AP® EDITION

AMERICAN HISTORY

CONNECTING WITH THE PAST

16TH EDITION

Sample Chapters
Student Edition

Mc Graw Hill

ALAN BRINKLEY

UNIT 4: 1800–1848

THEMATIC LEARNING OBJECTIVES

- Analyze the reasons for the push to expand democracy in the United States beginning in the 1820s.
- Compare and contrast the First and Second Party Systems that emerged in the United States during the first half of the nineteenth century.
- Assess the causes and effects of industrialization and the factory system during the first half of the nineteenth century.
- Evaluate the success of the reform movements that emerged in the United States during the first half of the nineteenth century.
- Analyze how economic development influenced trade, migration, and settlement patterns during the first half of the nineteenth century.
- Describe the causes of distinct regional differences in the United States during the first half of the nineteenth century.
- Explain the significance of the First American Renaissance.

QUESTIONS TO CONSIDER

- What were the major reasons for the emergence of official political parties in the United States during the first half of the nineteenth century?
- What were the major foreign policy challenges faced by the United States during the first half of the nineteenth century?
- What were the major factors that caused differences to grow among the different geographic regions in the United States during the first half of the nineteenth century?

HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENTS: 1800–1848

National Portrait Gallery, Smithsonian Institution

1800 Election of Thomas Jefferson

1803 **February 1803** Supreme Court decision in *Marbury v. Madison* || **May 1803** U.S. completes Louisiana Purchase

1812 War of 1812 begins

1814 Hartford Convention

1819 Missouri Compromise

1823 Monroe Doctrine

1824 Election of John Quincy Adams

1828 Election of Andrew Jackson

1830 Webster-Hayne debate

1800 | 1805 | 1810 | 1815 | 1820 | 1825 | 1830

MAKING CONNECTIONS

Unit Four focuses on the development of the two-party political system that formed in the United States during the first half of the nineteenth century. The unit also examines the rise of the First Industrial Revolution and the resultant Market Revolution, the emergence of a number of reform movements spawned by the Second Great Awakening, and the continued rift dividing the country along geographic lines over the institution of slavery.

In the election of 1800, the United States witnessed the peaceful transition of power between political parties—something virtually unheard of in Europe. The First Party System arose out of competing visions for the country, beginning with the debate over whether the country ought to declare independence at the outset of the American Revolution and continuing through deliberation over ratification of the Constitution in 1787. During George Washington's second term, two competing ideologies emerged, championed by the supporters of Alexander Hamilton and Thomas Jefferson. The main center of dispute was how to interpret the newly adopted and ratified Constitution. Hamiltonians viewed the document as a loose set of principles with broad powers granted to the federal government. By contrast, Jeffersonians viewed the document as a strict set of principles, with limited powers granted to the federal government. These philosophical and ideological debates spilled over into practical measures, including legalization of a national bank, neutrality during the French Revolution, and federal protective tariffs.

Political challenges were not the only factors shaping the new nation. The country was also going through a number of economic transformations. Americans were slowly moving out of rural areas and migrating into urban pockets. The steady stream of European immigration, mostly from Ireland and Germany, led to huge jumps in population in urban centers and continued westward expansion. These immigrants came in pursuit of economic opportunities spurred by the beginnings of the First Industrial Revolution that was beginning to transform the economic, social, physical, and cultural landscapes of the United States.

As the nation developed, the divide between the different geographic regions grew larger. The North cultivated industry, the West relied on agriculture, and the South continued to depend on cash crops. But these economic activities also bound the distinct regions together. The northern economy relied heavily on southern cotton, and both regions depended on foodstuffs from the western territories. The institution of slavery was concentrated in the South, where it shaped the culture and fueled a growing sectionalism that eventually led to the Civil War in the 1860s. But slavery also played a major role in the North, where the banking industry funded slaveholders, insurance companies issued policies on enslaved people to slaveholders, and textile mills depended on southern cotton. In addition, northern shipping companies transported millions of bales of cotton across the Atlantic to English textile mills, thus making American slavery an international issue as well as a national one.

Americans not only wanted to assert their political independence from Britain but also their cultural independence following the American Revolution. In the first half of the nineteenth century, Americans sought to differentiate themselves from Europe in literature, art, and music. Writers sought to create an American identity by exploring the dark side of human nature and the existential quest to find meaning in the world. At the same time, artists of the Hudson River School joined the European celebration of Romanticism, which helped inspire Transcendentalism, the first unique American intellectual movement. Leading figures like Ralph Waldo Emerson and Henry David Thoreau urged Americans to "transcend" the limits imposed by logic and the senses.

Despite intense racism and prejudice, both free and enslaved African Americans created a unique culture through religion, music, art, and language, which made their harsh living conditions more tolerable. The abolitionist movement, though riven with internal divisions, grew more influential in American society. This movement, along with economic panics that left the South largely untouched, accelerated the trend in regionalism. The rise of the belief of many Southerners that "Cotton was King!" provided a false sense of security and superiority that further contributed to future conflict.

1831 Nat Turner leads slave rebellion

1832 William Garrison founds the New England Anti-Slavery Society

1833 Compromise Tariff

1838 Cherokee removal to "Indian Territory"

1843 Garrison calls for Northern disunion from the South

1845 Publication of Poe's "The Raven"

1848 Seneca Falls Convention

1849 Publication of Thoreau's "Resistance to Civil Government"

1835 1840 1845 1850

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, The Jefferson R. Burdick Collection, Gift of Jefferson R. Burdick

10 AMERICA'S ECONOMIC REVOLUTION

THE LOWELL MILLS For many years, Lowell, Massachusetts, had been a small farming village known as East Chelmsford. By the 1840s, when Fitzhugh Lane painted *The Middlesex Company Woolen Mills,* the town had become one of the most famous manufacturing centers in America and a magnet for visitors from around the world. Lane's painting shows female workers, who dominated the labor force in Lowell, entering the factory.

CONNECTING CONCEPTS

Chapter 10 begins by examining the demographic shifts that occurred in the United States during the first half of the nineteenth century. The population increased throughout the century through both reproduction and European immigration. The arrival of immigrants from northern and western Europe, especially Germany and Ireland, led to rising nativist sentiments and major changes in the composition of the American workforce.

The factory system slowly began to replace the artisan tradition, despite efforts by newly established national craft unions. While some unions won small though temporary victories, the industrial capitalists maintained their control of political, social, and economic power. Despite a growing disparity between rich and poor, a new middle-class emerged during the period. Although urban growth accelerated, the United States remained primarily a rural country that relied on agriculture for its main economic activity.

Technological innovations also contributed to many of the changes taking place within American society. Railroads and canals made transportation more efficient, which fostered other economic gains and growing social links between the Northeast and Northwest. These links, however, also led to further isolation for the South, both politically and economically.

As you read, you should:

- Describe how industrialization increased sectional differences, which led to varied expectations on the role of government in the economy.
- Analyze how the growth in advanced technology and industrialization impacted different social and economic classes in the United States.
- Evaluate how improvements in technology tied different parts of the country together and led to further western migration.
- Identify the causes and effects of the growth of the factory system in the United States.
- Analyze the causes and effects of population growth in the United States.

THE CHANGING AMERICAN POPULATION

The American industrial revolution was a result of many factors. Before it could occur, the United States needed a population large enough both to grow its own food and to provide a surplus workforce for an industrial economy. It needed a transportation and communications system capable of sustaining commerce over a large geographic area. It needed the technology to permit manufacturing on a large scale. And it needed systems of business organization capable of managing large industrial enterprises. By 1860, the northern regions of the nation had acquired at least the beginnings of all those things.

The American Population, 1820–1840

Three trends characterized the American population between 1820 and 1840, all of them contributing in various ways to economic growth. The population was increasing rapidly; much of it was moving from the countryside into the industrializing cities of the Northeast and Northwest; and much of it was migrating westward.

The American population had stood at only 4 million in 1790. By 1820, it had reached 10 million; by 1830, nearly 13 million; and by 1840, 17 million. The United States was growing much more rapidly in population than Britain or Europe. One reason for this substantial population growth was improvements in public health. The number and ferocity of epidemics (such as the great cholera plague of 1832)–which had periodically decimated urban and even rural populations in America–slowly declined, as did the nation's mortality rate. The population increase was also a result of a high birth rate. In 1840, white women bore an average of 6.14 children each, a decline from the very high rates of the eighteenth century but still substantial enough to produce rapid population increases, particularly since a larger proportion of children could expect to grow to adulthood than had been the case a generation or two earlier.

Reasons for Population Increase

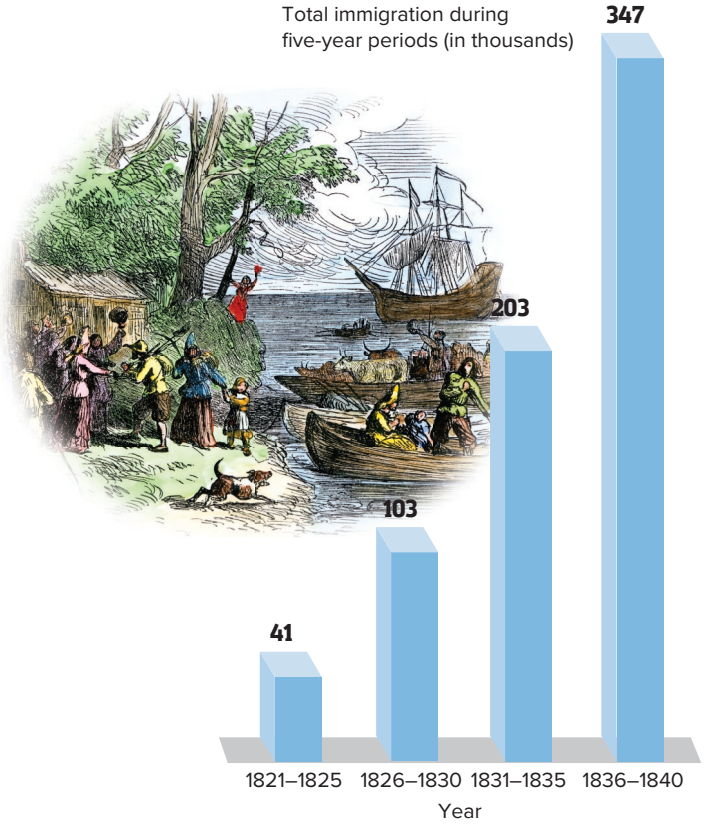
Immigration, choked off by wars in Europe and economic crises in America, contributed little to the American population in the first three decades of the nineteenth century but rapidly revived beginning in the 1830s. Of the total 1830 population of nearly 13 million, the foreign-born numbered fewer than 500,000. But the number of immigrants climbed by 60,000 in 1832 and nearly 80,000 in 1837. Reduced transportation costs and increasing economic opportunities helped stimulate the immigration boom, as did deteriorating economic conditions in some areas of Europe. The migrations introduced new groups to the United States. In particular, the number of immigrants arriving from the southern counties of Ireland began to grow, marking the beginning of a tremendous influx of Irish Catholics that would continue through the three decades before the Civil War.

Much of this new European immigration flowed into the rapidly growing cities of the Northeast. But urban growth was a result of substantial internal migration as well. As the agricultural regions of New England and other areas grew less profitable, more and more people picked up stakes and moved–some to more promising agricultural regions in the West, but many to eastern cities. In 1790, one person in thirty had lived in a city (defined as a community of 8,000 or more); in 1820, one in twenty; and in 1840, one in twelve.

The rise of New York City was particularly dramatic. By 1810, it was the largest city in the United States. That was partly a result of its superior natural harbor. It was also a result of the Erie Canal (completed in 1825), which gave the city unrivaled access to the interior, and of liberal state laws that made the city attractive for both foreign and domestic commerce.

POPULATION GROWTH, 1620–1860 From its tiny beginnings in the seventeenth century, the American population grew rapidly and dramatically so that by 1860—with more than 31 million people—the United States was one of the most populous countries in the world.

How did this growing population contribute to the nation's economic transformation?



IMMIGRATION, 1821–1840 Among the sources of the nation's growing population in the nineteenth century was rapidly increasing immigration. This graph shows how rapidly immigration to the United States increased in the 1820s and 1830s. The 347,000 immigrants in the second half of the 1830s were almost nine times the number in the first half of the 1820s.

Where did most of these new immigrants settle?

Immigration and Urban Growth, 1840–1860

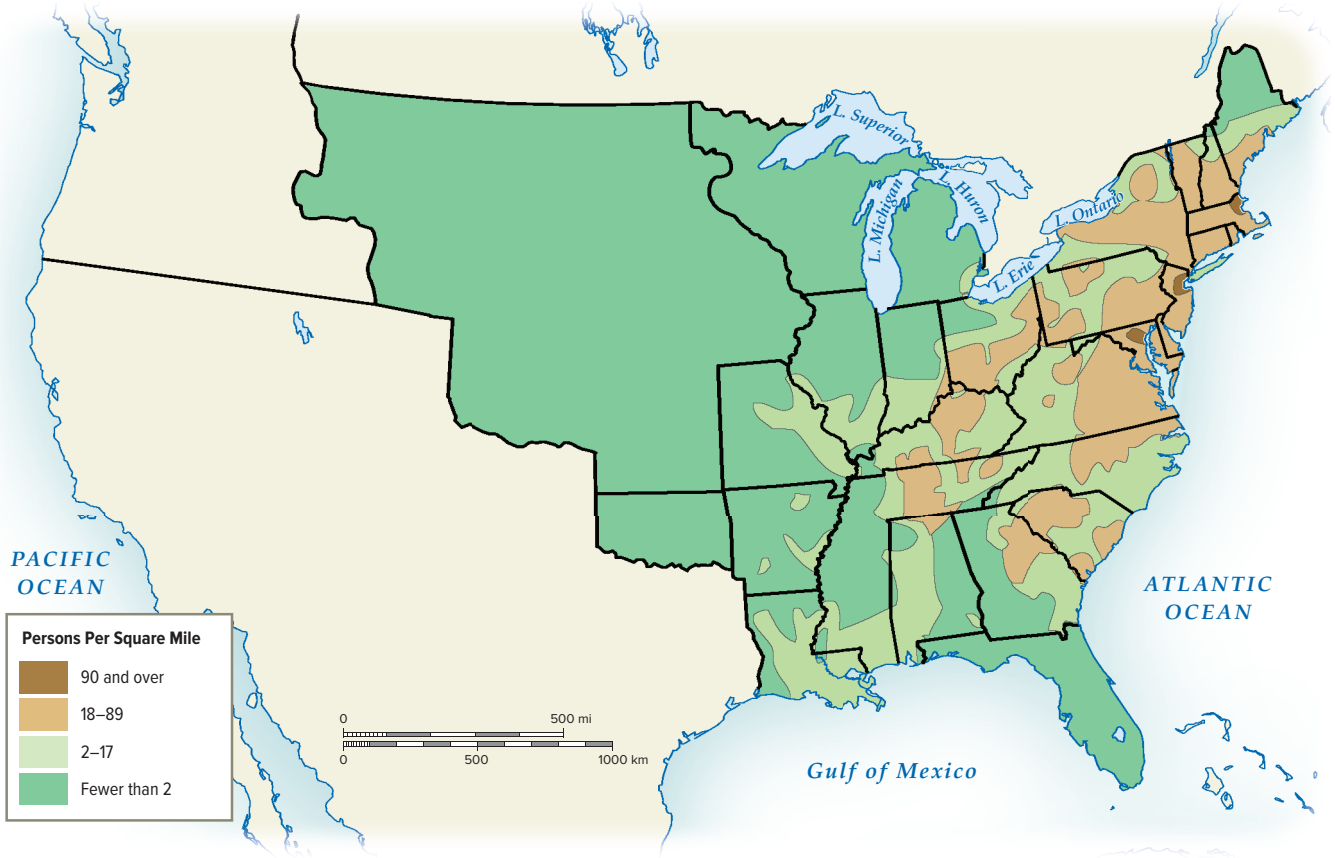
The growth of cities accelerated even more dramatically between 1840 and 1860. The population of New York, for example, rose from 312,000 to 805,000. (New York's population would have numbered 1.2 million in 1860 if Brooklyn, which was then a separate municipality, had been included in the total.) Philadelphia's population grew over the same twenty-year period from 220,000 to 565,000; Boston's from 93,000 to 177,000. By 1860, 26 percent of the population of the free states was living in towns (places of 2,500 people or more) or cities (8,000 people or more), up from 14 percent in 1840. That percentage was even higher for the industrializing states of the Northeast. (In the South, by contrast, the increase of urban residents was only from 6 percent in 1840 to 10 percent in 1860.)

Rapid Urbanization

The booming agricultural economy of the western regions of the nation produced significant urban growth as well. Between 1820 and 1840, communities that had once been small western villages or trading posts became major cities: St. Louis, Pittsburgh, Cincinnati, Louisville. All of them benefited from strategic positions on the Mississippi River or one of its major tributaries. All of them became centers of the growing carrying trade that connected the farmers of the Midwest with New Orleans and, through it, the cities of the Northeast. After 1830, however, substantial shipping began from the Mississippi River to the Great Lakes, creating major new urban centers that gradually superseded the river ports. Among them were Buffalo, Detroit, Milwaukee, Cleveland, and–most important–Chicago.

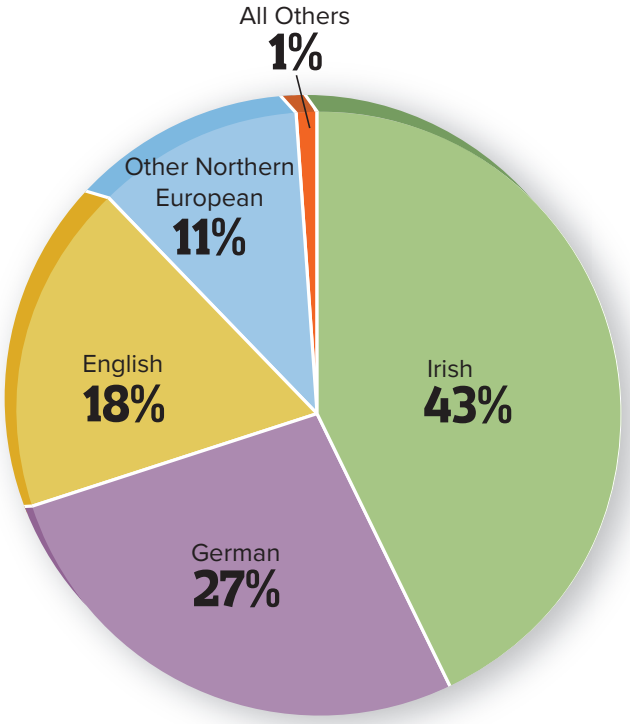
The enlarged urban population was in part a reflection of the growth of the national population as a whole, which rose by more than a third–from 23 million to over 31 million–in the decade of the 1850s alone. By 1860, the American population was larger than Britain's and quickly approaching that of France and Germany. Urban growth was also a result of the increasing flow of people into cities from the farms of the Northeast. Immigration from abroad continued to increase as well. Between 1840 and 1850, more than 1.5 million Europeans moved to America, three times the number of arrivals in the 1830s. Still greater numbers arrived in the 1850s–over 2.5 million. Almost half the residents of New York City in the 1850s were recent immigrants. In St. Louis, Chicago, and Milwaukee, the

Surging Immigration



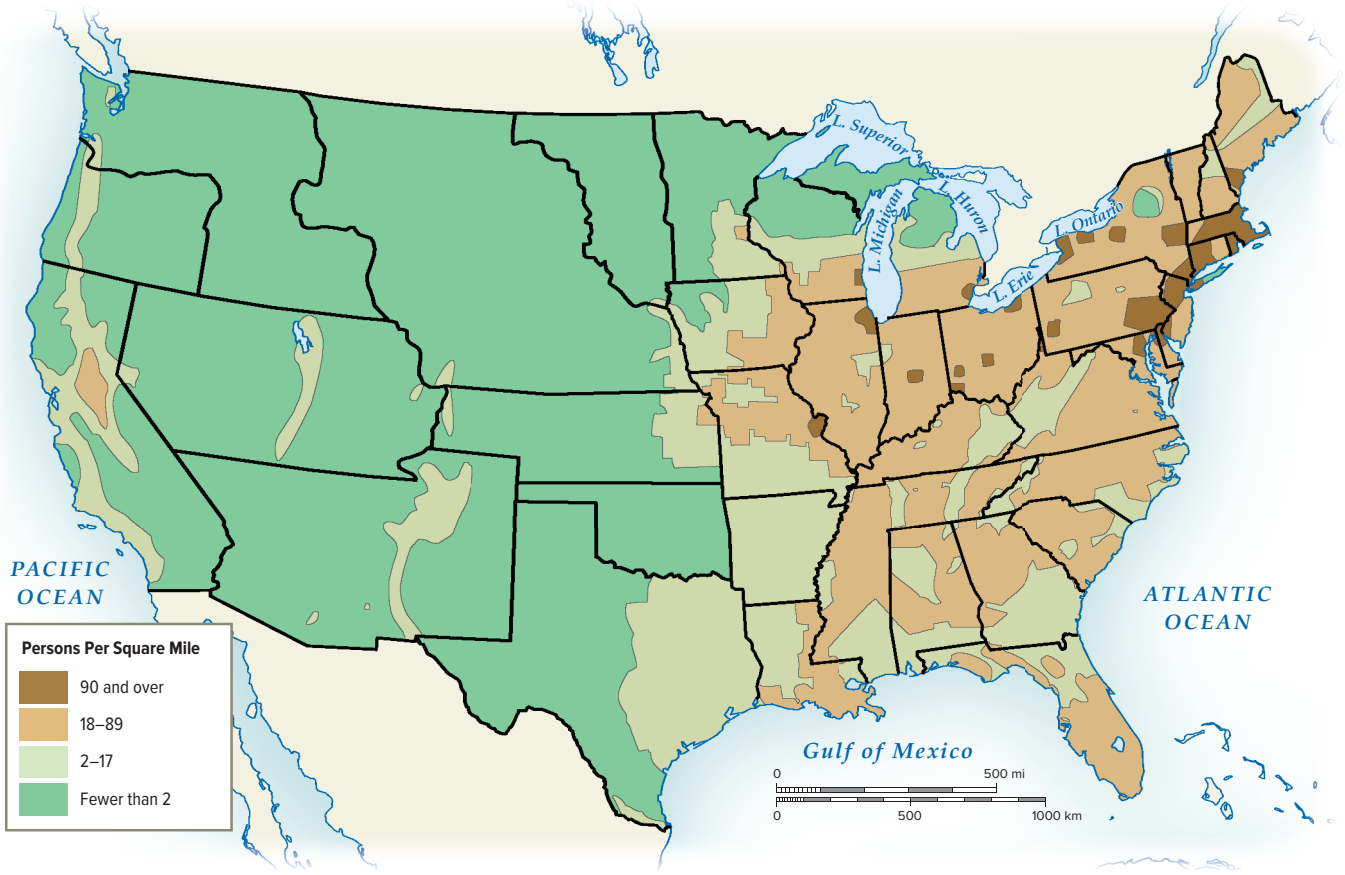
AMERICAN POPULATION DENSITY, 1820 The population of the United States in 1820 was still overwhelmingly rural and agrarian and was still concentrated largely in the original thirteen states, although settlement was growing in the Ohio River valley to the west. Note how few areas of the country were populated really densely: a small area in northeastern Massachusetts, the area around New York City, and the area in Maryland adjoining Baltimore.

