an effective means to subdue Indian tribes. Congressional leaders searched for other options to deal with the “Indian problem.”

B. Grant’s Peace Policy
1. Indian Boarding Schools
   a. Christian reformers heavily influenced the Grant administration’s peace policy, arguing that Indians could be transformed into whites through education and religious indoctrination.
b. Reformers focused on Indian youth, suggesting that true acculturation could occur only in boarding schools, far away from tribal influence, where strictly disciplined children would speak only English and learn the proper gender roles of farming and housekeeping. The first boarding school opened at Carlisle in 1879.

c. Corruption, racism, and denominational in-fighting reduced the effectiveness of the boarding school campaign.

d. To Indian leaders, reformers became just another interest group.

e. Indian tribes were forced by political circumstances to accommodate. In 1871, Congress abolished further treaty making with Indian tribes.

f. The Supreme Court further eroded tribal power in *Lone Wolf v. Hitchcock* (1903), stating that Congress could make any policies it chose and could ignore existing treaties. In *Ex Parte Crow Dog*, the Court ruled that Indians were not citizens unless approved by Congress. Indians would remain wards of the government until the 1930s.

2. Breaking Up Tribal Lands

a. Another assimilation measure attempted to free Indians from their tribal past, this time through land taking. The Dawes Severalty Act of 1887, intending to transform Indians into individual land owners, held that all Indians would receive allotments of reservation land and the remainder would be sold to non-Indians.

b. The Bureau of Indian Affairs’ carelessness, corruption, and greed doomed the act. A commission seized more than 15 million “surplus” acres from native tribes in Indian Territory by 1894, facilitating the birth of the state of Oklahoma.

c. By 1934, native peoples had lost 66 percent of their allotted lands.

C. The End of Armed Resistance

1. By 1873, only Sitting Bull, the great Lakota Sioux leader, openly refused to go to a reservation.

2. A crisis came on the northern plains in 1876 when the Sioux refused to sell the Black Hills as demanded by the federal government.

3. In June 1876, George A. Custer pursued a reckless strategy and suffered annihilation by Chief Crazy Horse’s Sioux and Cheyenne warriors at the Battle of Little Big Horn.

4. Sensationalized accounts of Custer’s “last stand” encouraged Americans to conquer Native Americans.

5. This was the last victory of the Plains Indians against the U.S. Army. Relentless pressure, declining buffalo herds, and widespread famine convinced the Plains Indians to submit to reservation life.

6. The Apache hated their reservation, so they made life miserable for white settlers in the Southwest until their chief Geronimo was finally captured in 1886. The United States had completed its military conquest of the West.

D. Strategies of Survival

1. Despite living on reservations and halting armed resistance, most native people continued to practice traditional languages, ceremonies, and arts.

2. Most native people also selectively adopted white ways, including use of the English language and skills such as agriculture. Most native people blended old and new ways.

3. One of the most famous native people who assimilated during this era was Dr. Charles Eastman, a Santee Sioux boy trained in white schools to become a medical doctor.

4. The Ghost Dance movement symbolized the syncretism, or blending together, of white and Indian ways. The dance drew on Christian and native elements, spreading from reservation to reservation across the West and uniting Indian communities.

5. The Ghost Dance alarmed many local whites. On December 29, 1890, at Wounded Knee Creek in South Dakota, U.S. Army soldiers massacred at least 150 Lakota Sioux people. The soldiers feared that the Ghost Dance would provoke war.

E. Western Myths and Realities

1. National folklore has associated the American West with “savage” Indians, brave pioneers, rugged cowboys, and gun-slinging sheriffs.

2. One of the most influential myth-makers was Buffalo Bill Cody whose Wild West show supposedly represented the authentic frontier experience.
3. As the nation celebrated the Wild West, historian Frederick Jackson Turner proclaimed that the frontier, which had shaped American’s national character, had come to an end.

4. The public wholeheartedly embraced Turner’s references to American uniqueness and peaceful expansion and ignored the reality of hardship, violence, and military conquest.

5. General Sherman’s career as an Indian fighter and soldier during the Mexican War reflected the era of conquest and consolidation of national power.

6. By 1891, the year Sherman died, the United States included forty-four states stretching from the Atlantic to the Pacific, an industrial economy that rivaled Britain and Germany, steady immigration, and inklings of becoming a major player in foreign places.