What accounts for the density in these areas?



SOURCES OF IMMIGRATION, 1820–1840 The chart illustrates the nationalities of the large numbers of immigrants to the U.S. between 1820 and 1840. Note the very large number of Irish immigrants.

Why were Irish immigrants among the most likely groups to become part of the industrial workforce?



AMERICAN POPULATION DENSITY, 1860 By 1860, the population of the United States had spread much more evenly across the entire country. Communities that had once been small trading posts emerged as major cities. Among them were St. Louis, Pittsburgh, Cincinnati, and Louisville. In the meantime, the Erie Canal had opened up a large and prosperous market area for New York City. Note the larger and more numerous areas of dense population, including many in the Midwest.

What accounts for the growing population density in some areas of the South?

BROADWAY IN 1836 This image of the area of New York City's Broadway in what is now lower Manhattan suggests the way in which New York was becoming an increasingly important center of trade and commerce—and a densely urban place—in the 1830s.

foreign-born outnumbered those of native birth. Few immigrants settled in the South. Only 500,000 lived in the slave states in 1860, and a third of these were concentrated in Missouri, mostly in St. Louis.

The newcomers came from many different countries and regions: England, France, Italy, Scandinavia, Poland, and Holland. But the overwhelming majority came from Ireland and Germany. In 1850, Irish immigrants constituted approximately 45 percent and German immigrants over 20 percent of the foreign-born in America. By 1860, there were more than 1.5 million Irish-born and approximately 1 million German-born people in the United States. In Germany, the economic dislocations of the industrial revolution had caused widespread poverty, and the collapse of the liberal revolution there in 1848 also persuaded many Germans to emigrate. In Ireland, the oppressiveness and unpopularity of English rule drove many people out. But even more important was the greatest disaster in Ireland's history: a catastrophic failure of the potato crop (and other food crops) that caused the devastating "potato famine" of 1845–1849. Nearly a million people died of starvation and disease. Well over a million more emigrated to the United States.

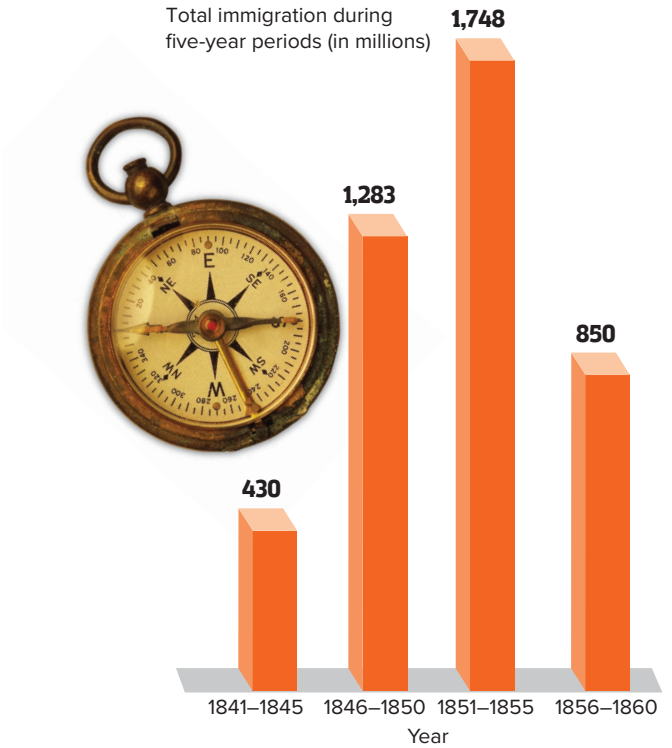
German and Irish Immigrants

The great majority of Irish immigrants settled in the eastern cities, where they swelled the ranks of unskilled labor. Most German immigrants moved on to the Northwest, where they became farmers or went into business in the western towns. One reason for the difference was wealth: German immigrants generally arrived with at least some money; Irish immigrants had practically none. Another important reason was gender. Most German immigrants were members of family groups or were single men, for whom movement to the agricultural frontier was both possible and attractive. Many Irish immigrants were young, single women, for whom movement west was much less plausible. They were more likely to stay in the eastern cities, where factory and domestic work was available.

The Rise of Nativism

Some native-born Americans welcomed the new immigration, which provided a large supply of cheap labor that they believed would help keep wage rates low. Land speculators and others with investments in the sparsely populated West hoped that immigrants would move into the region and help expand the population, and thus the market for land and goods, there. Political leaders in western states and territories wanted the immigrants to swell their population, which would increase the political influence of the region. Wisconsin, for example, permitted foreign-born residents to become voters as soon as they had declared their intention of seeking citizenship and had resided in the state for a year; other western states soon followed its lead. In eastern cities, too, urban political organizations eagerly courted immigrant voters, hoping to enhance their own political strength.

Other Americans, however, viewed the growing foreign-born population with alarm. Their fears led to the rise of what is known as "nativism," a defense of native-born people and a hostility to the foreign-born, usually combined with a desire to stop or slow immigration. The emerging nativism took many forms. Some of it was a result of simple racism. Many nativists (conveniently overlooking their own immigrant heritage) argued that the new immigrants were inherently inferior to older-stock Americans. Some viewed them with the same contempt and prejudice–and the same low estimate of their potential abilities–with which they viewed African Americans and Native Americans. Many nativists avoided racist arguments but argued nevertheless that the newcomers were socially unfit to live alongside people of older stock, that they did not bring with them sufficient standards of civilization. Evidence for that, they claimed, was the wretched urban and sometimes rural slums in which they lived. (Many nativists seemed to assume that such wretchedness was something immigrants chose, rather than the result of their extreme poverty.) Others–especially workers–complained that because foreigners were willing to work for low wages, they were stealing jobs from the native labor force. Protestants, observing the success of Irish Catholics in establishing footholds in urban politics, warned that the Catholic Church and the pope were gaining a foothold in American government. Whig politicians were outraged because so many



IMMIGRATION, 1841–1860 Immigration continued to increase in the forty years before the Civil War. This chart illustrates the much higher levels of growth than in the previous forty years. The low point in this era was the first half of the 1840s, in which 430,000 new immigrants entered the United States. That was significantly higher than the largest number of the previous twenty years. In the early 1850s, the number of immigrants grew to nearly 2 million.

What events in Europe contributed to this increase in immigration?

CONSIDER THE SOURCE

NATIVISM AND ANTI-IMMIGRATION SENTIMENT

ANTI-IMMIGRATION SENTIMENT AND NATIVISM HAVE LONG BEEN PRESENT IN THE NATION, as indicated by the first two items below: an 1852 broadside announcing publication of The *American Patriot*, a nativist newspaper, and a cartoon from 1850. The broadside issues a dire warning: "Already the enemies of our dearest institutions, like the foreign spies in the Trojan horse of old, are within our gates. They are disgorging themselves upon us, at the rate of Hundreds of Thousands Every Year! They aim at nothing short of conquest and supremacy over us."

Fast-forward to April 2010 when Arizona Senate Bill 1070 was signed into law by Governor Jan Brewer. Provisions of the law include the right of law enforcement agents to ask for a person's immigration documents during routine stops and a mandate that any illegal immigrant convicted of a crime or misdemeanor be turned over to federal immigration agents. Critics claim that the law is a product of nativism and anti-immigration sentiment directed specifically at those of Hispanic origin, which will result in persecution of both legal and undocumented immigrants. See the excerpt on p. 261.

ANTI-IMMIGRATION SENTIMENT—1850/1852

AMERICAN CITIZENS!

We appeal to you in all calmness. Is it not time to pause? Already the enemies of our dearest institutions, like the foreign spies in the Trojan horse of old, are within our gates. They are disgorging themselves upon us, at the rate of Hundreds of Thousands Every Year! They aim at nothing short of conquest and supremacy over us.

A PAPER ENTITLED THE

AMERICAN PATRIOT.

CONSTITUTION AND LAWS.

IN FAVOR OF

The protection of American Mechanics against Foreign Pauper Labor.
Foreigners having a residence in the country of 21 years before voting.
Our present Free School System.
Carrying out the laws of the State, as regards sending back Foreign Paupers and Criminals.

OPPOSED TO

Papal Aggression & Roman Catholicism.
Foreigners holding office.
Raising Foreign Military Companies in the United States.
Nunneries and the Jesuits.
To being taxed for the support of Foreign paupers millions of dollars yearly.
To secret Foreign Orders in the U. S.

We are burdened with enormous taxes by foreigners. We are corrupted in the morals of our youth. We are interfered with in our government. We are forced into collisions with other nations. We are tampered with in our religion. We are injured in our labor. We are assailed in our freedom of speech.

☞ The PATRIOT is Published by J. E. Farwell & Co., 32 Congress St., Boston,
And for Sale at the Periodical Depots in this place. Single copies 4 Cents.

Historicus, Inc.

"IRISH AND GERMANS STEAL THE BALLOT BOX."

ARIZONA SENATE BILL 1070—2010

Notwithstanding any other law, a law enforcement agency may securely transport an alien who is unlawfully present in the United States and who is in the agency's custody to a federal facility in this state or to any other point of transfer into federal custody that is outside the jurisdiction of the law enforcement agency.

E. A law enforcement officer, without a warrant, may arrest a person if the officer has probable cause to believe that the person has committed any public offense that makes the person removable from the United States.

F. Except as provided in federal law, officials or agencies of this state and counties, cities, towns and other political subdivisions of this state may not be prohibited or in any way be restricted from sending, receiving or maintaining information relating to the immigration status of any individual or exchanging that information with any other federal, state or local governmental entity for the following official purposes:

1. Determining eligibility for any public benefit, service or license provided by any federal, state, local or other political subdivision of this state.
2. Verifying any claim of residence or domicile if determination of residence or domicile is required under the laws of this state or a judicial order issued pursuant to a civil or criminal proceeding in this state.
3. Confirming the identity of any person who is detained.
4. If the person is an alien, determining whether the person is in compliance with the federal registration laws prescribed by Title II, Chapter 7 of the Federal Immigration and Nationality Act.

Source: State of Arizona Senate Bill 1070, 2010.

ANALYZING SOURCES

Questions assume cumulative content knowledge from this chapter and previous chapters.

1. Both the broadside and cartoon from the 1850s and the excerpt of the 2010 Arizona law—particularly section E—demonstrate what commonality in the anti-immigrant attitudes from both time periods?

(A) Anti-immigrant attitudes in both time periods were solely based on economic issues.

(B) Anti-immigrant attitudes in both time periods carried a strong racial component.

(C) Anti-immigrant attitudes in both time periods revolved around voting rights.

(D) Anti-immigrant attitudes in both time periods stemmed from religious differences.

2. Both the broadside and cartoon from the 1850s and the excerpt from the Arizona law most strongly illustrate which bias in their view of the immigrants they are targeting?

(A) The immigrants are gentle folk, but are paupers.

(B) The immigrants bring new economic opportunities.

(C) The immigrants take away economic opportunities from American citizens.

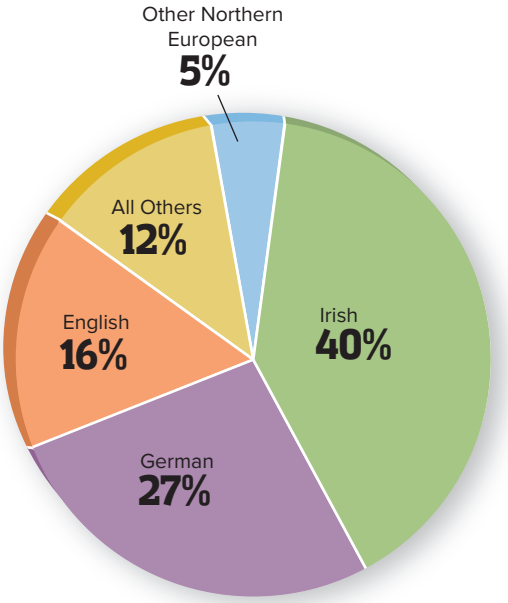
(D) The immigrants are criminal or deceptive.

of the newcomers voted Democratic. Others complained that the immigrants corrupted politics by selling their votes. Many older-stock Americans of both parties feared that immigrants would bring new, radical ideas into national life.

Out of these tensions and prejudices emerged a number of new secret societies created to combat what nativists had come to call the "alien menace." Most of them originated in the Northeast. Some later spread to the West and even to the South. The first of these, the Native American Association, began agitating against immigration in 1837. In 1845, nativists held a convention in Philadelphia and formed the Native American Party (unaware that the term they used to describe themselves would one day become a common label for American Indians). Many of the nativist groups combined in 1850 to form the Supreme Order of the Star-Spangled Banner. It endorsed a list of demands that included banning Catholics or the foreign-born from holding public office, more-restrictive naturalization laws, and literacy tests for voting. The order adopted a strict code of secrecy, which included the secret password, used in lodges across the country, "I know nothing." Ultimately, members of the movement became known as the "Know-Nothings."

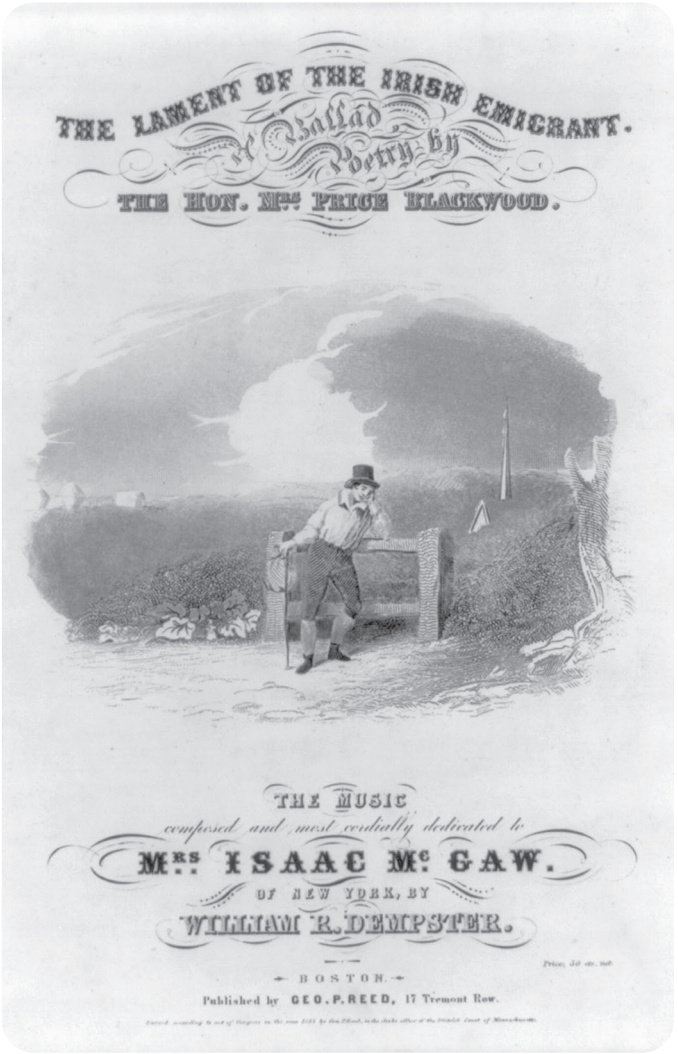
Native American Party

Gradually, the Know-Nothings turned their attention to party politics, and after the election of 1852 they created a new political organization that they called the American Party. In the East, the new organization scored an immediate and astonishing success in the elections of 1854: the Know-Nothings cast a large vote in Pennsylvania and New York and won control of the state government in Massachusetts.



SOURCES OF IMMIGRATION, 1840–1860 Although the extent of immigration increased dramatically in the two decades after 1840, the sources of it remained remarkably stable. Note how closely the distribution of immigrant groups portrayed in this pie chart parallels that in the similar chart for the 1820–1840 period.

What were some of the differences between what German and Irish immigrants did once they arrived in America?



THE LAMENT OF THE IRISH EMIGRANT This poem, written by Helen Selina Blackwood and set to music by William R. Dempster captures the painful time in Ireland during the potato famine from the mid 1840s to the early 1850s. During this period an estimated 1 million people died of starvation and another million emigrated, many to the United States. The protagonist of the poem sings of his grief from having lost his wife and his promise to remember her in the new land.

The Know-Nothings

Elsewhere, the progress of the Know-Nothings was modest. Western members of the party, because of the presence of many German voters in the area, found it expedient not to oppose naturalized Protestants. After 1854, the strength of the Know-Nothings declined.

TRANSPORTATION, COMMUNICATIONS, AND TECHNOLOGY

Just as the industrial revolution needed a growing population, it also required an efficient system of transportation and communications. Such a system was essential in creating regional,

national, and ultimately international markets. Progress in this area required not just significant investment, but also important advances in technological knowledge.

The Canal Age

From 1790 until the 1820s, the so-called turnpike era, Americans had relied largely on roads for internal transportation. But in a country as large as the United States was becoming, roads alone (and the mostly horse-drawn vehicles that used them) were not adequate for the nation's expanding needs. And so, in the 1820s and 1830s, Americans began to turn to other means of transportation as well.

The larger rivers, especially the Mississippi and the Ohio, had been important transportation routes for years, but most of the traffic on them consisted of flat barges–little more than rafts–that floated downstream laden with cargo and were broken up at the end of their journeys because they could not navigate back upstream. To return north, shippers had to send goods by land or by agonizingly slow upstream vessels that sometimes took up to four months to travel the length of the Mississippi.

These rivers became vastly more important by the 1820s, as steamboats grew in number and improved in design. The new riverboats carried the corn and wheat of northwestern farmers and the cotton and tobacco of southwestern planters to New Orleans in a fraction of the time of the old barges. From New Orleans, oceangoing ships

Steamboats

KNOW-NOTHING SOAP This illustrated advertising label for soap manufactured in Boston alludes to the Know Nothing or nativist movement. The Native Americans depicted in the foreground and the teepees and camp in the background symbolize the movement's prejudice against foreigners.

THE ERIE CANAL This lithograph suggests something of the enormous engineering challenges faced by the builders of the Erie Canal. This picture shows a deep cutting at Lockport, New York. The canal was completed in 1825 and connected New York to the Great Lakes via the Hudson River.

took the cargoes on to eastern ports. Steamboats also developed a significant passenger traffic, and companies built increasingly lavish vessels to compete for this lucrative trade.

But neither the farmers of the West nor the merchants of the East were wholly satisfied with this pattern of trade. Farmers would pay less to transport their goods (and eastern consumers would pay less to consume them) if they could ship them directly eastward to market, rather than by the roundabout river-sea route; and northeastern merchants, too, could sell larger quantities of their manufactured goods if they could transport their merchandise more directly and economically to the West. New highways across the mountains provided a partial solution to the problem. But the costs of hauling goods overland, although lower than before, were still too high for anything except the most compact and valuable merchandise. The thoughts of some merchants and entrepreneurs began, therefore, to turn to an alternative: canals.

A team of four horses could haul one and a half tons of goods eighteen miles a day on the turnpikes. But the same four horses, walking along the "towpaths" next to canals while yoked to barges, could draw a boatload of a hundred tons twenty-four miles a day. By the 1820s, the economic advantages of canals had generated a booming interest in expanding the water routes to the West. Canal building was too expensive for private enterprise, and the job of digging canals fell largely to the states. The ambitious state governments of the Northeast took the lead in constructing them. New York was the first to act. It had the natural advantage of a good land route between the Hudson River and Lake Erie through the only real break in the Appalachian chain. But the engineering tasks were still imposing. The distance was more than 350 miles, several times the length of any of the existing canals in America. The route was interrupted by high ridges and a wilderness of woods. After a long public debate over whether the scheme was practical, canal advocates prevailed when De Witt Clinton, a late but ardent convert to the cause, became governor in 1817. Digging began on July 4, 1817.

Economic Advantages of Canals

The Erie Canal

The building of the Erie Canal was the greatest construction project the United States had ever undertaken. The canal itself was simple: a ditch forty feet wide and four feet deep, with towpaths along the banks. But hundreds of difficult cuts and fills, some of them enormous, were required to enable the canal to pass through hills and over valleys; stone aqueducts were

CANALS IN THE NORTHEAST, 1823–1860 The great success of the Erie Canal, which opened in 1825, inspired decades of energetic canal building in many areas of the United States, as this map illustrates. But none of the new canals had anything like the impact of the original Erie Canal, and thus none of New York City's competitors—among them Baltimore, Philadelphia, and Boston—were able to displace it as the nation's leading commercial center.

What form of transportation ultimately displaced the canals?

necessary to carry it across streams; and eighty-eight locks, of heavy masonry with great wooden gates, were needed to permit ascents and descents. The Erie Canal was not just an engineering triumph, but an immediate financial success as well. It opened in October 1825, amid elaborate ceremonies and celebrations, and traffic was soon so heavy that within about seven years tolls had repaid the entire cost of construction. By providing a route to the Great Lakes, the canal gave New York City direct access to Chicago and the growing markets of the West. New York City could now compete with (and increasingly replace) New Orleans as a destination for agricultural goods (particularly wheat) and other products of the West, and as a source for manufactured goods to be sold in the region.

The system of water transportation–and the primacy of New York City–extended farther when the states of Ohio and Indiana, inspired by the success of the Erie Canal, provided water connections between Lake Erie and the Ohio River. These canals helped connect them by an inland water route all the way to New York, although it was still necessary to transfer cargoes several times between canal, lake, and river craft. One of the immediate results of these new transportation routes was increased white settlement in the Northwest, because canals made it easier for migrants to make the westward journey and to ship their goods back to eastern markets.

Rival cities along the Atlantic seaboard took alarm at the prospect of New York's acquiring so vast a hinterland. But they had limited success in catching up. Boston, its way to the Hudson River blocked by the Berkshire Mountains, did not even try to connect itself to the West by canal; its hinterland would remain confined largely to New England. Philadelphia and Baltimore had the still more formidable Allegheny Mountains to contend with. They made a serious effort at canal building, nevertheless, but with discouraging results. Pennsylvania's effort ended in an expensive failure. Maryland constructed part of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal beginning in 1828, but completed only the stretch between Washington, D.C., and Cumberland, Maryland, and thus never crossed the mountains. In the South, Richmond and Charleston also aspired to build water routes to the Ohio Valley, but never completed them.

In the end, canals did not provide a satisfactory route to the West for any of New York's rivals. Some cities, however, saw their opportunity in a different and newer means of transportation. Even before the canal age had reached its height, the era of the railroad was already beginning.

The Early Railroads

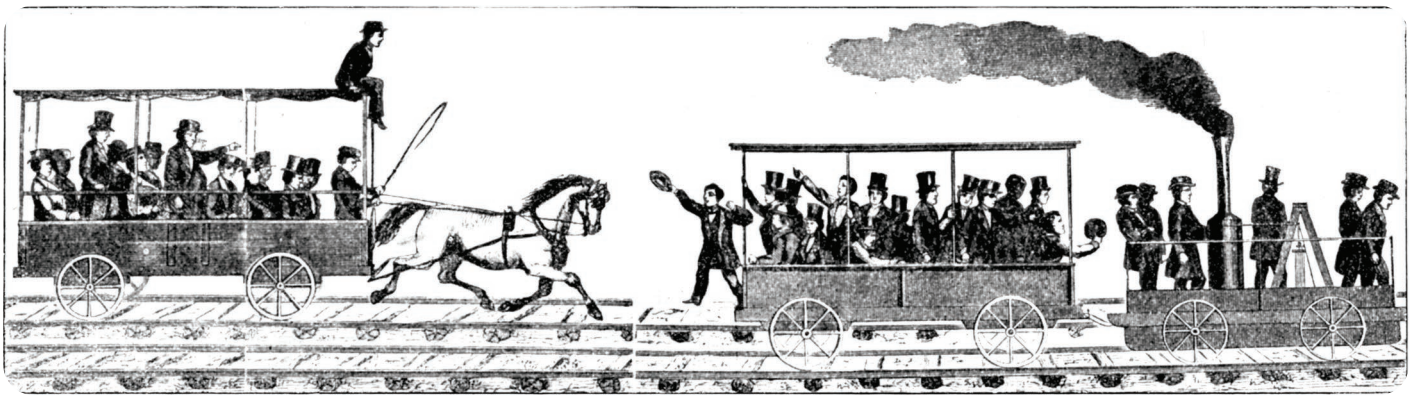
Eventually, railroads became the primary transportation system for the United States, and they remained so until the construction of the interstate highway system in the mid-twentieth century.

Railroads emerged from a combination of technological and entrepreneurial innovations. The technological breakthroughs included the invention of tracks, the creation of steam-powered locomotives, and the development of railroad cars that could serve as public carriers of passengers and freight. By 1804, both English and American inventors had experimented with steam engines for propelling land vehicles. In 1820, John Stevens ran a locomotive and cars around a circular track on his New Jersey estate. And in 1825, the Stockton and Darlington Railroad in England opened a short length of track and became the first line to carry general traffic.

Technological Basis of the Railroad

American entrepreneurs, especially in those northeastern cities that sought better communication with the West, quickly grew interested in the English experiment. The first company to begin actual operations was the Baltimore and Ohio, which opened a thirteen-mile stretch of track in 1830. In New York, the Mohawk and Hudson began running trains along the sixteen miles between Schenectady and Albany in 1831. By 1836, more than a thousand miles of track had been laid in eleven states.

But there was not yet a true railroad system. Even the longest of the lines was comparatively short in the 1830s, and most of them served simply to connect water routes, not to link one railroad to another. Even when two lines did connect, the tracks often differed in gauge (width), so that cars from one line often could not fit onto the tracks of another.



RACING ON THE RAILROAD Peter Cooper, who in later years was best known as a philanthropist and as the founder of the Cooper Union in New York City, was also a successful iron manufacturer. Cooper designed and built the first steam-powered locomotive in America in 1830 for the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad. On August 28 of that year, he raced his locomotive (the Tom Thumb) against a horse-drawn railroad car. This sketch depicts the moment when Cooper's engine overtook the horsecar.

Schedules were erratic, and wrecks were frequent. But railroads made some important advances in the 1830s and 1840s. The introduction of heavier iron rails improved the roadbeds. Steam locomotives became more flexible and powerful. Redesigned passenger cars became stabler, more comfortable, and larger.

Railroads and canals were soon competing bitterly. For a time, the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal Company blocked the advance of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad through the narrow gorge of the upper Potomac, which it controlled; and the state of New York prohibited railroads from hauling freight in competition with the Erie Canal and its branches. But railroads had so many advantages that when they were able to compete freely with other forms of transportation they almost always prevailed.

Competition between Railroads and Canals

The Triumph of the Rails

After 1840, railroads gradually supplanted canals and all other modes of transport. In 1840, there were 2,818 miles of railroad tracks in the United States; by 1850, there were 9,021. An unparalleled burst of railroad construction followed in the 1850s, tripling the amount of trackage in just ten years. The most comprehensive and efficient system was in the Northeast, which had twice as much trackage per square mile as the Northwest and four times as much as the South. But the expansion of the rails left no region untouched. Railroads were even reaching west of the Mississippi, which was spanned at several points by great iron bridges. One line ran from Hannibal to St. Joseph on the Missouri River, and another was under construction between St. Louis and Kansas City.

An important change in railroad development was the trend toward the consolidation of short lines into longer lines (known as "trunk lines"). By 1853, four major railroad trunk lines had crossed the Appalachian Mountains to connect the Northeast with the Northwest. The New York Central and the New York and Erie gave New York City access to the Lake Erie ports. The Pennsylvania railroad linked Philadelphia and Pittsburgh, and the Baltimore and Ohio connected Baltimore with the Ohio River at Wheeling. From the terminals of these lines, other railroads into the interior touched the Mississippi River at eight points. Chicago became the rail center of the West, served by fifteen lines and more than a hundred daily trains. The appearance of the great trunk lines tended to divert traffic from the main water routes–the Erie Canal and the Mississippi River. By lessening the dependence of the West on the Mississippi, the railroads helped weaken further the connection between the Northwest and the South.

Consolidation

Capital to finance the railroad boom came from many sources. Private American investors provided part of the necessary funding, and railroad companies borrowed large sums from abroad. But local governments–states, counties, cities, towns–also often contributed capital, because they were eager to have railroads serve them. The railroads obtained substantial additional assistance from the federal government in the form of public land grants. In 1850, Senator Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois and other railroad-minded politicians persuaded Congress to grant federal lands to aid the Illinois Central, which was building from Chicago toward the Gulf of Mexico. Other states and their railroad promoters demanded the same privileges, and by 1860, Congress had allotted over 30 million acres to eleven states to assist railroad construction.

Innovations in Communications and Journalism

Critical to the railroads was an important innovation in communications: the magnetic telegraph. Telegraph lines extended along the tracks, connecting one station with another and aiding the scheduling and routing of trains. But the telegraph also permitted instant communication between distant cities, tying the nation together as never before. At the same time, it helped reinforce the schism between the North and the South. Like railroads, telegraph lines were far more extensive in the North than in the South, and they helped similarly to link the North to the Northwest (and thus to separate the Northwest further from the South).

The Telegraph

The telegraph burst into American life in 1844, when Samuel F. B. Morse, after several years of experimentation, succeeded in transmitting from Baltimore to Washington, D.C., the news of James K. Polk's nomination for the presidency. The relatively low cost of constructing wire systems made the Morse telegraph system seem the ideal answer to the problems of long-distance communication. By 1860, more than 50,000 miles of wire connected most parts of the country; and a year later, the Pacific telegraph, with 3,595 miles of wire, opened between New York City and San Francisco. By then, nearly all the independent lines had joined in one organization, the Western Union Telegraph Company.

New forms of journalism also drew communities into a common communications system. In 1846, Richard Hoe invented the steam cylinder rotary press, making it possible to print newspapers rapidly and cheaply. The development of the telegraph, together with the introduction of the rotary press, made possible much speedier collection and distribution of news than ever before. In 1846, newspaper publishers from around the nation formed the Associated Press to promote cooperative news gathering by wire; no longer did they have to depend on the cumbersome exchange of newspapers for out-of-town reports.

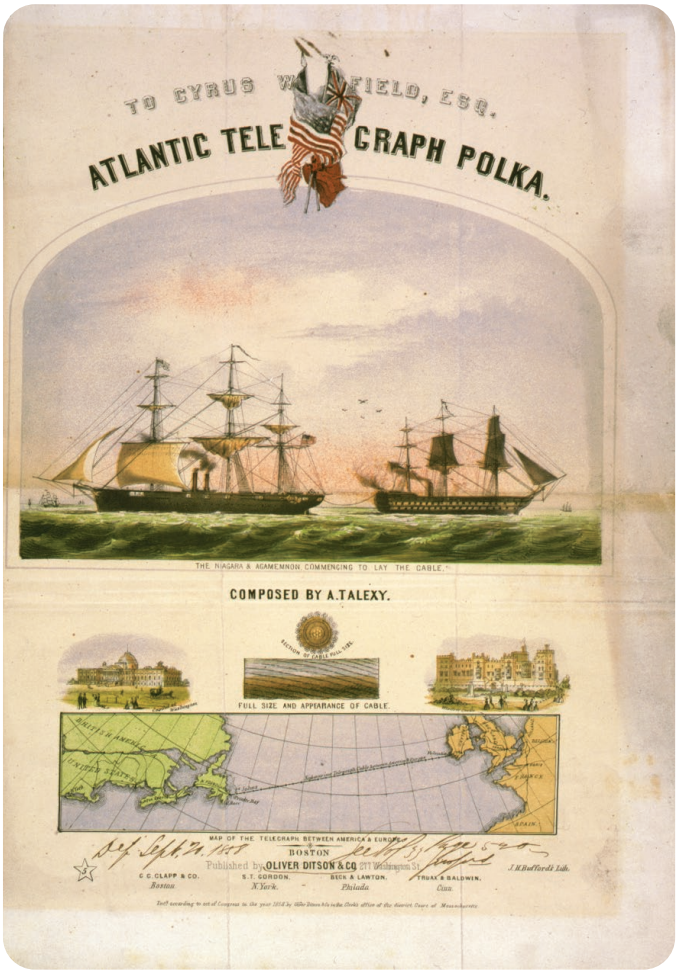
The Associated Press

Major metropolitan newspapers began to appear in the larger cities of the Northeast. In New York alone, there were Horace Greeley's *Tribune*, James Gordon Bennett's *Herald*, Henry J. Raymond's *Times*, and others. All gave serious attention to national and even international events and had substantial circulations beyond the city.

In the long run, journalism would become an important unifying factor in American life. In the 1840s and 1850s, however, the rise of the new journalism helped to feed sectional discord. Most of the major magazines and newspapers were in

RAILROAD GROWTH, 1850–1860 These two maps illustrate the dramatic growth in the extent of American railroads in the 1850s. Note the particularly extensive increase in mileage in the upper Midwest (known at the time as the Northwest). Note too the relatively smaller increase in railroad mileage in the South. Railroads forged a close economic relationship between the upper Midwest and the Northeast, and weakened the Midwest's relationship to the South.

How did the growth of railroads in the North contribute to the South's growing sense of insecurity within the Union?



THE TELEGRAPH The telegraph provided rapid communication across the country—and eventually across oceans—for the first time. Samuel F. B. Morse was one of a number of nineteenth-century inventors who helped create the telegraph, but Morse was the most commercially successful of the rivals, he nce his greater reputation than others who helped create it.

the North, reinforcing the South's sense of subjugation.

Fueling Sectional Discord

Southern newspapers tended to have smaller budgets and reported largely local news. Few had any impact outside their immediate communities. The combined circulation of the *Tribune* and the *Herald* exceeded that of all the daily newspapers published in the South put together.

COMMERCE AND INDUSTRY

By the middle years of the nineteenth century, the United States had developed the beginnings of a modern capitalist economy and an advanced industrial capacity. This emerging economy created enormous wealth and changed the face of all areas of the nation. But it did not, of course, affect everyone equally. Some classes and regions benefited from the economic development far more than others.

Impact of the Market Economy

The Expansion of Business, 1820–1840

American business grew rapidly in the 1820s and 1830s, partly because of population growth and the transportation revolution, but also because of the daring, imagination, and ruthlessness of a new generation of entrepreneurs whose enormous wealth allowed for lifestyles of "conspicuous consumption."

One important change came in the retail distribution of goods. In the larger cities, stores specializing in groceries, dry goods, hardware, and other lines appeared, although residents of smaller towns and villages still depended on general stores (stores that did not specialize). In these less populous areas, many people did much of their business by barter.

The organization of business was also changing. Individuals or limited partnerships continued to operate most businesses, and the dominating figures were still the great merchant capitalists, who generally had sole ownership of their enterprises. In some larger businesses, however, the individual merchant capitalist was giving way to the corporation. Corporations began to develop particularly rapidly in the 1830s, when some legal obstacles to their formation were removed. Previously, a corporation could obtain a charter only by a special act of the state legislature–a cumbersome process that stifled corporate growth. By the 1830s, however, states were beginning to pass general incorporation laws, under which a group could secure a charter merely by paying a fee.

Advantages of the Corporation

The new laws also permitted a system of limited liability, which meant that individual stockholders risked losing only the value of their own investment if a corporation should fail, and that they were not liable (as they had been in the past) for the corporation's larger losses. The rise of these new corporations made possible the accumulation of much greater amounts of capital and hence made possible much larger manufacturing and business enterprises.

Investment alone, however, still provided too little capital to meet the demands of the most ambitious businesses. Such businesses relied heavily on credit, and their borrowing often created dangerous instability. Credit mechanisms remained very crude in the early nineteenth century. The government alone could issue official currency, but the official currency consisted only of gold and silver (or paper certificates backed literally by gold and silver), and there was thus too little of it to support the growing demand for credit. Under pressure from corporate promoters, many banks issued large quantities of bank notes–unofficial currency that circulated in much the same way that government currency did but was of much less stable value. But the notes had value only to the degree that the bank could sustain public confidence in their value; and some banks issued so many notes that their own reserves could not cover them. As a result, bank failures were frequent, and bank deposits were often insecure. The difficulty of obtaining credit for business investment remained, therefore, an impediment to economic growth.

Inadequate Credit

The Emergence of the Factory

The most profound economic development in mid-nineteenth-century America was the rise of the factory. Before the War of 1812, most of what manufacturing there was in the United States took place within private households or in small, individually operated workshops. Men and women built or made products by hand, or with simple machines such as hand-operated looms. Gradually, however, improved technology and increasing demand produced a fundamental change. It came first in the New England textile industry. There, entrepreneurs were beginning to make use of new and larger machines driven by water power that allowed them to bring textile operations together under a single roof. This factory system, as it came to be known, spread rapidly in the 1820s and began to make serious inroads into the old home-based system of spinning thread and weaving cloth.

Factories also penetrated the shoe industry, concentrated in eastern Massachusetts. Shoes were still largely handmade, but manufacturers were beginning to employ workers who specialized in one or another of the various tasks involved in production. Some factories began producing large numbers of identical shoes in ungraded sizes and without distinction as to rights and lefts. By the 1830s, factory production was spreading from textiles and shoes into other industries and from New England to other areas of the Northeast.

Transformation of the Shoe Industry

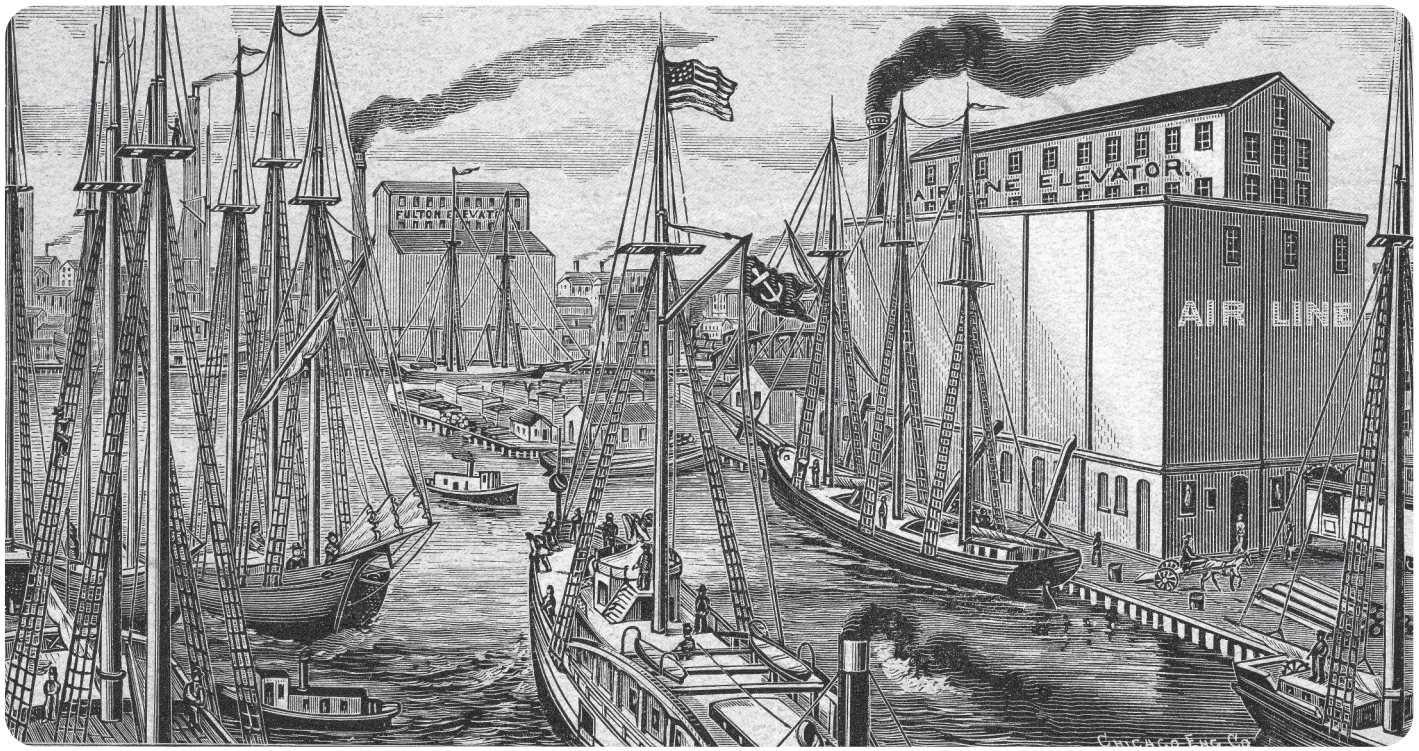
Between 1840 and 1860, American industry experienced even more dramatic growth as the factory system spread rapidly. In 1840, the total value of manufactured goods produced in the United States stood at $483 million; ten years later the figure had climbed to over $1 billion; and in 1860 it reached close to $2 billion. For the first time, the value of manufactured goods was approximately equal to that of agricultural products.

Of the approximately 140,000 manufacturing establishments in the country in 1860, 74,000 were located in the Northeast. The Northeast plants were so large that the region produced more than two-thirds of the nation's manufactured goods. Of the 1,311,000 workers in manufacturing in the United States, about 938,000 were employed in the mills and factories of New England and the mid-Atlantic states.

The Industrial Northeast

Advances in Technology

Even the most highly developed industries were still immature by later standards. American cotton manufacturers, for example, produced goods of coarse grade; fine items continued to come from England. But machine technology advanced more rapidly in the United States in the mid-nineteenth century than in any other country in the world. The American economy was growing so rapidly that the rewards of technological innovation were very great. Change was so rapid, in fact, that some manufacturers built their new machinery out of wood; by the time the wood wore out, they reasoned, improved



CARGO IN CHICAGO This engraving of cargo ships docked in the Chicago River illustrates the rapid growth of the city in the 1850s as it was becoming the great trading center of the central part of the United States.

technology would have made the machine obsolete. By the beginning of the 1830s, American technology had become so advanced–particularly in textile manufacturing–that industrialists in Britain and Europe were beginning to travel to the United States to learn new techniques, instead of the other way around.

The manufacturing of machine tools–the tools used to make machinery parts–was an important contribution to manufacturing. The government supported much of the research and development of machine tools, often in connection with supplying the military. For example, a government armory in Springfield, Massachusetts, developed two important tools–the turret lathe (used for cutting screws and other metal parts) and the universal milling machine (which replaced the hand chiseling of complicated parts and dies)–early in the nineteenth century. The precision grinding machine (which became critical to, among other things, the construction of sewing machines) was designed in the 1850s to help the United States Army produce standardized rifle parts. The federal armories such as those at Springfield and Harpers Ferry, Virginia, became the breeding ground for many technological discoveries, and a magnet for craftsmen and factory owners looking for ideas that could be useful to them. By the 1840s, the machine tools used in the factories of the Northeast were already better than those in most European factories.

Interchangeable Parts

Interchangeable parts, which Eli Whitney and Simeon North had tried to introduce into gun factories, now found their way into many industries. Eventually, interchangeability would revolutionize watch and clock making, the manufacturing of locomotives and steam engines, and the making of many farm tools. It would also help make possible such newer devices as bicycles, sewing machines, typewriters, cash registers, and eventually the automobile.

Industrialization was also profiting from the introduction of new sources of energy. Coal was replacing wood and water power as fuel for many factories. The production of coal, most of it mined around Pittsburgh in western Pennsylvania, leaped from 50,000 tons in 1820 to 14 million tons in 1860. The new power source made it possible to locate mills away from running streams and thus permitted industry to expand still more widely.

Technological Innovations

The great technological advances in American industry owed much to American inventors, as the patent records of the time make clear. In 1830, the number of inventions patented was 544; by 1850, the figure had risen to 993; and in 1860, it stood at 4,778. In 1839, Charles Goodyear, a New England hardware merchant, discovered a method of vulcanizing rubber (treating it to give it greater strength and elasticity); by 1860, his process had found over 500 uses and had helped create a major American rubber industry. In 1846, Elias Howe of Massachusetts constructed a sewing machine; Isaac Singer made improvements on it, and the Howe-Singer machine was soon being used in the manufacture of ready-to-wear clothing.

For all the technological innovations that characterized the early factory system, most American industry remained dependent on the most traditional source of power: water. In the 1820s and 1830s, water power remained the most important source of power for manufacturing. The first important factory towns in New England–Lawrence, Lowell, and others–emerged where they did because of the natural waterfalls that could be channeled to provide power for the mills built along their banks. This sometimes required factories to close for periods in the winter when rivers were frozen. That was one reason factory owners began to look for alternative forms of energy that could be used throughout the year, which led them by the late 1830s to rely more and more on steam and other transportable forms of energy that could be fueled by wood, coal, or (later) petroleum.

MEN AND WOMEN AT WORK

However sophisticated industrial firms became technologically and administratively, manufacturers still relied above all on a supply of labor. In the 1820s and 1830s, factory labor came primarily from the native-born population. After 1840, the growing immigrant population became the most important new source of workers.

Recruiting a Native Workforce

Recruiting a labor force was not an easy task in the early years of the factory system. Ninety percent of Americans in the 1820s still lived and worked on farms, and many urban residents were skilled artisans–independent crafts workers who owned and managed their own shops as small businessmen; they were not likely to flock to factory jobs. The available unskilled workers were not numerous enough to form a reservoir from which the new industries could draw.

The beginnings of an industrial labor supply came instead from the transformation of American agriculture in the nineteenth century. The opening of vast, fertile new farmlands in the Midwest, the improvement of transportation systems, the development of new farm machinery–all combined to increase food production dramatically. New farming methods were also less labor-intensive than the old ones; the number of workers required to produce large crops in the West was much smaller than the number required to produce smaller crops in the less fertile Northeast. No longer did each region have to feed itself entirely from its own farms; it could import food from other regions. As as result, farmers and their families began to abandon some of the relatively unprofitable farming areas of the East. In the Northeast, especially in New England, where poor land had always placed harsh limits on farm productivity, rural people began leaving the land to work in the factories.

Transformation of American Agriculture

Two systems of recruitment emerged to bring this new labor supply to the expanding textile mills. One, common in

WOMEN AT WORK This wood engraving from an American newspaper of 1859 shows women working in a skirt factory. Aside from the overcrowding of the factory, none of the usual primitive and unsafe conditions characteristic of many work environments of the time are shown.

the mid-Atlantic states (especially in such major manufacturing centers as New York City and Philadelphia), brought whole families from the farm to the mill. Parents tended looms alongside their children, some of whom were no more than four or five years old. The second system, common in Massachusetts, enlisted young women, mostly farmers' daughters in their late teens and early twenties. It was known as the Lowell or Waltham System, after the factory towns in which it first emerged. Many of these women worked for several years in the factories, saved their wages, and returned home to marry and raise children. Others married men they met in the factories or in town and remained part of the industrial world, but often stopped working in the mills to take up domestic roles instead.

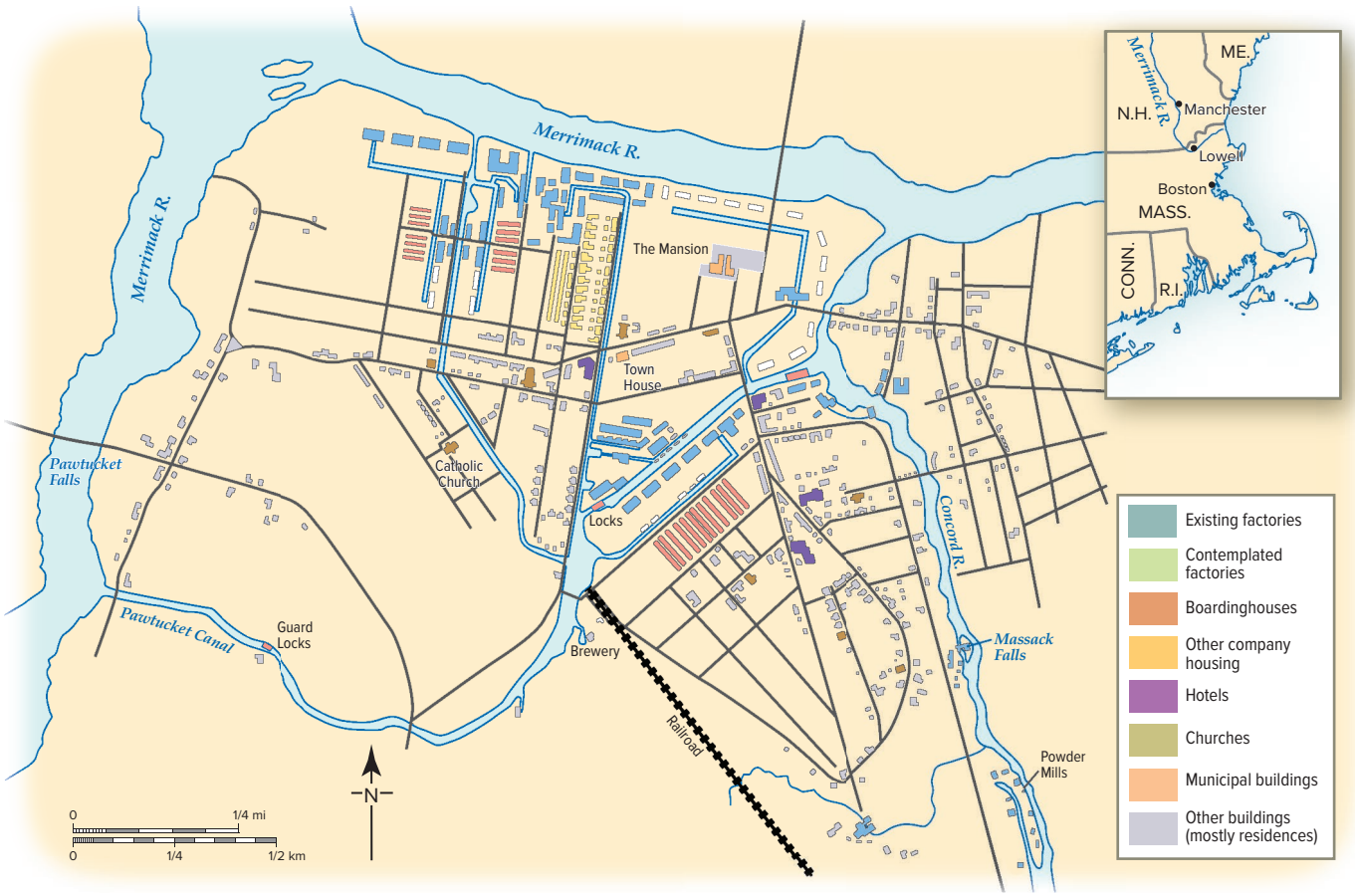
Labor conditions in these early years of the factory system were significantly better than those in English industry, better too than they would ultimately become in much of the United States. The employment of young children created undeniable hardships. But the misery was not as great as in European factories, since working children in America usually remained under the supervision of their parents. In England, by contrast, asylum authorities often hired out orphans to factory owners who showed little concern for their welfare and kept them in something close to slavery.

Even more different from the European labor pattern was the "Lowell System," which relied heavily, indeed almost exclusively, on young unmarried women. In England and other areas of industrial Europe, the conditions of work for women were often horrifyingly bad. A British parliamentary investigation revealed, for example, that women workers in the coal mines endured unimaginably wretched conditions. Some had to crawl on their hands and knees, naked and filthy, through cramped, narrow tunnels, pulling heavy coal carts behind them. It was little wonder that English visitors to America considered the Lowell mills a female paradise by contrast. The Lowell workers lived in clean boardinghouses and dormitories, which the factory owners maintained for them. They were well fed and carefully supervised. Because many New Englanders considered the employment of women to be vaguely immoral, the factory owners placed great emphasis on maintaining a proper environment for their employees, enforcing strict curfews and requiring regular church attendance. Employers quickly dismissed women suspected of immoral conduct. Wages for the Lowell workers were generous by the standards of the time. The women even found time to write and publish a monthly magazine, the *Lowell Offering*.

The Lowell System

Yet even these relatively well-treated workers often found the transition from farm life to factory work difficult, even traumatic. Uprooted from everything familiar, forced to live among strangers in a regimented environment, many women suffered from severe loneliness and disorientation. Still more had difficulty adjusting to the nature of factory work–the repetition of fixed tasks hour after hour, day after day. That the women had to labor from sunrise to sunset was not in itself a new experience; many of them had worked similarly long days on the farm. But that they now had to spend those days performing tedious, unvarying chores, and that their schedules did not change from week to week or season to season, made the adjustment to factory work especially painful. But however uncomfortable women may have found factory work, they had few other options. They were barred from such manual labor as construction or from work as sailors or on the docks. Most of society considered it unthinkable

Women Workers



LOWELL, MASSACHUSETTS, 1832 Lowell was one of the leading manufacturing centers of New England in the 1830s, and one of the largest textile centers in America. Lowell relied heavily on women workers. Company owners—in deference to popular uneasiness about women working outside the home—created a paternalistic system of boardinghouses for them, where they could be carefully supervised. This map shows the clusters of boardinghouses adjacent to groups of factories. Note how concentrated the manufacturing center of the town was, and how the transportation system (rail and water) served the factories. Note also the many churches, which women workers were usually required to attend.

What happened to this labor system in the 1840s and 1850s?

for women to travel the country alone, as many men did, in search of opportunities. Work in the mills was in many cases the only alternative to returning to farms that could no longer support them.

The paternalistic factory system of Lowell did not, in any case, survive for long. In the competitive textile market as it developed in the 1830s and 1840s–a market prey to the booms and busts that afflicted the American economy as a whole–manufacturers found it difficult to maintain the high living standards and the attractive working conditions with which they had begun. Wages declined; the hours of work lengthened; the conditions of the boardinghouses deteriorated as the buildings decayed and overcrowding increased.

Decline of the Lowell System

In 1834, mill workers in Lowell organized a union–the Factory Girls Association–which staged a strike to protest a 25 percent wage cut. Two years later, the association struck again–against a rent increase in the boardinghouses. Both strikes failed, and a recession in 1837 virtually destroyed the organization. Eight years later the Lowell women, led by the militant Sarah Bagley, created the Female Labor Reform Association and began demanding a ten-hour day (some women worked twelve-hour shifts) and for improvements in conditions in the mills. The new association not only made demands of management; it also turned to state government and asked for legislative investigation of conditions in the mills. By then, however, the character of the factory workforce was changing again. The young women who had worked in the mills were gradually moving into other occupations–teaching or domestic service–or they got married. And textile manufacturers were turning to a less contentious labor supply: immigrants.

The Immigrant Workforce

The rapidly increasing supply of immigrant workers after 1840 was a boon to manufacturers and other entrepreneurs. At last they had access to a source of labor that was both large and inexpensive. These new workers, because of their vast numbers and unfamiliarity with their new country, had less leverage than the women they at times displaced. As a result, they often encountered far worse working conditions. Construction

CONSIDER THE SOURCE

RULES FOR EMPLOYEES

STRICT RULES GOVERNED THE WORKING LIFE OF THE YOUNG WOMEN who worked in the textile mills in Lowell, Massachusetts, in the first half of the nineteenth century. Equally strict rules regulated their time away from work (what little leisure time they enjoyed) in the company-supervised boardinghouses in which they lived. The excerpts from the *Handbook to Lowell* from 1848 that follow suggest the tight supervision under which the Lowell mill girls worked and lived.

Many companies today publish employee handbooks that provide information about employee responsibilities, including working hours and days, and expectations of employee performance. They may also outline employee benefits, such as compensation, vacation policies, and medical benefits. Some companies issue formal rules of conduct and ethics by which their employees must abide. The example from the Simpson Manufacturing Company, which makes building products, provides an interesting comparison to the Lowell guidelines.

HANDBOOK TO LOWELL—1848

Handbook to Lowell

Factory Rules

REGULATIONS TO BE OBSERVED by all persons employed in the factories of the Hamilton Manufacturing Company. The overseers are to be always in their rooms at the starting of the mill, and not absent unnecessarily during working hours. They are to see that all those employed in their rooms are in their places in due season, and keep a correct account of their time and work. They may grant leave of absence to those employed under them, when they have spare hands to supply their places and not otherwise, except in cases of absolute necessity.

All persons in the employ of the Hamilton Manufacturing Company are to observe the regulations of the room where they are employed. They are not to be absent from their work without the consent of the overseer, except in cases of sickness, and then they are to send him word of the cause of their absence. They are to board in one of the houses of the company and give information at the counting room, where they board, when they begin, or, whenever they change their boarding place; and are to observe the regulations of their boarding-house.

Those intending to leave the employment of the company are to give at least two weeks' notice thereof to their overseer.

All persons entering into the employment of the company are considered as engaged for twelve months, and those who leave sooner, or do not comply with all these regulations, will not be entitled to a regular discharge.

The company will not employ anyone who is habitually absent from public worship on the Sabbath, or known to be guilty of immorality.

A physician will attend once in every month at the counting-room, to vaccinate all who may need it, free of expense.

Anyone who shall take from the mills or the yard, any yarn, cloth or other article belonging to the company will be considered guilty of stealing and be liable to prosecution.

Payment will be made monthly, including board and wages. The accounts will be made up to the last Saturday but one in every month, and paid in the course of the following week.

These regulations are considered part of the contract, with which all persons entering into the employment of the Hamilton Manufacturing Company, engage to comply.

Boarding House Rules

REGULATIONS FOR THE BOARDING-HOUSES of the Hamilton Manufacturing Company. The tenants of the boarding-houses are not to board, or permit any part of their houses to be occupied by any person, except those in the employ of the company, without special permission.

They will be considered answerable for any improper conduct in their houses, and are not to permit their boarders to have company at unseasonable hours.

The doors must be closed at ten o'clock in the evening, and no person admitted after that time, without some reasonable excuse.

The keepers of the boarding-houses must give an account of the number, names and employment of their boarders, when required, and report the names of such as are guilty of any improper conduct, or are not in the regular habit of attending public worship.

The buildings, and yards about them, must be kept clean and in good order; and if they are injured, otherwise than from ordinary use, all necessary repairs will be made, and charged to the occupant.

The sidewalks, also, in front of the houses, must be kept clean, and free from snow, which must be removed from them immediately after it has ceased falling; if neglected, it will be removed by the company at the expense of the tenant.

It is desirable that the families of those who live in the houses, as well as the boarders, who have not had the kine pox, should be vaccinated, which will be done at the expense of the company, for such as wish it.

Some suitable chamber in the house must be reserved, and appropriated for the use of the sick, so that others may not be under the necessity of sleeping in the same room.

JOHN AVERY, Agent.

Source: The Handbook to Lowell (1848)

SIMPSON MANUFACTURING CODE OF CONDUCT—2011

Simpson Manufacturing: Code of Business Conduct and Ethics

November 1, 2011

At Simpson Manufacturing Co., Inc. and its subsidiaries (Company), we expect that all of our employees, officers and directors will treat each other, our customers, and our suppliers with goodwill, trust, and respect. As a Company, we value honesty, high ethical standards and compliance with laws, rules and regulations

The following provides guidance on the application of these principles:

Compliance with laws, rules and regulations

. . .

Accounting Requirements: Follow the accepted rules and controls required by the U.S. Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC), Financial Accounting Standards Board (FASB), and New York Stock Exchange (NYSE). For additional information on these rules and controls, contact the Company's Chief Financial Officer.

Equal Employment Opportunity (EEO) and Discrimination Laws: It continues to be the practice of the Company to employ positive business and personnel practices designed to ensure the full realization of equal employment opportunity. Further, we expect all employees to accomplish their work in a businesslike manner with a concern for the well-being of their co-workers. Harassment of any employee by any other employee is prohibited, regardless of their working relationship. Any employee who experiences harassment should bring it to the attention of his/her supervisor or branch manager. If the employee is not satisfied that the matter has been appropriately addressed, the employee should feel free to contact the President of Simpson Strong-Tie or the President of Simpson Manufacturing.

Securities Laws: All employees of the Company are prohibited from transacting in the Company's securities, for themselves, family members, friends or any other person, while in the possession of material, nonpublic (inside) information concerning the Company. In addition employees must not give inside information to anyone. Inside information is information that the Company has not

made public about any Company activities, such as earnings estimates, the commencement or outcome of litigation, mergers and acquisitions, or any other information that could affect the Company's fortunes and therefore the price of the stock. For more detailed information, please refer to Insider Trading–Policies and Procedures, available from the Company's Chief Financial Officer.

Antitrust Laws: We do not discuss our prices with our competitors. We do not enter into illegal agreements or engage in illegal practices in restraint of trade. For additional information on antitrust laws, contact the President of Simpson Strong-Tie or the President of Simpson Manufacturing.

Anti Corruption Laws: Our officers, directors, employees and agents are expected to comply with all U.S. and foreign laws while conducting business outside the United States, including, but not limited to, the United States Foreign Corrupt Practices Act ("FCPA").

Health and safety
The Company seeks to provide a clean, safe and healthy place to work. All employees are expected to observe all safety rules and practices and to follow instructions concerning safe work practices.

Record keeping and reporting of information
All records and reported information must be accurate, complete, honest and timely.

Conflicts of interest
Every employee, officer and director, is expected to make decisions in the best interest of the Company and not for personal gain. A conflict of interest can arise when an employee, officer or director takes action or has a personal interest that may make it difficult to perform his or her work for the Company objectively and effectively. This may include outside business interests, outside employment, outside investments and business relationships with friends or relatives that could cause a conflict of interest. Employees, officers and directors should report potential conflicts of interest and are prohibited from taking for themselves personally opportunities that are discovered or may be available through the use of the Company's property, information or position. Employees are prohibited from accepting meals, entertainment, travel, gratuities, merchandise or promotional material that could influence objectivity in making business decisions. Employees are generally prohibited from accepting any such item worth more than $50. Certain business events may require an employee's participation in excess of this amount. These must be approved by their supervisor.

Fair dealing
Employees, officers and directors should endeavor to deal fairly with the Company's customers and suppliers and each other. No one should take unfair advantage of anyone else through manipulation or misrepresentation of material facts.

Quality
Products that meet our quality standards are essential to our success. Everyone in the Company is responsible for product quality and must be committed to ensuring the effectiveness of the Quality Management System. For more information on the Company's Quality Principles, please see your supervisor.

Protection and proper use of Company assets
All employees, officers and directors should protect the Company's assets and ensure their efficient use.

Confidentiality
Employees, officers and directors should maintain the confidentiality of information entrusted to them by the Company, its customers, and its vendors and suppliers, except when disclosure is authorized or legally mandated. Confidential information includes all non-public information.

Encouraging the reporting of any illegal or unethical behavior
Many areas of the law, such as securities and antitrust, are very complicated. The Company encourages employees to talk to supervisors, managers or other appropriate personnel when in doubt about the best course of action in a particular situation. Additionally, employees should report violations of laws, rules, regulations or the Code of Business Conduct and Ethics to the President of the Company or the subsidiary or an ombudsman appointed for this purpose. There will be no retaliation against anyone who presents this type of information in good faith.

Waiver of the Code of Business Conduct and Ethics
There will be no waivers to the Code of Business Conduct and Ethics.

ANALYZING SOURCES

Questions assume cumulative content knowledge from this chapter and previous chapters.

1. The difference in the nature of the content from the Lowell handbook from that of the Simpson guidelines best indicates which of the following regarding attitudes toward the workers in the textile mills of Lowell?
   - **(A)** The textile workers were given greater personal freedom during the workday.
   - **(B)** The textile workers were treated in a much more paternalistic manner.
   - **(C)** The textile workers were looked upon with suspicion and distrust.
   - **(D)** Professionalism was not expected of the textile workers.

2. What do the differences in the issues disccused in each of the documents best suggest about big business in the 19th century versus that in the 21st century?
   - **(A)** Businesses in the 19th century contended with fewer government regulations.
   - **(B)** Businesses in the 19th century had greater expectations for worker conduct.
   - **(C)** Businesses in the 19th century faced more government regulations.
   - **(D)** Issues surrounding ethics were of greater concern to businesses in the 19th century.

3. Which of the following best describes a commonality between the two documents?
   - **(A)** The purpose of both documents is to recruit employees.
   - **(B)** The purpose of both documents is, ultimately, to protect the company.
   - **(C)** The purpose of both documents is to ensure the well-being of its employees.
   - **(D)** The purpose of both documents is to, ultimately, ensure employee morality.

4. Based on the documents, which statement best describes the differences in employment between the 19th and 21st centuries?
   - **(A)** Workers had more rights and privileges in the 19th century.
   - **(B)** Workers have more rights and privileges in the 21st century.
   - **(C)** Workers had fewer rights in the 19th century but were provided greater benefits.
   - **(D)** Workers in the 21st century have fewer rights but are provided greater benefits.

FOUR WOMEN WEAVERS This tintype shows four young women employed in the textile factories of Lowell, Massachusetts. Neatly dressed in matching uniforms, they conveyed the image the factory managers wanted the public to absorb: that women could work in the mills and still be protected from the rough-and-tumble world of industrialization.

gangs, made up increasingly of Irish immigrants, performed the heavy, unskilled work on turnpikes, canals, and railroads under often intolerable conditions. Because most of these workers had no marketable skills and because of native prejudice against them, they received wages so low (and so intermittently, since the work was seasonal and uncertain) that they generally did not earn enough to support their families in even minimal comfort. Many of them lived in flimsy shanties, in grim conditions that endangered the health of their families (and reinforced native prejudices toward the "shanty Irish").

Economic Advantages of Immigrant Labor

The arrival of Irish workers accelerated the deterioration of working conditions in New England. There was far less social pressure on owners to provide a decent environment for Irish workers than there had been for native women. Employers began paying piece rates (wages tied to how much a worker produced) rather than a daily wage and employed other devices to speed up production and use the labor force more profitably and efficiently. By the mid-1840s, the town of Lowell–once a model for foreign visitors of enlightened industrial development–had become a squalid slum. Similarly miserable working-class neighborhoods were emerging in other northeastern cities.

Conditions were still not as bad as in most factory towns in England and Europe, but in almost all industrial areas, factories themselves were becoming large, noisy, unsanitary, and often dangerous places to work. The average workday was extending to twelve, often fourteen hours. Wages were declining, so that even skilled male workers could hope to earn only from $4 to $10 per week, while unskilled laborers were likely to earn only about $1 to $6 per week. Women and children, whatever their skills, also earned less than most men.

Harsh Work Conditions

The Factory System and the Artisan Tradition

It was not only the mill workers who suffered from the transition to the modern factory system. It was also the skilled artisans whose trades the factories were displacing. The artisan tradition was as much a part of the older, republican vision of America as the tradition of sturdy, independent, yeoman farmers. Independent craftsmen considered themselves embodiments of the American ideal; they clung to a vision of economic life that was in some ways very different from what the new capitalist class was promoting. Skilled artisans valued their independence; they also valued the stability and relative equality within their economic world.

The factory system threatened that world with obsolescence. Some artisans made successful transitions into small-scale industry. But others found themselves unable to compete with the new factory-made goods that sold for a fraction of the artisans' prices. In the face of this competition from industrial capitalists, craftsmen began early in the nineteenth century to form organizations–workingmen's political parties and the first American labor unions–to protect their endangered positions and to resist the new economic order. As early as the 1790s, printers and cordwainers (makers of high-quality boots and shoes) took the lead. Members of other skilled trades–carpenters, joiners, masons, plasterers, hatters, and shipbuilders–felt similarly vulnerable.

De-skilling

In such cities as Philadelphia, Baltimore, Boston, and New York, the skilled workers of each craft formed societies for mutual aid. During the 1820s and 1830s, the craft societies began to combine on a citywide basis and set up central organizations known as trade unions. With the widening of markets, the

National Trade Unions

economies of cities were interconnected, so workers soon realized there were advantages in joining forces. They established national unions or federations of local ones. In 1834, delegates from six cities founded the National Trades' Union; and in 1836, the printers and the cordwainers set up their own national craft unions.

This early craft union movement fared poorly. Labor leaders struggled against the handicap of hostile laws and hostile courts. The common law, as interpreted by the courts in the industrial states, viewed a combination among workers as an illegal conspiracy. The Panic of 1837, a dramatic financial collapse that produced a severe recession, weakened the movement further.

Fighting for Control

Workers at all levels of the emerging industrial economy attempted to improve their lots. They tried, with little success, to persuade state legislatures to pass laws setting a maximum workday. Two states–New Hampshire in 1847 and Pennsylvania in 1848–passed ten-hour laws, limiting the workday unless the workers agreed to an "express contract" calling for more time on the job. Such measures were virtually without impact, however, because employers could simply require prospective employees to sign the "express contract" as a condition of hiring. Three states–Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and Pennsylvania–passed laws regulating child labor. But again, the results were minimal. The laws simply limited the workday to ten hours for children unless their parents agreed to something longer; employers had little difficulty persuading parents to consent to additional hours.

Perhaps the greatest legal victory of industrial workers came in Massachusetts in 1842, when the supreme court of the state, in *Commonwealth v. Hunt*, declared that unions were lawful organizations and that the strike was a lawful weapon. Other state courts gradually accepted the principles of the Massachusetts decision. On the whole, however, the union movement of the 1840s and 1850s remained generally ineffective. Some workers were reluctant to think of themselves as members of a permanent laboring force and resisted joining unions. But even those unions that did manage to recruit significant numbers of industrial workers were usually not large enough or strong enough to stage strikes, and even less frequently strong enough to win them.

Commonwealth v. Hunt

Artisans and skilled workers, despite their setbacks in the 1830s, had somewhat greater success than did factory workers. But their unions often had more in common with preindustrial guilds than with modern labor organizations. In most cases, their primary purpose was to protect the favored position of their members in the labor force by restricting admission to the skilled trades. The organizing effort that had floundered in the 1830s revived impressively in the 1850s. Among the new organizations skilled workers created were the National Typographical Union, founded in 1852, the Stone Cutters in 1853, the Hat Finishers in 1854, and the Molders and the Machinists, both in 1859.

Virtually all the early craft unions excluded women, even though female workers were numerous in almost every industry and craft. As a result, women began establishing their own protective unions by the 1850s, often with the support of middle-class female reformers. Like the male craft unions, the female protective unions had little power in dealing with employers. They did, however, serve an important role as mutual-aid societies for women workers.

Female Protective Unions

Despite these persistent efforts at organization and protest, the American working class in the 1840s and 1850s was notable for its relatively modest power. In England, workers were becoming a powerful, united, and often violent economic and political force. They were creating widespread social turmoil and helping to transform the nation's political structure. In America, nothing of the sort happened. Many factors combined to inhibit the growth of effective labor resistance. Among the most important was the flood of immigrant laborers into the country. The newcomers were usually willing to work for lower wages than native workers. Because they were so numerous, manufacturers had little difficulty replacing disgruntled or striking workers with eager immigrants. Ethnic divisions and tensions–both between natives and immigrants and among the various immigrant groups themselves–often led workers to channel their resentments into internal bickering rather than into their shared grievances against employers. There was, too, the sheer strength of the industrial capitalists, who had not only economic but also political and social power and could usually triumph over even the most militant challenges.

America's Divided Working Class

"Free Labor"

Despite the many obstacles and challenges that faced northern workers in the first half of the nineteenth century, nothing was more important than the idea of personal freedom. Most workers had hard lives, but they were proud of their personal freedoms and considered themselves what some people called the "sovereign individual"–people who could, at least in theory, make choices and change their lives.

Modern notions of freedom are much more robust than those of the early nineteenth century, when only a few men (and no women) were able to vote; when workers were sometimes bound to their employers for years; when husbands subjugated their wives and when, of course, millions of African Americans were living with almost no freedom. But even in the early years of American history, the belief in the freedom of the individual was strong. In the North in particular, personal liberty was growing exponentially for more and more Americans. By the mid-nineteenth century, most white Americans identified themselves as free individuals, no matter what their occupations or means.

Some of the great philosophers of nineteenth-century America argued that the "independency of the individual" required free people to escape from the market economy and find freedom in solitude and the wonders of nature–as Henry David Thoreau tried to do in his famous retreat to live alone in a cabin on Walden Pond in Concord, Massachusetts. But for most Americans, the opportunities for solitude and communion with nature were slim. For most northern workers, freedom meant the absence of slavery. It meant that they could leave jobs they did not want, move to new areas of the country, and seek opportunities to change their lives. Their material circumstances were sometimes far worse than those of many enslaved people in the South. Still, they believed that their lives were better than those who lacked freedom. And when the great debate over slavery began in the 1840s and 1850s, northern laborers–however bad their own lots–abhorred slavery, both because it was the antithesis of freedom and because they feared that slavery threatened the jobs of free laborers.

Not only were enslaved people denied the freedom that most Americans valued. The more than 200,000 free African American men and women living in the North (and a few in the South) remained ineligible to vote and were not considered legal citizens. Many of the free African Americans in the North were people who had been skilled crafts workers as enslaved people and who bought or were given their freedom. But their lots were in many ways worse than when they were working in the South. In the Northern cities to which many free African Americans moved, there were many white craftsmen already who saw black workers as rivals. Most free African Americans worked in menial jobs and as domestic servants.

PATTERNS OF INDUSTRIAL SOCIETY

The industrial revolution made the United States–and particularly its more economically developed regions–dramatically wealthier almost every year. It was also making society more unequal, and it transformed social relationships and everyday life at almost every level–from the workplace to the family.

The Rich and the Poor

The commercial and industrial growth of the United States greatly elevated the average income of the American people. But this increasing wealth was being distributed highly unequally. Substantial groups of the population shared hardly at all in the economic growth: enslaved people, Native Americans, landless farmers, and many of the unskilled workers on the fringes of the manufacturing system. But even among the rest of the population, disparities of income were marked. Wealth had always been unequally distributed in the United States, to be sure. Even in the era of the Revolution, according to some estimates, 45 percent of the wealth was concentrated in the hands of about 10 percent of the population. But by the mid-nineteenth century, that concentration had become far more pronounced. In Boston in 1845, for example, 4 percent of the citizens are estimated to have owned more than 65 percent of the wealth; in Philadelphia in 1860, 1 percent of the population possessed more than half the wealth. Among the American people overall in 1860, according to scholarly estimates, 5 percent of the families possessed more than 50 percent of the wealth.

Increasing Inequality in Wealth

There had been wealthy classes in America almost from the beginning of European settlement. But the extent and character of wealth were changing in response to the commercial revolution of the mid-nineteenth century. Merchants and industrialists were accumulating enormous fortunes; and because there was now a significant number of rich people living in cities, a distinctive culture of wealth began to emerge. In large cities, people of great wealth gathered together in neighborhoods of great opulence. They founded clubs and developed elaborate social rituals. They looked increasingly for ways to display their wealth–in the great mansions they built, the showy carriages in which they rode, the lavish household goods they accumulated, the clothes they wore, the elegant social establishments they patronized. New York City, which had more wealthy families than anywhere else, developed a particularly elaborate high society.

POVERTY IN NEW YORK CITY This wood engraving from 1869 shows "squatters" and their dilapidated shanties. This group of extremely poor people lived on hilly land near New York City's new Central Park, an urban retreat designed for the city's wealthier classes. Compare the circumstances of these homeless people with those of the aristocrats shown in the Central Park image.

CENTRAL PARK To affluent New Yorkers, the construction of the city's great Central Park was important because it provided them with an elegant setting for their daily carriage rides—an activity ostensibly designed to expose the riders to fresh air but that was really an occasion for them to display their finery to their neighbors.

New Yorkers in 1857 were trying to make the city as important as London and Paris. To achieve this goal, they decided to build a great park that would impart elegance to the city and draw New Yorkers to the upper part of the city where new real estate was available. Two great landscape architects–Frederick Law Olmsted and Calvert Vaux–developed a vast part of Manhattan, displacing people from their houses in the process. The result was one of the largest parks in America. Olmsted called Central Park a place of "great importance as the first real park in this country." Designed with hills, lakes, paths, bridges, and elegant buildings, it began as a place for wealthy New Yorkers, but very soon became important to almost everyone in the city.

Central Park

There was also a significant population of genuinely destitute people emerging in the growing urban centers of the nation. These were people who were not merely poor, in the sense of having to struggle to sustain themselves–most Americans were poor in that sense. They were almost entirely without resources, often homeless, dependent on charity or crime or both for survival.

The Urban Poor

Some of these "paupers," as contemporaries called them, were recent immigrants who had failed to find work or to adjust to life in the New World. Some were widows and orphans, stripped of the family structures that allowed most working-class Americans to survive. Some were people suffering from alcoholism or mental illness, unable to work. Others were victims of native prejudice–barred from all but the most menial employment because of race or ethnicity. Irish immigrants were particular victims of such prejudice.

Among the worst off were free African Americans. African American communities in antebellum northern cities were small by later standards, but most major urban areas had significant black populations. Some of these African Americans were descendants of families that had lived in the North for generations. Others were former enslaved people who had escaped from the South or been released by slaveholders or had bought their freedom; some former enslaved people, once free, then worked to buy the freedom of relatives left behind. In material terms, at least, life was not always much better for them in the North than it had been in slavery. Most had access only to very menial jobs, which usually paid too little to allow workers to support their families or educate their children; in bad times, many had access to no jobs at all. In most parts of the North, African Americans could not vote, could not attend public schools, indeed could not use any of the public

African American Poverty

services available to white residents. Still, most African Americans preferred life in the North, however arduous, to life in the South because it permitted them at least some level of freedom.

Social Mobility

One might expect the contrasts between conspicuous wealth and conspicuous poverty in antebellum America to have encouraged more class conflict than actually occurred. But a number of factors operated to limit resentments. For one thing, however much the relative economic position of American workers may have been declining, the absolute living standard of most laborers was improving. Life, in material terms at least, was usually better for factory workers than it had been on the farms or in the European societies from which they had migrated. They ate better, they were often better clothed and housed, and they had greater access to consumer goods.

There was also a significant amount of mobility within the working class, which helped to limit discontent. Opportunities for social mobility, for working one's way up the economic ladder, were relatively modest. A few workers did manage to move from poverty to riches by dint of work, ingenuity, and luck–a very small number, but enough to support the dreams of those who watched them. And a much larger number of workers managed to move at least one notch up the ladder–for example, becoming in the course of a lifetime a skilled, rather than an unskilled, laborer. Such people could envision their children and grandchildren moving up even further.

Social Mobility

More common than social mobility was geographic mobility, which was even more extensive in the United States than in Europe, where it was considerable. America had a huge expanse of uncultivated land in the West, much of it open for settlement for the first time in the 1840s and 1850s. Some workers saved money, bought land, and moved west to farm it. The historian Frederick Jackson Turner later referred to the availability of western lands as a "safety valve" for discontent, a basic explanation for the relative lack of social conflict in the antebellum United States. But few urban workers, and even fewer poor ones, could afford to make such a move or had the expertise to know how to work land even if they could. Much more common was the movement of laborers from one industrial town to another. Restless, questing, sometimes hopeful, sometimes despairing, these frequently moving people were often the victims of layoffs, looking for better opportunities elsewhere. Their searches may seldom have led to a marked improvement in their circumstances, but the rootlessness of this large segment of the workforce–one of the most distressed segments–made effective organization and protest difficult.

There was, finally, another "safety valve" for working-class discontent: politics. Economic opportunity may not have greatly expanded in the nineteenth century, but opportunities to participate in politics did. And to many white, male working people, access to the ballot seemed to offer a way to help guide their society and to feel like a significant part of their communities.

Middle-Class Life

For all the visibility of the very rich and the very poor in antebellum society, the fastest-growing group in America was the middle class. The expansion of the middle class was in part a result of the growth of the industrial economy and the increasing commercial life that accompanied it. Economic development opened many more opportunities for people to own or work in businesses, to own shops, to engage in trade, to enter professions, and to administer organizations. In earlier times, when ownership of land had been the only real basis of wealth, society had been divided between people with little or no land (people Europeans generally called peasants) and a landed gentry (which in Europe usually meant an inherited aristocracy). Once commerce and industry became a source of wealth, these rigid distinctions broke down, and many people who did not own land could become prosperous by providing valuable services to the new economy or by owning capital other than land.

Rapidly Expanding Middle Class

Middle-class life in the years before the Civil War rapidly established itself as the most influential cultural form of urban America. Middle-class families lived in solid and often substantial homes, which, like the wealthy, they tended to own. Workers and artisans were increasingly becoming renters–a relatively new phenomenon in American cities that spread widely in the early nineteenth century.

Middle-class women tended to remain in the home and care for the children and the household, although increasingly they were also able to hire servants–usually young, unmarried immigrant women who put in long hours of arduous work for very little money. One of the aspirations of middle-class women in an age when doing the family's laundry could take an entire day was to escape from some of the drudgery of housework.

New household inventions altered, and greatly improved, the character of life in middle-class homes. Perhaps the most important was the invention of the cast-iron stove, which began to replace fireplaces as the principal vehicle for cooking and also as an important source of heat. These wood- or coal-burning devices were hot, clumsy, and dirty by the standards of the twenty-first century; but compared to the inconvenience and danger of cooking on an open hearth, they seemed a great luxury. Stoves gave cooks more control over the preparation of food and allowed them to cook several things at once.

New Household Inventions

Middle-class diets were changing rapidly in the antebellum years, and not just because of the wider range of cooking the stove made possible. The expansion and diversification of American agriculture, and the ability of farmers to ship goods to urban markets by rail from distant regions, greatly

increased the variety of food available in cities. Fruits and vegetables were difficult to ship over long distances in an age with little refrigeration, but families had access to a greater variety of meats, grains, and dairy products than they had had in the past. A few households acquired iceboxes in the years before the Civil War, and the sight of wagons delivering large chunks of ice to wealthy and middle-class homes began to become a familiar part of urban life. Iceboxes allowed their owners to keep fresh meat and dairy products for as long as several days without spoilage. Most families, however, did not yet have any kind of refrigeration. Preserving food for them meant curing meat with salt and preserving fruits in sugar. Diets were generally much heavier and starchier than they are today, and middle-class people tended to be considerably stouter than would be fashionable in the twenty-first century.

Middle-class homes came to differentiate themselves from those of workers and artisans in other ways as well. They were more elaborately decorated and furnished, with household goods made available for the first time through factory production. Houses that had once had bare walls and floors now had carpeting, wallpaper, and curtains. The spare, simple styles of eighteenth-century homes gave way to the much more elaborate, even baroque household styles of the early Victorian era–styles increasingly characterized by crowded, even cluttered rooms, dark colors, lush fabrics, and heavy furniture and draperies. Middle-class homes also became larger. It became less common for children to share beds and less common for all family members to sleep in the same room. Parlors and dining rooms separate from the kitchen–once a luxury reserved largely for the wealthy–became the norm for the middle class as well. Some urban middle-class homes had indoor plumbing and indoor toilets by the 1850s–a significant advance over the outdoor wells and privies that had been virtually universal only a few years earlier (and that remained common among working-class people).

Growing Class Distinctions

The Changing Family

The new industrializing society of the northern regions of the United States produced profound changes in the nature and function of the family. At the heart of the transformation was the movement of families from farms to urban areas, where jobs, not land, were the most valued commodities. The patriarchal system of the countryside, whereby fathers controlled their children's futures by controlling the distribution of land to them, could not survive the move to a city or town. Sons and daughters were much more likely to leave the family in search of work than they had been in the rural world.

Another important change was the shift of income-earning work out of the home and into the shop, mill, or factory. In the early decades of the nineteenth century (and for many years before that), the family had been the principal unit of economic activity. Family farms, family shops, and family industries were the norm throughout most of the United States. Men, women, and children worked together, sharing tasks and jointly earning the income that sustained the family. But as farming spread to the fertile lands of the Northwest and as the size and profitability of farms expanded, agricultural work became more commercialized. Farm owners in need of labor began to rely less on their families (which often were not large enough to satisfy the demand) and more on hired male workers. These farmhands performed many of the tasks that on smaller farms had once been the jobs of the women and children of the family. As a result, farm women tended to work increasingly at domestic tasks–cooking, sewing, gardening, and dairying–a development that spared them from some heavy labor but that also removed them from the principal income-producing activities of the farm.

Declining Economic Role of the Family

In the industrial economy of the rapidly growing cities, there was an even more significant decline in the traditional economic function of the family. The urban household became less important as a center of production. Instead, most income earners left home each day to work elsewhere. A sharp distinction began to emerge between the public world of the workplace–the world of commerce and industry–and the private world of the family. The world of the family was now more often dominated not by production, but by housekeeping, child rearing, and other primarily domestic concerns. It was also a world dominated by women.

Accompanying (and perhaps in part caused by) the changing economic function of the family was a decline in the birth rate. In 1800, the average American woman could be expected to give birth to approximately seven children during her childbearing years. By 1860, the average woman bore five children. The birth rate fell most quickly in urban areas and among middle-class women. Mid-nineteenth-century Americans had access to some birth-control devices, which undoubtedly contributed in part to the change. There was also a significant rise in abortions, which remained legal in some states until after the Civil War and which, according to some estimates, may have terminated as many as 20 percent of all pregnancies in the 1850s. But the most important cause of the declining birth rate was changes in sexual behavior–including increased abstinence.

Falling Birth Rates

Women and the "Cult of Domesticity"

The emerging distinction between the public and private worlds, between the workplace and the home, led to increasingly sharp distinctions between the social roles of men and women. Those distinctions affected not only factory workers and farmers, but members of the growing middle class as well. There had, of course, always been important differences between the male and female spheres in American society.

PASTORAL AMERICA, 1848 This painting by the American artist Edward Hicks suggests the degree to which Americans continued to admire the "Peaceable Kingdom" (the name of another, more famous Hicks work) of the agrarian world. Hicks titled this work *An Indian Summer View of the Farm w. Stock of James C. Cornell of Northampton Bucks County Pennsylvania. That Took the Premium in the Agricultural Society, October the 12, 1848.* It portrays the diversified farming of a prosperous Pennsylvania family, shown here in the foreground with their cattle, sheep, and workhorses. In the background stretches a field ready for plowing and another ready for harvesting.

Women had long been denied many legal and political rights enjoyed by men; within the family, the husband and father had traditionally ruled, and the wife and mother had generally bowed to his demands and desires. It had long been practically impossible for most women to obtain divorces, although divorces initiated by men were often easier to arrange. (Men were also far more likely than women to win custody of children in case of a divorce.) In most states, husbands retained almost absolute authority over both the property and persons of their wives. Wife beating was illegal in only a few areas, and the law did not acknowledge that rape could occur within marriage. Women traditionally had very little access to the worlds of business or politics. Indeed, in most communities custom dictated that women never speak in public before audiences that included men.

Female Education

Most women also had much less access to education than men, a situation that survived into the mid-nineteenth century. Although they were encouraged to attend school at the elementary level, they were strongly discouraged–and in most cases effectively barred–from pursuing higher education. Oberlin in Ohio became the first college in America to accept female students; it permitted four to enroll in 1837, despite criticism that coeducation was a rash experiment approximating free love. Oberlin authorities were confident that "the mutual influence of the sexes upon each other is decidedly happy in the cultivation of both mind & manners." But few other institutions shared their views. Coeducation remained extraordinarily rare until long after the Civil War; and only a very few women's colleges–such as Mount Holyoke, founded in Massachusetts by Mary Lyon in 1837–emerged.

New Roles for Women

No longer income producers, middle-class women became guardians of the "domestic virtues." Their role as mothers, entrusted with the nurturing of the young, seemed more central to the family than it had in the past. And their role as wives–as companions and helpers to their husbands–grew more important as well. Middle-class women also became more important as consumers. They learned to place a high value on keeping a clean, comfortable, and well-appointed home, on entertaining, and on dressing elegantly and stylishly.

CONSIDER THE SOURCE

FAMILY TIME

HOW A FAMILY SPENDS TIME TOGETHER has been a favorite subject of artists for centuries. Studying where families gather, how they celebrate, and how they interact and communicate when relaxing or playing is a powerful way to gather information about conventional roles of mothers, fathers, extended family members, children, and sometimes servants.

The two images following are separated by 172 years yet strive to tell a similar story about family life. The first image, of a parlor in antebellum Philadelphia, appeared in *Godey's Lady's Book* in May 1842. Focused on the lives of better-off white women, *Godey's Lady's Book* featured advice columns on fashion, manners, home decoration, and child rearing. The second, by photographer Eric Audras, is set in present-day America. Audras, who chronicles the joys and struggles of modern families, has a keen eye for catching what fascinates parents and children today.

Much is communicated in the small details of each composition: the style of dress, the type of activities being pursued, and the spatial organization of family members. When such details are collectively analyzed, they tell us about the evolution of family life in America.

FAMILY TIME—1842

FAMILY DEVOTION-MORNING

FAMILY TIME—2013

ANALYZING SOURCES

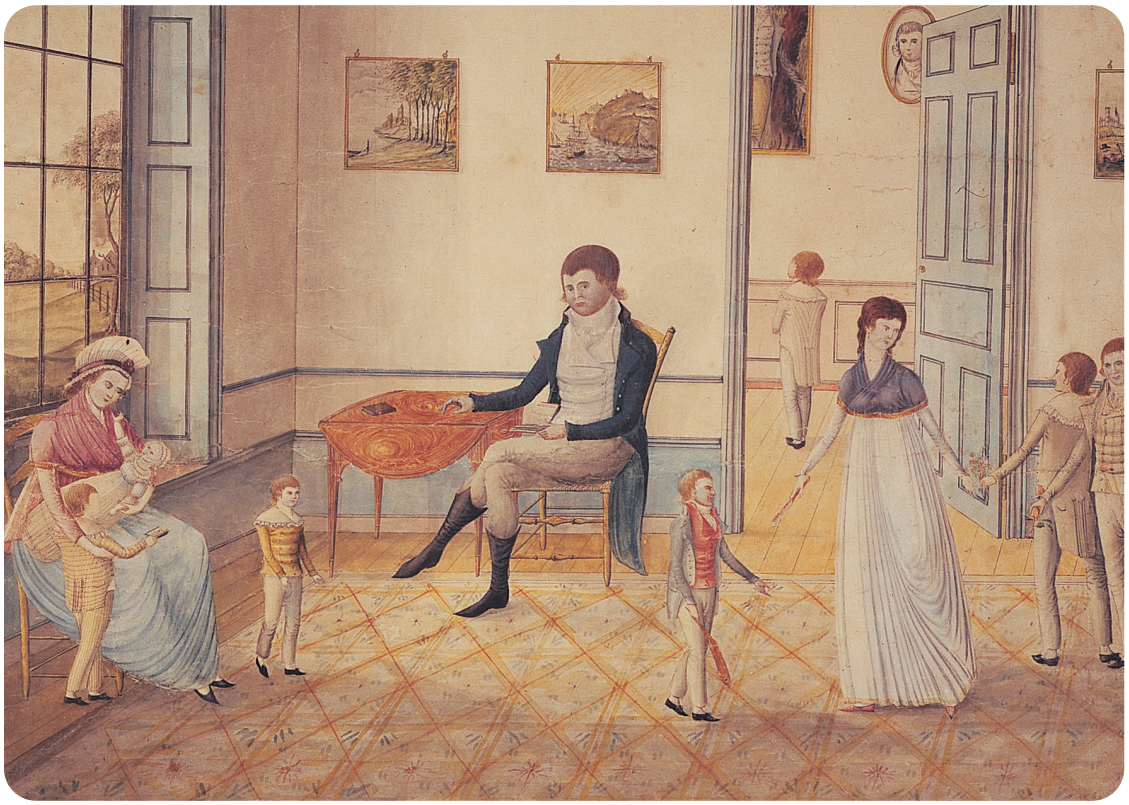
Questions assume cumulative content knowledge from this chapter and previous chapters.

1. What does the illustration from *Godey's Lady's Book* most suggest about the value of reading as a leisure activity—at least for middle class families—in the first half of the 19th century?
   - **(A)** Reading was one among a great variety of leisure activities highly valued.
   - **(B)** Reading was not highly valued, as only the father is reading in the illustration.
   - **(C)** Reading was given high importance, as the father, who is central in the illustration, is prominently shown reading to an attentive family.
   - **(D)** Books were mostly used as decorative items to display social status.

2. What does the difference in the ways that the pursuit of leisure activity is shown and the spatial organization of the family members in both images most suggest about family life in the first half of the 19th century, compared to family life of today?
   - **(A)** Family life in the early half of the 19th century was less patriarchal.
   - **(B)** Family life in the early half of the 19th century was more patriarchal.
   - **(C)** Children had greater independence within the family, in the early half of the 19th century.
   - **(D)** Family life in the early half of the 19th century was matriarchal.

3. What does the difference in the activities of the parents in both images best suggest about middle-class, domestic gender roles in the first half of the 19th century, compared to middle-class, domestic gender roles of today?
   - **(A)** The gender roles within domestic life were much more distinct in the 19th century.
   - **(B)** In the 19th century, both genders shared equally in the domestic roles.
   - **(C)** The distinction between domestic gender roles was less sharp in the 19th century.
   - **(D)** There was less formality in gender roles in the 19th century.

4. What does the illustration from *Godey's Lady Book* most suggest about the ideal of women in the 19th century?
   - **(A)** Expectations of women to direct the social life within the family became more prominent.
   - **(B)** Women were increasingly expected to display independence.
   - **(C)** The role of women as nurturers became more prominent.
   - **(D)** The role of women as nurturers became less important.



Nathan Hawley and Family; William Wilkie ca.1801. Albany, New York. Watercolor on paper; 15 3/4" × 20" Signed lower right: *William Wilkie fecit,* inscribed in lower margin: *NATHAN HAWLEY and FAMILY, Nov'. 3d. 1801.* © Albany Institute of History and Art Purchase 1951.58

NATHAN HAWLEY AND FAMILY Nathan Hawley, seated at center in this 1801 painting, was typical of many early-nineteenth-century fathers in having a very large family. Nine members are visible here. Hawley at the time was the warden of the Albany County jail in New York, and the painting was by William Wilkie, one of the inmates there. The painting suggests that Hawley was a man of modest but not great means. His family is fashionably dressed, and there are paintings on the walls—signs of style and affluence. But the house is very simply furnished, without drapes for the windows, with a simple painted floor cloth in the front room, and a bare floor in the back.

Occupying their own "separate sphere," some women began to develop a distinctive female culture. Friendships among women became increasingly intense; women began to form their own social networks (and, ultimately, to form female clubs and associations that were of great importance to the advancement of various reforms). A distinctive feminine literature began to emerge to meet the demands of middle-class women. There were women's magazines, of which the most prominent was *Godey's Lady's Book,* edited after 1837 by Sarah Hale. The magazine scrupulously avoided dealing with public controversies or political issues and focused instead on fashions, shopping and homemaking advice, and other purely domestic concerns. Politics and religion were inappropriate for the magazine, Hale explained in 1841, because "other subjects are more important for our sex and more proper for our sphere."

Women's Separate Sphere

By the standards of a later era, the increasing isolation of women from the public world seems to be a form of oppression and discrimination. And it is true that few men considered women fit for business, politics, or the professions. On the other hand, most middle-class men–and many middle-class women as well–considered the new female sphere a vehicle for expressing special qualities that made women in some ways superior to men. Women were to be the custodians of morality and benevolence, just as the home–shaped by the influence of women–was to be a refuge from the harsh, competitive world of the marketplace. It was women's responsibility to provide religious and moral instruction to their children and to counterbalance the acquisitive, secular impulses of their husbands. Thus the "cult of domesticity," as some scholars have called it, brought both benefits and costs to middle-class women. It allowed them to live lives of greater material comfort than in the past, and it placed a higher value on their "female virtues" and on their roles as wife and mother. At the same time, it left women increasingly detached from the public world, with few outlets for their other interests and energies.

Benefits and Costs

The costs of that detachment were particularly clear among unmarried women of the middle class. By the 1840s, the ideology of domesticity had grown so powerful that few genteel women would any longer consider working (as many had in the past) in shops or mills, and few employers would consider hiring them. But unmarried women nevertheless required some income-producing activity. They had few

choices. Some could become teachers or nurses, professions that seemed to call for the same female qualities that made women important within the home; and both of those professions began in the 1840s and 1850s to attract significant numbers of women, although not until the Civil War did females begin to dominate them. Otherwise, unmarried females were largely dependent on the generosity of relatives or hired as governesses for children or companions for widows and other women.

Middle-class people gradually came to consider work by women outside the household to be unseemly, something characteristic of the lower classes–as indeed it was. But working-class women could not afford to stay home and cultivate the "domestic virtues." They had to produce income for their families. They continued to work in factories and mills, but under conditions far worse than those that the original, more "respectable" women workers had once enjoyed. They also frequently found employment in middle-class homes. Domestic service became one of the most frequent sources of female employment. In other words, now that production had moved outside the household, women who needed to earn money had to move outside their own households to do so.

Working-Class Women

Leisure Activities

Leisure time was scarce for all but the wealthiest Americans in the mid-nineteenth century. Most people worked long hours. Saturday was a normal working day. Vacations–paid or unpaid–were rare. For most people, Sunday was the only respite from work and was generally reserved for religion and rest. Almost no commercial establishments did any business on Sunday, and even within the home many families frowned upon playing games or engaging in other kinds of entertainment on the Sabbath. For working-class and middle-class people, therefore, holidays took on a special importance. That was one reason for the strikingly elaborate Fourth of July celebrations throughout the country. The celebrations were not just expressions of patriotism. They were also a way of enjoying one of the few holidays from work available to virtually all Americans.

In rural America, where most people still lived, the erratic pattern of farmwork gave many people some relief from the relentless work schedules of city residents. For urban people, however, leisure was something to be seized in what few free moments they had. Men gravitated to taverns for drinking, talking, and game-playing. Women gathered in one another's homes for conversation or card games or to share work on such household tasks as sewing. For educated people, whose numbers were rapidly expanding, reading became one of the principal leisure activities. Newspapers and magazines proliferated rapidly, and books–novels, histories, autobiographies, biographies, travelogues, and others–became staples of affluent homes. Women were particularly avid readers, and women writers created a new genre of fiction specifically for females–the "sentimental novel," which often offered idealized visions of women's lives and romances.

There was also a vigorous culture of public leisure, even if many families had to struggle to find time or means to participate in it. In larger cities, theaters were becoming increasingly popular; and while some of them catered to particular social groups, others attracted audiences that crossed class lines. Wealthy people, middle-class people, workers and their families: all could sometimes be found watching a performance of Shakespeare or a melodrama based on a popular novel or an American myth. Minstrel shows–in which white actors mimicked (and ridiculed) African American culture–became increasingly popular. Public sporting events–boxing, horse racing, cockfighting (already becoming controversial), and others–often attracted considerable crowds. Baseball–not yet organized into professional leagues–was beginning to attract large crowds when played in city parks or fields on the edges of towns. A particularly exciting event in many communities was the arrival of the circus–a traveling entertainment with roots in the Middle Ages that continued to entertain, delight, and bamboozle children and adults alike.

Minstrel Shows

Popular tastes in public spectacle tended toward the bizarre and the fantastic. Most men and women lived in a constricted world of familiar things. Relatively few people traveled; and in the absence of film, radio, television, or even much photography, they hungered for visions of unusual phenomena that contrasted with their normal experiences. People going to the theater or the circus or the museum wanted to see things that amazed and even frightened them. Perhaps the most celebrated provider of such experiences was the famous and unscrupulous showman P. T. Barnum, who opened the American Museum in New York City in 1842–not a showcase for art or nature, but a great freak show populated by midgets (the most famous named Tom Thumb), Siamese twins, magicians, and ventriloquists. Barnum was a genius in publicizing his ventures with garish posters and elaborate newspaper announcements. Only later, in the 1870s, did he launch the famous circus for which he is still best remembered. But he was always a pioneer in exploiting public tastes for the wild and exotic.

P. T. Barnum

One of the ways Barnum tried to draw visitors to his museum was by engaging lecturers. He did so because he understood that the lecture was one of the most popular forms of entertainment in nineteenth-century America. Men and women flocked in enormous numbers to lyceums, churches, schools, and auditoriums to hear lecturers explain the latest advances in science, to describe their visits to exotic places, to provide vivid historical narratives, or to rail against the evils of alcohol or slavery. Messages of social uplift and reform attracted rapt audiences, particularly among women eager for guidance as they adjusted to the often jarring changes in the character of family life in the industrializing world.

P. T. BARNUM AND TOM THUMB P. T. Barnum, circus producer, next to a table on which stands Charles Stratton, a little person who came to be known as General Tom Thumb. Hoping to capitalize on the popular fascination with the bizarre and the fantastic, Barnum hired Stratton at the age of five to tour the country with his circus. Stratton sang, danced, and impersonated famous people such as Napoleon Bonaparte.

THE AGRICULTURAL NORTH

Even in the rapidly urbanizing and industrializing Northeast, and more so in what nineteenth-century Americans called the Northwest (and what Americans today call the Midwest), most people remained tied to the agricultural world. But agriculture, like industry and commerce, was becoming increasingly a part of the new capitalist economy, linked to the national and international market. Where agriculture could not compete in this new commercial world, it declined. Where it could compete, it simultaneously flourished and changed.

Rise of Commercial Agriculture

Northeastern Agriculture

The story of agriculture in the Northeast after 1840 is one of decline and transformation. The reason for the decline was simple: the farmers of the section could no longer compete with the new and richer soil of the Northwest. Centers of production were gradually shifting westward for many of the farm goods that had in the past been most important to northeastern agriculture: wheat, corn, grapes, cattle, sheep, and hogs.

Some eastern farmers responded to these changes by moving west themselves and establishing new farms. Still others moved to mill towns and became laborers. Some farmers, however, remained on the land and managed to hold their own. As the eastern urban centers increased in population, many farmers turned to the task of supplying food to nearby cities; they raised vegetables (truck farming) or fruit and sold it in local towns. New York, for example, led all other states in apple production.

Truck Farming in the Northeast

The rise of cities also stimulated the rise of profitable dairy farming. Approximately half the dairy products of the country were produced in the East; most of the rest came from the West, where Ohio was the leading dairy state. Partly because of the expansion of the dairy industry, the Northeast led other sections in the production of hay. New York was the leading hay state in the nation; Pennsylvania and New England grew large crops as well. The Northeast also exceeded other areas in producing potatoes.

But while agriculture in the region remained an important part of the economy, it was steadily becoming less important than the industrial growth of the Northeast itself. As a result, the rural population in many parts of the Northeast continued to decline.

The Old Northwest

There was some industry in the states of the Northwest, more than in the South; and in the two decades before the Civil War, the region experienced steady industrial growth. By 1860, it had 36,785 manufacturing establishments employing 209,909 workers. There was a flourishing industrial and commercial area along the shore of Lake Erie, with Cleveland at its center. Another manufacturing region was in the Ohio River valley; the meatpacking city of Cincinnati was its nucleus. Farther west, the rising city of Chicago, destined to become the great metropolis of the region, was emerging as the national center of the agricultural machinery and meatpacking industries.

Industrialization in the Old Northwest

Most of the major industrial activities of the West either served agriculture (as in the case of farm machinery) or relied on agricultural products (as in flour milling, meatpacking, whiskey distilling, and the making of leather goods). As this suggests, industry was much less important in the Northwest than farming.

Some areas of the Northwest were not yet dominated by white settlers. Native Americans remained the most numerous inhabitants of much of the upper third of the Great Lakes states until after the Civil War. In those areas, hunting and fishing, along with some sedentary agriculture, remained the principal economic activities of both white settlers and Native Americans. But Native Americans did not become integrated into the new commercialized economy that was emerging elsewhere in the Northwest.

For the white (and occasionally black) settlers who populated the lands farther south, the Northwest was primarily an agricultural region. Its rich and plentiful lands made farming a lucrative and expanding activity there, in contrast to the declining agrarian Northeast. Thus the typical citizen of the Northwest was not an industrial worker or poor, marginal farmer, but the owner of a reasonably prosperous family farm. The average size of western farms was 200 acres, the majority owned by the people who worked them.

Rising farm prices around the world provided a strong incentive for these western farmers to engage in commercial agriculture. That usually meant concentrating on a single crop for market (corn, wheat, cattle, sheep, hogs, and others). In the early years of white settlement in the Northwest, farm prices rose because of the debilitation of European agriculture in the aftermath of the Napoleonic Wars and the growing urban population (and hence the growing demand for food) of industrializing areas of Europe. The Northwest, with good water routes on the Mississippi for getting its crops to oceangoing vessels, profited from this international trade.

Agricultural Specialization

But industrialization, in both the United States and Europe, provided the greatest boost to agriculture. With the growth of factories and cities in the Northeast, the domestic market for farm goods increased dramatically. The growing national and worldwide demand for farm products resulted in steadily rising farm prices. For most farmers, the 1840s and early 1850s were years of increasing prosperity.

To meet the increasing demand for its farm products, residents of the Northwest worked strenuously, and often frantically, to increase their productive capacities. Many tried to take advantage of the large areas of still-uncultivated land and to enlarge the area of white settlement during the 1840s. By 1850, the growing western population was moving into the prairie regions both east and west of the Mississippi: into areas of Indiana, Michigan, Illinois, Missouri, Iowa, and Minnesota. Residents cleared forest lands or made use of fields Native Americans had cleared many years earlier. And they began to develop a timber industry to make use of the forests that remained. Wheat was the staple crop of the region, but other crops–corn, potatoes, and oats–and livestock were also important.

The Northwest increased production not only by expanding the area of settlement, but also by adopting new agricultural technologies that greatly reduced the labor necessary for producing a crop and slowed the exhaustion of the region's rich soil. Farmers began to cultivate new varieties of seed, notably Mediterranean wheat, which was hardier than the native type; and they imported better breeds of animals, such as hogs and sheep from England and Spain, to take the place of native stock. Most important were improved tools and farm machines, which American inventors and manufacturers produced in rapidly increasing numbers. During the 1840s, more-efficient grain drills, harrows, mowers, and hay rakes came into wide use. The cast-iron plow, an earlier innovation, remained popular because its parts could be replaced when broken. An even better tool appeared in 1847, when John Deere established at Moline, Illinois, a factory to manufacture steel plows, which were more durable than those made of iron.

New Agricultural Technologies

CYRUS MCCORMICK'S AUTOMATIC REAPER Cyrus McCormick invented an automatic reaper in 1831 and had it patented in 1834. The machine, drawn by a horse, cut wheat, corn, or other crops and left it lying in swaths in the field where farmworkers would gather it up and store it in stacks. The reaper allowed one worker to harvest as much wheat in a day as five could harvest using earlier methods.

Two new machines heralded a coming revolution in grain production. The most important was the automatic reaper, the invention of Cyrus H. McCormick of Virginia. The reaper enabled one worker to harvest as much wheat (or any other small grain) in a day as five could harvest using older methods. McCormick, who had patented his device in 1834, established a factory at Chicago, in the heart of the grain belt, in 1847. By 1860, more than 100,000 reapers were in use on western farms. Almost as important to the grain grower was the thresher–a machine that separated the grain from the wheat stalks. Threshers appeared in large numbers after 1840. Before that, farmers generally flailed grain by hand (seven bushels a day was a good average for a farm) or used farm animals to tread it (twenty bushels a day on the average). A threshing machine, such as those manufactured by the Jerome I. Case factory in Racine, Wisconsin, could thresh twenty-five bushels or more in an hour.

McCormick Reaper

The Northwest considered itself the most democratic section of the country. But its democracy was based on a defense of economic freedom and the rights of property–a white, middle-class vision of democracy that was becoming common

in many other parts of the country as well. Abraham Lincoln, an Illinois Whig, voiced the economic opinions of many of the people of his section. "I take it that it is best for all to leave each man free to acquire property as fast as he can," said Lincoln. "Some will get wealthy. I don't believe in a law to prevent a man from getting rich; it would do more harm than good. . . . When one starts poor, as most do in the race of life, free society is such that he knows he can better his condition; he knows that there is no fixed condition of labor for his whole life."

Rural Life

Rural life for people farming the land was very different from life in towns and cities. It also varied greatly from one farming region to another. In the more densely populated farm areas east of the Appalachians and in the easternmost areas of the Northwest, farmers were usually part of vibrant communities and made extensive use of the institutions of those communities–the churches, schools, stores, and taverns. As white settlement moved farther west, farmers became isolated and had to struggle to find any occasions for contact with people outside their own families.

Religion drew farm communities together perhaps more than any other force, particularly since so many farm areas were populated by people of common ethnic (and therefore religious) backgrounds. Town or village churches were popular meeting places, for both services and social events–most of them dominated by women. Even in areas with no organized churches, farm families–and, again, women in particular–gathered in one another's homes for prayer meetings, Bible readings, and other religious activities. Weddings, baptisms, and funerals also brought communities together in celebration or mourning.

Importance of Religion in Rural Communities

But religion was only one of many reasons for interaction. Farm people joined together frequently to share tasks that a single family would have difficulty performing on its own; festive barn raisings were among the most frequent. Women prepared large suppers while the men worked on the barn and the children played. Large numbers of families also gathered together at harvest time to help bring in crops, husk corn, or thresh wheat. Women came together to share domestic tasks as well, holding "bees" in which groups of women joined together to make quilts, baked goods, preserves, and other products.

But despite the many social gatherings farm families managed to create, they lived in a world with much less contact with popular culture and public social life than people who lived in towns and cities. Rural people, often even more than urban ones, treasured their links to the outside world–letters from relatives and friends in distant places, newspapers and magazines from cities they had never seen, catalogs advertising merchandise that their local stores never had. Yet many also valued their separation from urban culture and cherished the relative autonomy that farm life gave them. One reason many rural Americans looked back nostalgically on country life once they moved to the city was that they sensed that in the urban world they did not have as much control over the patterns of their daily lives as they had once known.

CHAPTER 10 REVIEW

CONNECTING THEMES

Chapter 10 examined the causes and effects of rapid population growth in the United States during the first half of the nineteenth century. European immigration brought major changes to the labor force and American society, including growing nativism and diverging regional identities.

Technological innovations, both in agriculture and transportation, complemented the rise of the factory system and revolutionized American society in many ways. The nation experienced increased urbanization and wealth inequality, which led to greater leisure time for some. Family and gender roles underwent significant social changes that most significantly affected working and middle-class women. Finally, the development of a national market contributed to the growing sectionalism and regional divisions between the North, South, and West.

You should consider the following questions as you review the themes for this chapter:

- How did European migration in the first half of the nineteenth century impact notions of an American identity?
- How did technological innovations affect the labor force, class distinctions, and social mobility?
- What were the causes and effects of rapid population growth in the United States?
- How did movement toward a national market economy and the factory system lead to political divisions and increased sectional tensions?
- How did the natural environment influence the development of regional political and economic identities?
- What were the changes in the roles of women during the first half of the nineteenth century?

KEY TERMS

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AP EXAM PRACTICE

Questions assume cumulative content knowledge from this chapter and previous chapters.

MULTIPLE CHOICE

Use the image advertising the *American Patriot* on page 273 and your knowledge of U.S. history to answer questions 1–3.

1. The immigrants arriving in the 1840s and 1850s largely came from
   - **(A)** Italy and Russia.
   - **(B)** England and Scotland.
   - **(C)** Ireland and Germany.
   - **(D)** France and Austria.

2. Concerns like those reflected in the image partly centered around the fear that
   - **(A)** immigrants settling in cities would be competition for employment.
   - **(B)** immigrants were generally well-educated and could dominate elections.
   - **(C)** immigrants would favor politically radical beliefs and candidates.
   - **(D)** immigrants would settle in agricultural areas and refuse to integrate in urban centers.

3. Those who shared concerns with the creators of the image ultimately reflected their nativism politically by
   - **(A)** supporting the passage of restrictive immigration legislation.
   - **(B)** passing a law that established English as the official language of the United States.
   - **(C)** forming a political party commonly known as the "Know-Nothing Party."
   - **(D)** forming institutions to speed up the cultural integration of immigrants.

SHORT ANSWER

Use your knowledge of U.S. history to answer questions 4 and 5.

4. Use the image on page 274 to answer A, B, and C.
   - **(A)** Briefly describe ONE historical point of view about European immigration in the image.
   - **(B)** Briefly explain ONE specific historical cause of European immigration to the United States during the first half of the nineteenth century.
   - **(C)** Briefly explain ONE specific historical effect of European immigration to the United States during the first half of the nineteenth century.

5. Answer A, B, and C.
   - **(A)** Briefly describe ONE specific historical similarity about Americans before and after the emergence of the factory system.
   - **(B)** Briefly describe ONE specific historical difference about Americans before and after the emergence of the factory system.
   - **(C)** Briefly explain ONE specific historical effect that resulted from the emergence of the factory system.

LONG ESSAY

Develop a thoughtful and thorough historical argument that addresses the statement. Begin your essay with a thesis statement, and support it with specific historical evidence and examples.

6. Evaluate the relative importance of the effects of the technological revoltuion on the United States in the first half of the nineteenth century.

UNIT 4 AP EXAM PRACTICE

AP EXAM PRACTICE

As you answer the questions, consider how the historical developments, processes, and individuals in Unit 4 connect to those in previous units.

MULTIPLE CHOICE

Use the image on page 202 and your knowledge of U.S. history to answer questions 1 and 2.

1. Eli Whitney's cotton gin was instrumental in what significant shift?
   - **(A)** the movement from exclusively cotton cultivation to a diversified economy
   - **(B)** the inclusion of textile mills into southern cities
   - **(C)** the shift from tobacco cultivation to cotton cultivation
   - **(D)** the movement of cotton cultivation to the western territories

2. The cotton gin affected the larger American economy by
   - **(A)** placing the South and North into direct economic competition, as both grew significant cotton crops.
   - **(B)** slowing the movement westward as Americans instead took jobs in textile mills.
   - **(C)** preventing the development of transportation networks as focus increased on agriculture.
   - **(D)** connecting the South and North as northern mills processed southern cotton.

Use the image on page 274 and your knowledge of U.S. history to answer questions 3–5.

3. The image reflects the concern that
   - **(A)** Americans of Irish and German descent would use their economic dominance to gain political control.
   - **(B)** recently arrived Irish and German immigrants would unfairly seize elections.
   - **(C)** the lack of overall political interest would allow Irish and German immigrants to win elections uncontested.
   - **(D)** Irish and German immigrants would not show interest in participating in American elections.

4. Nativists largely objected to Irish and German immigrants because many of the immigrants
   - **(A)** held politically radical ideals.
   - **(B)** dominated the economic system.
   - **(C)** were religiously Roman Catholic.
   - **(D)** refused to assimilate into American society.

5. The rise of a political party in response to feelings such as those reflected in the image served to disrupt
   - **(A)** the Era of Good Feelings.
   - **(B)** the formation of the Republican Party.
   - **(C)** one-party rule by the Democratic Party.
   - **(D)** the Second Party System.

Use the image on page 321 and your knowledge of U.S. history to answer questions 6 and 7.

6. Images such as "The Business of Slavery" are evidence of
   - **(A)** the significant economic integration of the system of slavery into American culture.
   - **(B)** the separation of the system of slavery from the rest of the economy.
   - **(C)** the solely agricultural nature of slavery in the United States.
   - **(D)** the dispersed presence of enslaved workers throughout the United States.

7. Throughout early years of the United States, how did the institution of slavery change?
   - **(A)** The institution of slavery became increasingly uniform in all regions as the nation united economically.
   - **(B)** As the institution of slavery began to contract wage laborers, this eventually replaced enslaved people.
   - **(C)** As the institution of slavery began to contract Southerners, slavery was increasingly seen as being in conflict with Revolutionary ideals of freedom.
   - **(D)** The institution of slavery continued to expand as Americans moved westward.

Use the excerpt from "Declaration of Sentiments" on page 342 and your knowledge of U.S. history to answer questions 8–10.

8. The excerpt from the "Declaration of Sentiments" indicates that advocates for women's rights
   - **(A)** sought to include women in the freedoms and rights secured in the Revolution.
   - **(B)** were focused on economic rights and financial independence for women.
   - **(C)** wanted to create a new place for women in American society.
   - **(D)** felt that women should have equal educational opportunities as men.

9. The women's movement arose to counter the increasing cultural belief in
   - **(A)** the value of women in the industrial workplace.
   - **(B)** the need to move away from the ideals of the Revolution.
   - **(C)** the importance of separate spheres for men and women.
   - **(D)** the need to permanently entrench Republican Motherhood.

10. Many of the activists who supported the Declaration of Sentiments
    - **(A)** were members of the working class.
    - **(B)** were active in many reform movements.
    - **(C)** kept undivided focus on women's suffrage.
    - **(D)** were overwhelmingly male.

SHORT ANSWER

Use the image *A Seminary for Women* on page 195 and your knowledge of U.S. history to answer question 11.

11. Answer A, B, and C.
    - **(A)** Briefly describe ONE point of view about women in the first half of the nineteenth century as depicted in the image.
    - **(B)** Briefly explain ONE specific historical cause for the rise of a woman's rights movement in the first half of the nineteenth century.
    - **(C)** Briefly explain ONE specific historical effect that resulted from the rise of a woman's rights movement in the first half of the nineteenth century.

LONG ESSAY

Develop a thoughtful and thorough historical argument that addresses the statement. Begin your essay with a thesis statement, and support it with specific historical evidence and examples.

12. Evaluate the extent of continuities in the lives of African Americans in the United States from 1800 to 1850.

UNIT 5: 1844–1877

CHAPTER 13:
THE IMPENDING CRISIS

CHAPTER 14:
THE CIVIL WAR

CHAPTER 15:
RECONSTRUCTION AND THE NEW SOUTH

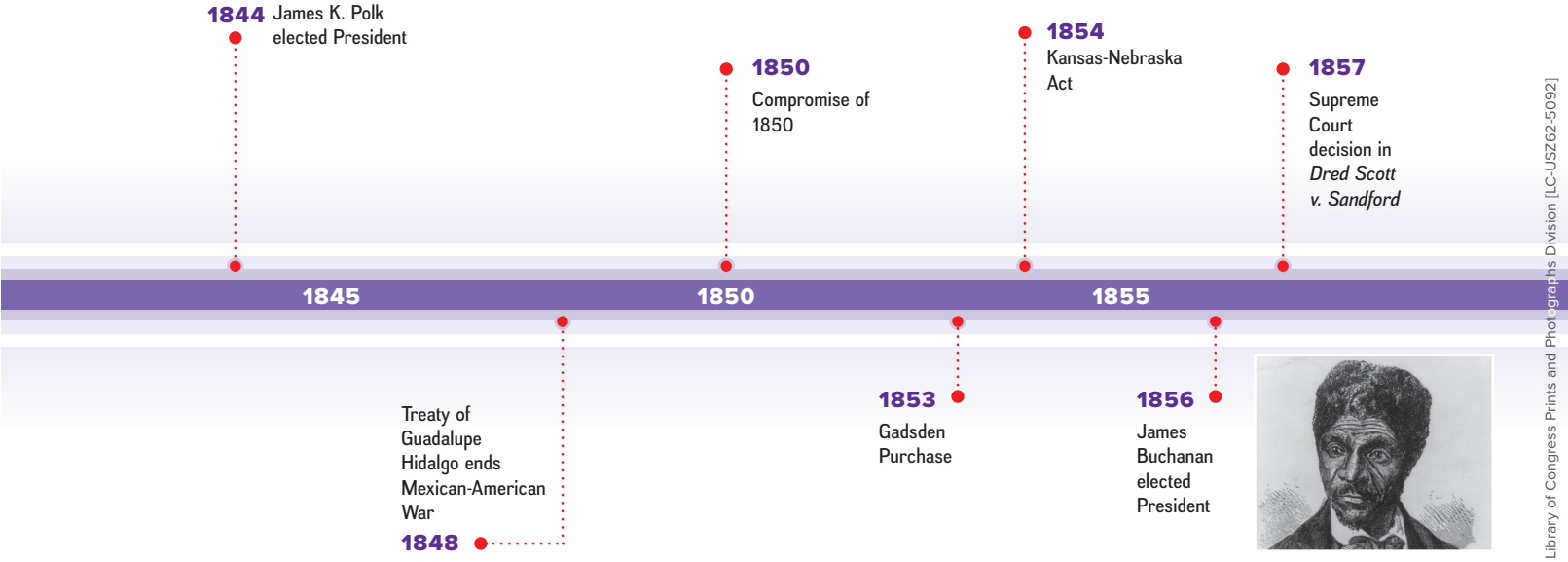
THEMATIC LEARNING OBJECTIVES

- Analyze the causes and effects of the ideology known as Manifest Destiny.
- Compare and contrast the compromises that led to the Civil War.
- Explain the impact of major elections on the regional divide between the North and the South.
- Assess the advantages and disadvantages of the North and the South at the start of the Civil War.
- Describe the different phases of the Civil War.
- Analyze the policies of the Lincoln administration during the Civil War.
- Evaluate the impact of Reconstruction on both the North and the South.

QUESTIONS TO CONSIDER

- What were the major causes of the Civil War?
- How were the North and the South politically, socially, and economically similar and different before and after the Civil War?
- What were the major effects of the Civil War?

HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENTS: 1844–1877



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MAKING CONNECTIONS

Unit Five focuses on further U.S. expansion west, the causes and conduct of the Civil War, the impact of the conflict on Northern and Southern society, and the immediate and lasting effects of Reconstruction on the United States.

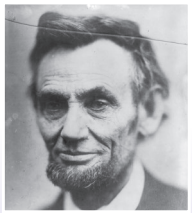
White Americans often justified the wave of expansion in the 1840s with the ideology of Manifest Destiny, which contended that the United States was destined by God and history to gain territory and extend liberty across the continent. This expansion led to many conflicts, including a major war with Mexico and many clashes with Native Americans. The Mexican War resulted in a vast territorial acquisition for the United States and a new array of divisive issues. Most critical was whether to allow slavery in these new territories. Eventually, Congress enacted the Compromise of 1850, which was not the product of widespread agreement and failed to satisfy either the pro- or anti-slavery forces. The Fugitive Slave Act and the Kansas-Nebraska Act that followed the compromise only deepened the sectional divide. Finally, the Supreme Court enraged the anti-slavery movement in the North with the *Dred Scott* decision, while John Brown's raid at Harper's Ferry alarmed the South.

The election of Abraham Lincoln in 1860 led South Carolina to issue the first Declaration of Secession. Other Southern states quickly followed. The Civil War was now at hand. The North held advantages based on population, industry, and transportation, while the South had the advantage of fighting a defensive war in familiar territory. Following one of the bloodiest and most costly wars in American history, the two sides signed a peace treaty in 1865.

The grieving country now faced the task of rebuilding the Union. President Lincoln proposed a relatively swift and lenient policy of Reconstruction, but Radical Republicans in Congress wanted a harsher policy. White Southerners increasingly objected to the governments imposed during Reconstruction. Passage of the Civil War Amendments to the Constitution further angered white Southerners. For African Americans and poor whites, Reconstruction increased access to public education. But sharecropping and the crop-lien system, which could trap farmers in a cycle of debt, overshadowed limited gains in land and income redistribution.

Southern states pushed to reverse the effects of the war and Reconstruction. Secret societies like the Ku Klux Klan used violence and intimidation to disenfranchise and repress African Americans. White Southerners passed Black Codes and Jim Crow laws to institutionalize the system of segregation that touched nearly every aspect of Southern life. These laws eliminated most of the social, economic, and political gains made by African Americans in the late 1800s.

In the aftermath of Civil War and Reconstruction, the North continued to absorb millions of European immigrants and focus on the growth of industry and commerce. The South attempted to rebuild with a new emphasis on factories and railroads. Agriculture, however, still dominated the region, which remained underdeveloped as white politicians prioritized racial segregation over economic modernization. As the United States began to look outward, serious internal divisions and challenges remained.



Library of Congress Prints & Photographs Division [LC-USZ62-12380]

1860 Abraham Lincoln elected President

1861 Beginning of Civil War

1862 Battle of Antietam

1863 Emancipation Proclamation

1864 Wade-Davis Bill 1865

1865 **January 1865** Ratification of the Thirteenth Amendment

1865 **April 1865** End of Civil War || Lincoln assassinated

1868 Ratification of the Fourteenth Amendment

1870 Ratification of the Fifteenth Amendment

1872–1873 Crēdit Mobilier scandal

1874 Women's Christian Temperance Union founded

1877 Compromise of 1877

1860 1865 1870 1875

14 THE CIVIL WAR

UNION SOLDIERS AT REST
The Civil War was one of the bloodiest conflicts in American history. But there were many times at which the armies were not in battle. This photograph of Union soldiers was taken at a large supply base in northern Virginia in 1862—one of many sites in which soldiers spent long, idle periods.

CONNECTING CONCEPTS

Chapter Fourteen begins by examining the causes and beginning of the Civil War. It concludes by analyzing the impact of the conflict on Northern and Southern society. After the secession crisis and the firing on Fort Sumter, the North had huge advantages in terms of population, industry, and transportation systems, but the South had the advantage of fighting a defensive war on familiar terrain with the nearly full support of its white population.

In the North, the Civil War stimulated economic growth and prosperity. Republicans used their control of Congress to pass higher tariffs, the National Bank Acts, and the Morrill Land Grant Act. President Lincoln, however, faced strong opposition from Peace Democrats and often resorted to extralegal measures to silence political critics. Conscription was also unpopular with workers, who objected to wealthy people avoiding military service by hiring substitutes. On both sides, many protested that it was a "rich man's war, and a poor man's fight."

In the South, the Civil War devastated the economy, which rested on the production and export of cotton. The Confederacy also faced funding problems, manpower shortages, supply shortfalls, and ideological battles over states' rights versus the power of centralized government. In the end, President Davis was unsuccessful at meeting these difficult challenges, although only a few close calls on the battlefield prevented the South from gaining political independence and international recognition.

Both the North and the South were initially reluctant to mobilize black soldiers. But after Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation in 1862 and made the elimination of slavery a central goal of the war, African Americans enlisted in the Union Army in large numbers. The Proclamation had little impact at first, but it ultimately led to passage of the Thirteenth Amendment, which abolished the institution of slavery, although parts of it survived in different forms for decades to come.

By choice or necessity, women had to assume new and unfamiliar roles during the Civil War. Although traditional gender roles remained largely in place, women took over positions vacated by men in the workplace. They also entered the field of nursing and dominated it by the end of the war. Some women, like Elizabeth Cady Stanton, saw the war as an opportunity to gain support for their goals of abolitionism and voting rights for women. Ultimately, the Civil War had lasting social, political, and economic effects for the United States and its people.

As you read, you should:

- Identify the ways in which the abolition of slavery led to the reshaping of cultural identities and concepts of citizenship.
- Analyze how the Civil War generated new social, political, and economic opportunities for many Americans.
- Evaluate the reasons for the repeated attempts at compromise and why they failed to prevent the Civil War.
- Describe the advantages and disadvantages of both the North and the South during the Civil War.
- Explain the ways the Emancipation Proclamation and the Thirteenth Amendment offered new opportunities for African Americans.

THE SECESSION CRISIS

Almost as soon as the news of Abraham Lincoln's election reached the South, the militant leaders of the region–the champions of the new concept of "Southern nationalism," men known both to their contemporaries and to history as the "fire-eaters"–began to demand an end to the Union.

"Southern Nationalism"

The Withdrawal of the South

South Carolina, long the hotbed of Southern separatism, seceded first. It called a special convention, which voted unanimously on December 20, 1860, to withdraw the state from the Union. Horace Greeley of the *New York Tribune* wrote three days before secession, "We fully realize that the dilemma of the incoming administration will be a critical one. It must endeavor to uphold and enforce laws, as well against rebellious slaveholders as fugitives."

Establishment of the Confederacy

By the time Lincoln took office, six other states from the lower South–Mississippi (January 9, 1861), Florida (January 10), Alabama (January 11), Georgia (January 19), Louisiana (January 26), and Texas (February 1)–had seceded. In February 1861, representatives of the seven seceded states met at Montgomery, Alabama, and announced the formation of a new nation: the Confederate States of America. The response from the North was confused and indecisive. President James Buchanan told Congress in December 1860 that no state had the right to secede from the Union but suggested that the federal government had no authority to stop a state if it did.

The seceding states immediately seized the federal property–forts, arsenals, government offices–within their boundaries. Robert Toombs, a Confederate cabinet member and general, said, "Our property has been stolen, our people murdered; felons and assassins have found sanctuary in the arms of the party which elected Mr. Lincoln. The Executive power, the last bulwark of the Constitution to defend us against these enemies of the Constitution, has been swept away, and we now stand without a shield, with bare bosoms presented to our enemies." At first they did not have sufficient military power to seize two fortified offshore military installations: Fort Sumter, on an island in the harbor of Charleston, South Carolina, garrisoned by a small force under Major Robert Anderson; and Fort Pickens, in the harbor of Pensacola, Florida. South Carolina sent commissioners to Washington to ask for the surrender of Sumter; but Buchanan, timid though he was, refused to yield it. Indeed, in January 1861 he ordered an unarmed merchant ship to proceed to Fort Sumter with additional troops and supplies. Confederate guns on shore fired at the vessel–the first shots between North and South–and turned it back. Still, neither section was yet ready to concede that war had begun. And in Washington, efforts began once more to forge a compromise.

The Failure of Compromise

Gradually, compromise forces gathered behind a proposal first submitted by Senator John J. Crittenden of Kentucky and known as the Crittenden Compromise. It called for several constitutional amendments, which would guarantee the permanent existence of slavery in the slave states and would satisfy Southern demands on such issues as fugitive enslaved people and slavery in

Crittenden Compromise

the District of Columbia. But the heart of Crittenden's plan was a proposal to reestablish the Missouri Compromise line in all present and future territory of the United States: Slavery would be prohibited north of the line and permitted south of it. The remaining Southerners in the Senate seemed willing to accept the plan, but the Republicans were not. The compromise would have required the Republicans to abandon their most fundamental position: that slavery not be allowed to expand.

And so nothing had been resolved when Abraham Lincoln arrived in Washington for his inauguration–sneaking into the city in disguise on a night train to avoid assassination as he passed through the slave state of Maryland. In his inaugural address, which dealt directly with the secession crisis, Lincoln laid down several basic principles. Since the Union was older than the Constitution, no state could leave it. Acts of force or violence to support secession were insurrectionary. And the government would "hold, occupy, and possess" federal property in the seceded states–a clear reference to Fort Sumter.

Fort Sumter

Conditions at Fort Sumter were deteriorating quickly. Union forces were running short of supplies; unless they received fresh provisions, the fort would have to be evacuated. Lincoln believed that if he surrendered Sumter, his commitment to maintaining the Union would no longer be credible. So he sent a relief expedition to the fort, carefully informing the South Carolina authorities that there would be no attempt to send troops or munitions unless the supply ships met with resistance.

The new Confederate government now faced a dilemma. Permitting the expedition to land would seem to be a tame submission to federal authority. Firing on the ships or the fort would seem (to the North at least) to be aggression. But Confederate leaders finally decided that to appear cowardly would be worse than to appear belligerent, and they ordered

The War Begins

General P. G. T. Beauregard, commander of Confederate forces at Charleston, to take the island, by force if necessary. When Anderson refused to surrender the fort, the Confederates bombarded it for two days, April 12–13, 1861. On April 14, Anderson surrendered. The Civil War had begun.

As the Southern states began to secede, Abraham Lincoln spoke of American liberty: "It was not the mere matter of the separation of the Colonies from the motherland; but that sentiment in the Declaration of Independence which gave liberty, not alone to the people of this country, but, I hope, to the world, for all future time. It was that which gave promise that in due time the weight would be lifted from the shoulders of all men. This is a sentiment embodied in the Declaration of Independence. Now, my friends, can this country be saved upon that basis? If it can, I will consider myself one of the happiest men in the world, if I can help to save it. If it cannot be saved, upon that principle, it will be truly awful."

Almost immediately, Lincoln began mobilizing the North for war. And equally promptly, four more slave states seceded from the Union and joined the Confederacy: Virginia (April 17, 1861), Arkansas (May 6), North Carolina (May 20), and Tennessee (June 8). The four remaining slave states–Maryland, Delaware, Kentucky, and Missouri–cast their lot with the Union (under heavy political and even military pressure from Washington).

Was there anything that Lincoln (or those before him) could have done to settle the sectional conflict peaceably? That question has preoccupied historians for more than a century without resolution. There were, of course, actions that might have prevented a war: if, for example, Northern leaders had decided to let the South withdraw in peace. The real question, however, is not what hypothetical situations might have

FORT SUMTER DURING THE BOMBARDMENT This graphic drawing shows the interior of Fort Sumter during its bombardment by Confederate forces in April 1861. Union forces faced the dual problem of heavy Confederate artillery and cannon fire, and dwindling supplies—since the Confederates had blockaded the Charleston harbor to prevent the North from resupplying the fort.

reversed the trend toward war but whether the preponderance of forces in the nation were acting to hold the nation together or to drive it apart. And by 1861, it seems clear that in both the North and the South, sectional antagonisms–whether justified or not–had risen to such a point that the existing terms of union had become untenable.

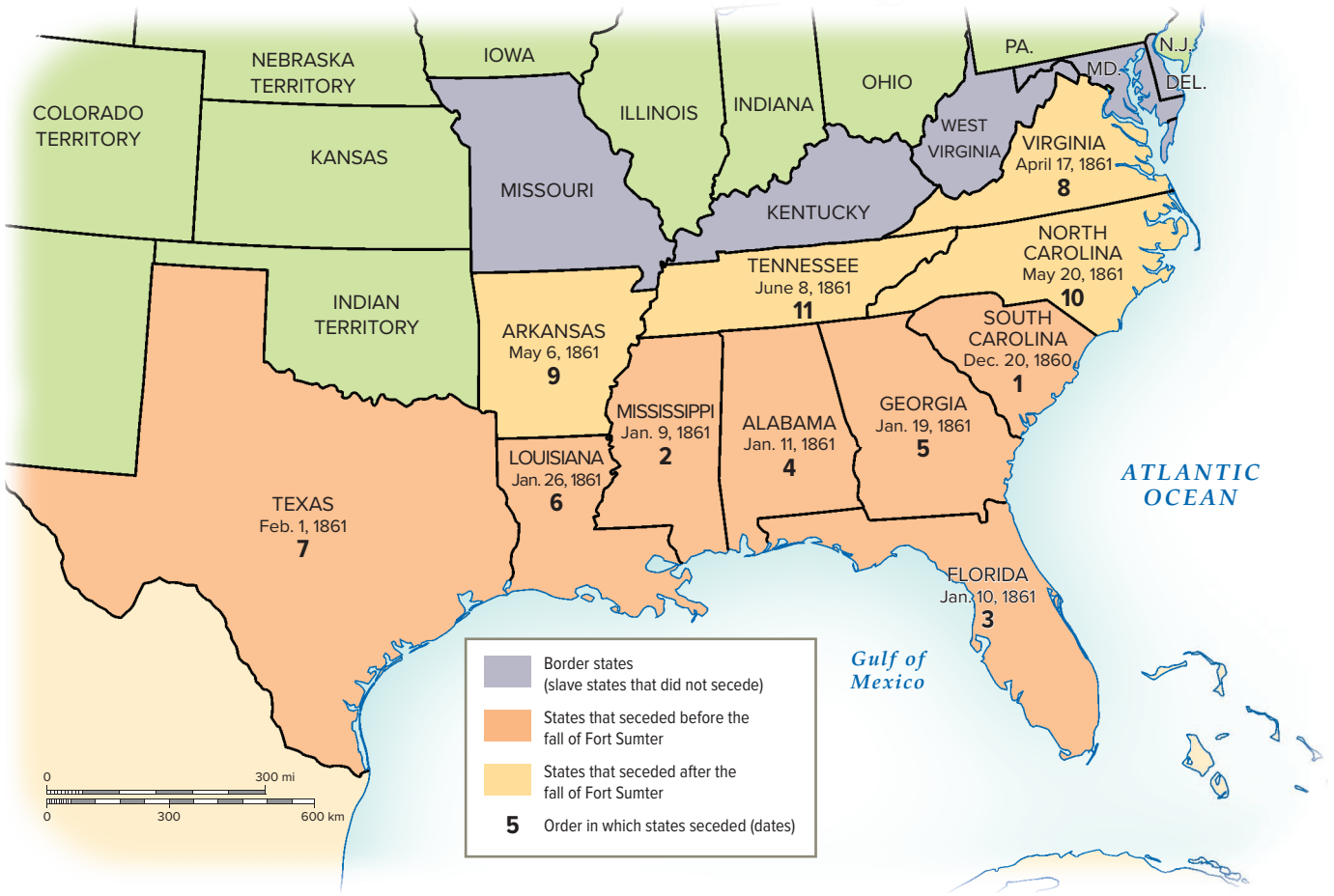
People in both regions had come to believe that two distinct and incompatible civilizations had developed in the United States and that those civilizations were incapable of living together in peace. Ralph Waldo Emerson, speaking for much of the North, said at the time: "I do not see how a barbarous community and a civilized community can constitute one state." And a slaveholder, expressing the sentiments of much of the South, said shortly after the election of Lincoln: "These [Northern] people hate us, annoy us, and would have us assassinated by our slaves if they dared. They are a different people from us, whether better or worse, and there is no love between us. Why then continue together?"

That the North and the South had come to believe these things helped lead to secession and war. Whether these things were actually true–whether the North and the South were really as different and incompatible as they thought–is another question, one that the preparations for and conduct of the war help to answer.

The Opposing Sides

Union Advantages

As the war began, only one thing was clear: all the important material advantages lay with the North. Its population was more than twice as large as that of the South (and nearly four times as large as the nonslave population of the South), so



THE PROCESS OF SECESSION The election of Lincoln, the candidate of the antislavery Republican Party, to the presidency had the immediate result of inspiring many of the states in the Deep South to secede from the Union, beginning with South Carolina only a little more than a month after the November election. Other states nearer the northern border of the slaveholding region remained in the Union for a time, but the U.S. attempt to resupply Fort Sumter (and the bombardment of the fort by the new Confederate army) mobilized the upper South to secede as well. Only enormous pressure from the federal government kept the slaveholding states of Maryland, Delaware, Kentucky, and Missouri in the Union.

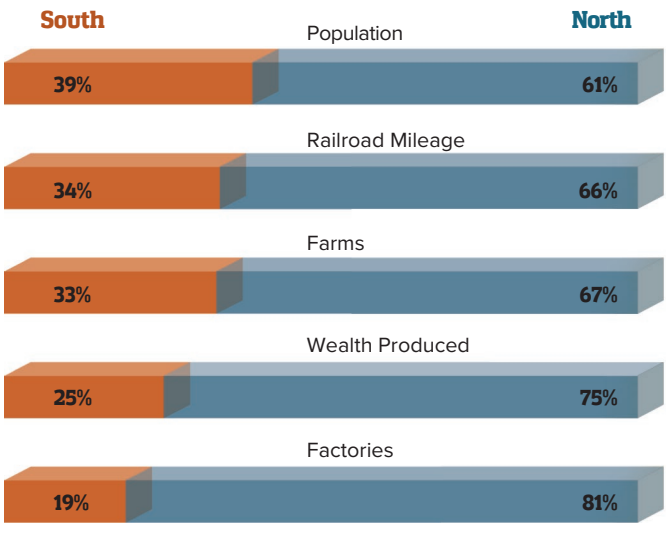
What accounted for the creation of the state of West Virginia in 1861?

the Union had a much greater manpower reserve for both its armies and its workforce. The North had an advanced industrial system and was able by 1862 to manufacture almost all its own war materials. The South had almost no industry at all and, despite impressive efforts to increase its manufacturing capacity, had to rely on imports from Europe throughout the war.

In addition, the North had a much better transportation system than did the South and, in particular, more and better railroads: twice as much trackage as the Confederacy and a much better integrated system of lines. During the war, moreover, the already inferior Confederate railroad system steadily deteriorated and by the beginning of 1864 had almost collapsed.

But in the beginning the North's material advantages were not as decisive as they appear in retrospect. The South was, for the most part, fighting a defensive war on its own land and thus had the advantage of local support and familiarity with the territory. The Northern armies, on the other hand, were fighting mostly within the South, with long lines of communications, amid hostile local populations, and with access only to the South's own inadequate transportation system. The commitment of the white population of the South to the war was, with limited exceptions, clear and firm. In the North, opinion about the war was divided and support for it remained shaky until near the end. A major Southern victory at any one of several crucial moments might have proved decisive by breaking the North's will to continue the struggle. Finally, many Southerners believed that the dependence of the English and French textile industries on American cotton would require those nations to intervene on the side of the Confederacy.

Southern Advantages



UNION AND CONFEDERATE RESOURCES Virtually all the material advantages—population, manufacturing, railroads, wealth, even agriculture—lay with the North during the Civil War, as this chart shows.

What advantages did the South have in the conflict?

THE MOBILIZATION OF THE NORTH

In the North, the war produced considerable discord, frustration, and suffering. But it also produced prosperity and economic growth by giving a major stimulus to both industry and agriculture.

Economic Measures

With Southern forces now gone from Congress, the Republican Party could exercise virtually unchallenged authority. During the war, it enacted an aggressively nationalistic program to promote economic development, particularly in the West. The Homestead Act of 1862 permitted any citizen or prospective citizen to claim 160 acres of public land and to purchase it for a small fee after living on it for five years. The Morrill Land Grant Act of the same year transferred substantial public acreage to the state governments, which were to sell the land and use the proceeds to finance public education. This act led to the creation of many new state colleges and universities, the so-called land-grant institutions. Congress also passed a series of tariff bills that by the end of the war had raised duties to the highest level in the nation's history–a great boon to domestic industries eager for protection from foreign competition.

Republican Economic Policy

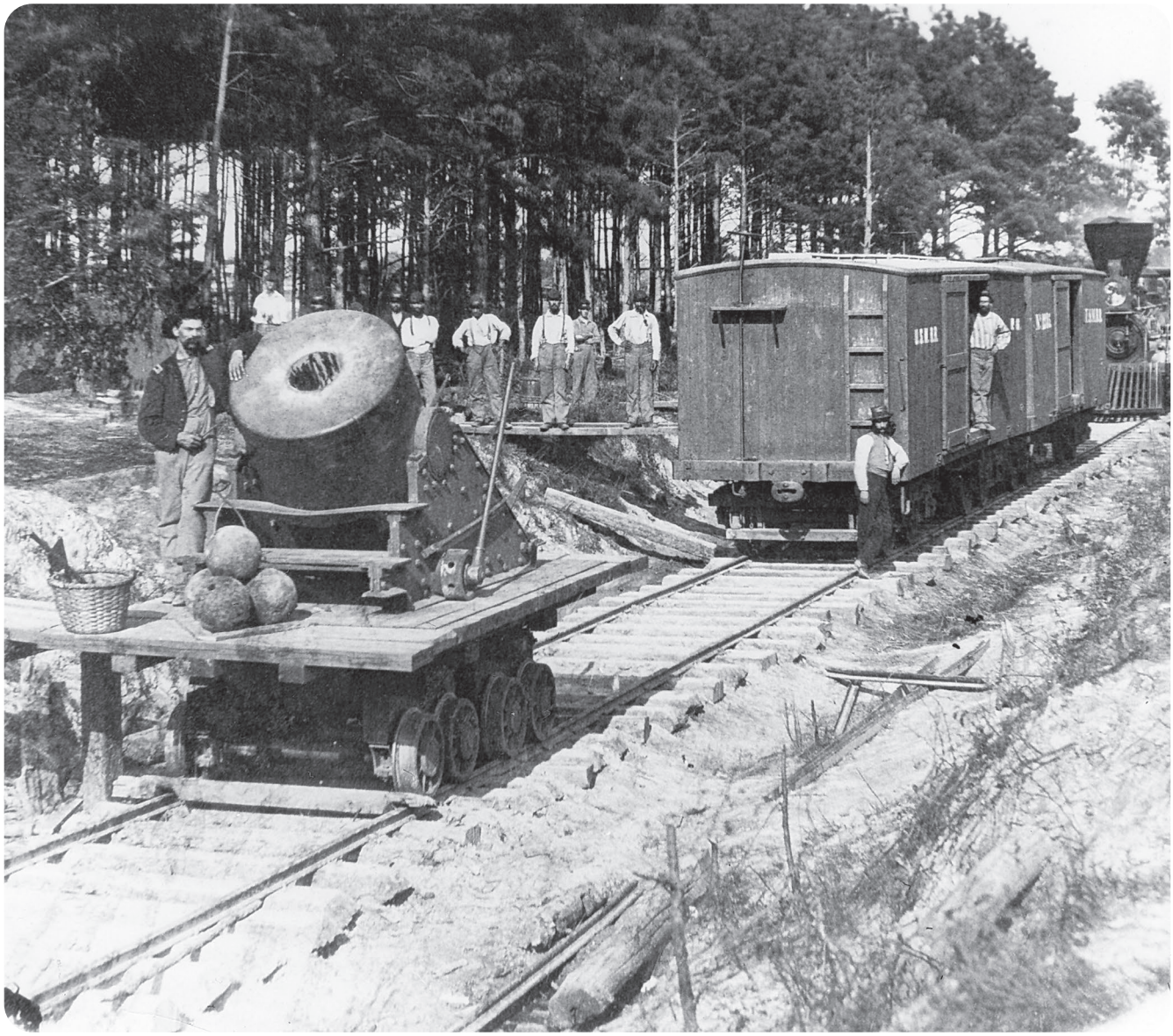
Congress also moved to complete the dream of a transcontinental railroad. It created two new federally chartered corporations: the Union Pacific Railroad Company, which was to build westward from Omaha, and the Central Pacific, which was to build eastward from California, settling the prewar conflict over the location of the line. The two projects were to meet in the middle and complete the link. The government provided free public lands and generous loans to the companies.

The National Bank Acts of 1863–1864 created a new national banking system. Existing or newly formed banks could join the system if they had enough capital and were willing to invest one-third of it in government securities. In return, they could issue U.S. Treasury notes as currency. The new system eliminated much of the chaos and uncertainty in the nation's currency and created a uniform system of national bank notes.

National Bank Acts

More difficult than promoting economic growth was financing the war. The government tried to do so in three ways: by levying taxes, issuing paper currency, and borrowing. Congress levied new taxes on almost all goods and services; and in 1861 the government levied an income tax for the first time, with rates that eventually rose to 10 percent on incomes above $5,000. But taxation raised only a small proportion of the funds necessary for financing the war, and strong popular resistance prevented the government from raising the rates. At least equally controversial was the printing of paper currency, or "greenbacks." The new currency was backed not by gold or silver, but simply by the good faith and credit of the government

Financing the War



WAR BY RAILROAD Union soldiers pose beside a mortar mounted on a railroad car in July 1864, during the siege of Petersburg, Virginia. Railroads played a critical role in the Civil War, and the superiority of the North's rail system was an important factor in its victory. It was appropriate, perhaps, that the battle for Petersburg, the last great struggle of the war, was over control of critical railroad lines.

(much like today's currency). The value of the greenbacks fluctuated according to the fortunes of the Northern armies. Early in 1864, with the war effort bogged down, a greenback dollar was worth only 39 percent of a gold dollar. Even at the close of the war, it was worth only 67 percent of a gold dollar. Because of the difficulty of making purchases with this uncertain currency, the government used greenbacks sparingly. The Treasury issued only $450 million worth of paper currency–a small proportion of the cost of the war but enough to produce significant inflation.

By far the largest source of financing for the war was loans from the American people. In previous wars, the government had sold bonds only to banks and to a few wealthy investors. Now, however, the Treasury persuaded ordinary citizens to buy over $400 million worth of bonds–the first example of mass financing of a war in American history. Still, bond purchases by individuals constituted only a small part of the government's borrowing, which in the end totaled $2.6 billion. Most of the loans to finance the war came from banks and large financial interests.

Raising the Union Armies

Over 2 million men served in the Union armed forces during the course of the Civil War. But at the beginning of 1861, the regular army of the United States consisted of only 16,000 troops, many of them stationed in the West to protect white settlers from Native Americans. So the Union, like the

National Archives and Records Administration

Confederacy, had to raise its army mostly from scratch. Lincoln called for an increase of 23,000 in the regular army, but the bulk of the fighting, he knew, would have to be done by volunteers in state militias. When Congress convened in July 1861, it authorized enlisting 500,000 volunteers for three-year terms (as opposed to the customary three-month terms). This voluntary system of recruitment produced adequate forces only briefly. After the first flush of enthusiasm for the war, enlistments declined. By March 1863, Congress was forced to pass a national draft law. Virtually all young adult males were eligible to be drafted; but a man could escape service by hiring someone to go in his place or by paying the government a fee of $300. Only about 46,000 men were ever actually conscripted, but the draft greatly increased voluntary enlistments.

To a people accustomed to a remote and inactive national government, conscription was strange and threatening. Opposition to the law was widespread, particularly among laborers, immigrants, and Democrats opposed to the war (known as "Peace Democrats" or "Copperheads" by their opponents). Occasionally, opposition to the draft erupted into violence. Demonstrators against the draft rioted in New York City for four days in July 1863, after the first names were selected for conscription. It was among the most violent urban uprisings in American history. More than 100 people died. Irish workers were at the center of the violence. They were angry because black strikebreakers had been used against them in a recent longshoremen's strike; and they blamed African Americans generally for the war, which they thought was being fought for the benefit of enslaved people who would soon be competing with white workers for jobs. The rioters lynched a number of African Americans, burned down homes and businesses (mostly those of freemen), and even destroyed an orphanage for African American children. Only the arrival of federal troops subdued the rioters.

Draft Riots

Wartime Politics

When Abraham Lincoln arrived in Washington early in 1861, many politicians–noting his lack of national experience and his folksy, unpretentious manner–considered him a minor politician from the prairies, a man whom the real leaders of his party would easily control. But the new president moved quickly to establish his own authority. He assembled a cabinet representing every faction of the Republican Party and every segment of Northern opinion–men of exceptional prestige and influence and in some cases arrogance, several of whom believed that they, not Lincoln, should be president. Lincoln moved boldly as well to use the war powers of the presidency, ignoring what he considered inconvenient parts of the Constitution because, he said, it would be foolish to lose the whole by being afraid to disregard a part. He sent troops into battle without asking Congress for a declaration of war. (Lincoln insisted on calling the conflict a domestic insurrection, which required no formal declaration of war; to ask for a declaration would, he believed, constitute implicit recognition of the Confederacy as an independent nation.) He increased the size of the regular army without receiving legislative authority to do so. He unilaterally proclaimed a naval blockade of the South.

Lincoln's greatest political problem was the widespread popular opposition to the war, mobilized by factions in the Democratic Party. The Peace Democrats feared that the agricultural Northwest was losing influence to the industrial East and that Republican nationalism was eroding states' rights. Lincoln used extraordinary methods to suppress them. He ordered military arrests of civilian dissenters and suspended the right of habeas corpus (the right of a person to be released by a judge or court from unlawful detention, as in the case of insufficient evidence). At first, Lincoln used these methods only in

Wartime Repression

SENDING THE BOYS OFF TO WAR In this painting, *The Departure of the Seventh Regiment to the War,* by Thomas Nast, New York's Seventh Regiment parades down Broadway in April 1861, to the cheers of exuberant, patriotic throngs, shortly before departing to fight in what most people then assumed would be a brief war. Thomas Nast is better known for his famous political cartoons of the 1870s.

THE NEW YORK CITY DRAFT RIOT, 1863 Opposition to the Civil War draft was widespread in the North and in July 1863 produced a violent four-day uprising in New York City in which as many as 100 people died. The riot began on July 13 with a march by 4,000 men, mostly poor Irish laborers, who were protesting the provisions by which some wealthy people could be exempted from conscription. "Rich man's war, poor man's fight," the demonstrators cried (just as some critics of the war chanted at times in the South). Many New Yorkers also feared that the war would drive black workers north to compete for their jobs. The demonstration turned violent when officials began drawing names for the draft. The crowd burned the draft building and then split into factions. Some rioters attacked symbols of wealth such as exclusive shops and mansions. Others terrorized black neighborhoods and lynched some residents. This contemporary engraving depicts one such lynching. Only by transferring five regiments to the city from Gettysburg (less than two weeks after the great battle there) was the government able to restore order.

sensitive areas such as the border states; but in 1862, he proclaimed that all persons who discouraged enlistments or engaged in disloyal practices were subject to martial law. In all, more than 13,000 persons were arrested and imprisoned for varying periods. The most prominent Copperhead in the country–Ohio Congressman Clement L. Vallandigham–was seized by military authorities and exiled to the Confederacy after he made a speech claiming that the purpose of the war was to free African Americans and enslave white people. Lincoln defied all efforts to curb his authority to suppress opposition, even those of the Supreme Court. When Chief Justice Taney issued a writ (*Ex parte Merryman*) requiring him to release an imprisoned Maryland secessionist leader, Lincoln simply ignored it. (After the war, in 1866, the Supreme Court ruled in *Ex parte Milligan* that military trials in areas where the civil courts existed were unconstitutional.)

Repression was not the only tool the North used to strengthen support for the war. In addition to arresting "disloyal" Northerners, Lincoln's administration used new tools of persuasion to build popular opinion in favor of the war. In addition to pro-war pamphlets, posters, speeches, and songs, the war mobilized a significant corps of photographers–organized by the renowned Mathew Brady, one of the first important photographers in American history–to take pictures of the war. The photographs that resulted from this effort–new to warfare–were among the grimmest ever made to that point, many of them displaying the vast numbers of dead on the Civil War battlefields. For some Americans, the images of death contributed to a revulsion from the war. But for most Northerners, they gave evidence of the level of sacrifice that had been made for the preservation of the Union and thus spurred the nation on to victory. (Southerners used similar propaganda in the Confederacy, although less effectively.)

The presidential election of 1864 occurred, therefore, in the midst of considerable political dissension. The Republicans had suffered heavy losses in the congressional elections of 1862, and in response leaders of the party tried to create a broad coalition of all the groups that supported the war. They called the new organization the Union Party, but in reality it was little more than the Republican Party and a small faction of War Democrats. The Union Party nominated Lincoln for another term as president and Andrew Johnson of Tennessee, a War Democrat who had opposed his state's decision to secede, for the vice presidency.

The Democrats nominated George B. McClellan, a celebrated former Union general who had been relieved of his command by Lincoln. The party adopted a platform denouncing the war and calling for a truce. McClellan repudiated that demand, but the Democrats were clearly the peace party in the campaign, trying to profit from growing war weariness and from the Union's discouraging military position in the summer of 1864.

1864 Election

At this crucial moment, however, several Northern military victories, particularly the capture of Atlanta, Georgia, early in September, rejuvenated Northern morale and boosted Republican prospects. Lincoln won reelection comfortably, with 212 electoral votes to McClellan's 21; the president carried every state except Kentucky, New Jersey, and Delaware. But Lincoln's lead in the popular vote was a modest 10 percent. Had Union victories not occurred when they did, and had Lincoln not made special arrangements to allow Union troops to vote, McClellan might have won.

The Politics of Emancipation

Despite their surface unity in 1864 and their general agreement on most economic matters, the Republicans disagreed sharply on the issue of slavery. Radicals–led in Congress by such men as Representative Thaddeus Stevens of Pennsylvania and Senators Charles Sumner of Massachusetts and Benjamin Wade of Ohio–wanted to use the war to abolish slavery immediately and completely. Conservatives favored a slower, more gradual, and, they believed, less disruptive process for ending slavery. In the beginning, at least, they had the support of the president.

Despite Lincoln's cautious view of emancipation, momentum began to gather behind it early in the war. In 1861, Congress passed the Confiscation Act, which declared that all

The Causes of the Civil War

In his second inaugural address in March 1865, Abraham Lincoln looked back at the beginning of the Civil War four years earlier. "All knew," he said, that slavery "was somehow the cause of the war." Few historians doubt the basic truth of Lincoln's statement, but they have disagreed sharply about whether slavery was the only, or even the principal, cause of the war.

This debate began even before the war itself and continued to dominate the politics and culture of the next half century, as David Blight demonstrated in *Race and Reunion: The Civil War in American Memory* (2001). In 1858, Senator William H. Seward of New York took note of two competing explanations of the sectional tensions that were then inflaming the nation. On one side, he claimed, stood those who believed the sectional hostility to be "accidental, unnecessary, the work of interested or fanatical agitators." Opposing them stood those (like Seward himself) who believed there to be "an irrepressible conflict between opposing and enduring forces."

The "irrepressible conflict" argument dominated historical discussion of the war from the 1860s to the 1920s. Because the North and the South had reached positions on the issue of slavery that were both irreconcilable and seemingly unalterable, some historians claimed, the conflict had become "inevitable." James Rhodes, in his seven-volume *History of the United States from the Compromise of 1850 . . .* (1893–1900), placed greatest emphasis on the moral conflict over slavery, but he suggested as well that the struggle also reflected fundamental differences between the Northern and Southern economic systems. Charles and Mary Beard, in *The Rise of American Civilization* (2 vols., 1927), also viewed the war as an irrepressible economic, rather than moral, conflict. Ultimately, however, most of those who believed the Civil War to have been "irrepressible" returned to an emphasis on social and cultural factors. Allan Nevins, in *The Ordeal of the Union* (8 vols., 1947–1971), argued that the "problem of slavery" lay at the root of the cultural differences between the North and the South, but that the "fundamental assumptions, tastes, and cultural aims" of the two regions were diverging in other ways as well.

More-recent proponents of the "irrepressible conflict" argument have taken different views of the Northern and Southern positions on the conflict but have been equally insistent on the role of culture and ideology in creating them. Eric Foner, in *Free Soil, Free Labor, Free Men* (1970) and other writings, emphasized the importance of the "free-labor ideology" to Northern opponents of slavery. Most Northerners (including Abraham Lincoln), Foner claimed, opposed slavery largely because they feared it might spread to the North and threaten the position of free white laborers. Eugene Genovese, writing of Southern slaveholders in *The Political Economy of Slavery* (1965), argued that just as Northerners were becoming convinced of a Southern threat to their economic system, so Southerners believed that the North had aggressive and hostile designs on the Southern way of life. Like Foner, therefore, Genovese saw cultural differences as the source of an all but inevitable conflict.

Other historians have argued that the Civil War might have been avoided, that the differences between North and South were not so fundamental as to have necessitated war. The idea of the war as avoidable gained wide recognition among historians in the 1920s and 1930s, when a group known as the "revisionists" began to offer new accounts of the origins of the conflict. One of the leading revisionists was James G. Randall, who saw in the social and economic systems of the North and the South no differences so fundamental as to require a war. Avery Craven, another leading revisionist, argued similarly in *The Coming of the Civil War* (1942) that slave laborers were not much worse off than Northern industrial workers, that the institution was already on the road to "ultimate extinction," and that war could therefore have been averted had skillful and responsible leaders worked to produce compromise.

More-recent students of the Civil War have emphasized the role of political agitation and ethnocultural conflicts in the coming of the war. Michael Holt, in *The Political Crisis of the 1850s* (1978), emphasized the role of political parties and especially the collapse of the Second Party System, rather than the irreconcilable differences between sections, in explaining the conflict, although he avoided placing blame on any one group. Along with Paul Kleppner, Joel Silbey, and William Gienapp, Holt was one of the creators of an "ethnocultural" interpretation of the war. These scholars argue that the Civil War began in large part because the party system—the most effective instrument for containing and mediating sectional differences—collapsed in the 1850s and produced a new Republican Party that aggravated, rather than calmed, the divisions in the nation. William Gienapp, in *The Origins of the Republican Party, 1852–1856* (1987), argued that the disintegration of the party system in the early 1850s was less a result of the debate over slavery in the territories than of such ethnocultural issues as temperance and nativism. Gienapp and the other ethnoculturalists would not entirely dispute Lincoln's claim that slavery was "somehow the cause of the war." But they do challenge the arguments of Eric Foner and others that the "free labor ideal" of the North—and the challenge slavery, and its possible expansion into the territories, posed to that ideal—was the principal reason for the conflict. Slavery became important, they suggest, less because of irreconcilable differences of attitude than because of the collapse of parties and other structures that might have contained the conflict.

ON TO LIBERTY **This painting by Theodore Kaufmann shows a group of fugitive enslaved people escaping from the South in the late years of the Civil War. Thousands of former enslaved people crossed the Union lines, where they were given their freedom. Many of them joined the Union army.**

HISTORICAL THINKING SKILLS

Questions assume cumulative content knowledge from this chapter and previous chapters.

1. **Identifying Historical Developments** Identify three broad schools of historical interpretation concerning the causes of the Civil War.
2. **Determining Context** Describe how one piece of historical evidence from the time period could be used to support each of the three broad schools of historical interpretation concerning the causes of the Civil War.
3. **Developing Arguments** Analyze which school of thought you find more convincing, and explain why by using evidence to support your reasoning.

enslaved people used for "insurrectionary" purposes (that is, in support of the Confederate military effort) would be considered freed. Subsequent laws in the spring of 1862 abolished slavery in Washington, D.C., and in the western territories, and compensated slaveholders. In July 1862, the Radicals pushed through Congress the second Confiscation Act, which again declared free the enslaved people of persons aiding and supporting the insurrection (whether or not the enslaved people themselves were doing so) and which also authorized the president to employ African Americans, including freedmen, as soldiers. As the war progressed, much of the North seemed slowly to accept emancipation as a central war aim; nothing less would justify the enormous sacrifices of the struggle, many Northerners believed. As a result, the Radicals increased their influence within the Republican Party–a development that did not go unnoticed by the president, who decided to seize the leadership of the rising antislavery sentiment himself.

Confiscation Acts

On September 22, 1862, after the Union victory at the Battle of Antietam, the president announced his intention to use his war powers to issue an executive order freeing all enslaved people in the Confederacy. And on January 1, 1863, he formally signed the Emancipation Proclamation, which declared forever free enslaved people in all areas of the Confederacy except those already under Union control: Tennessee, western Virginia, and southern Louisiana. The proclamation did not apply to the border slave states, which had never seceded from the Union and therefore were not subject to the president's war powers. On the day of Emancipation, Ralph Waldo Emerson wrote a "Boston Hymn":

Emancipation Proclamation

> Today unbind the captive
> So only are ye unbound;
> Lift up a people from the dust,
> Trump of their rescue sound . . .
>
> Pay ransom to the owner,
> And fill the bag to the brim,
> Who is the owner? The slave is owner,
> And ever was. Pay him.

Source: English Poetry III: From Tennyson to Whitman. Vol. XLII. The Harvard Classics, edited by Charles W. Eliot (New York: P. F. Collier & Son, 1909-1914).

The immediate effect of the proclamation was limited, since it applied only to enslaved people still under Confederate control. But the document was of great importance nevertheless, because it clearly and irrevocably established that the war was being fought not only to preserve the Union but also to eliminate slavery. Eventually, as federal armies occupied much of the South, the proclamation became a practical reality and led directly to the freeing of thousands of enslaved people. Even in areas not directly affected by the proclamation, the antislavery impulse gained strength.

The U.S. government's tentative measures against slavery were not, at first, a major factor in the liberation of enslaved people. Instead, the war helped African Americans to liberate themselves, and they did so in increasing numbers as the war progressed. Many enslaved people were taken from their plantations and put to work building defenses and other chores. Once transported to the front, many of them found ways to escape across Northern lines, where they were treated as "contraband"–goods seized from people who had no right to them. They could not be returned to their slaveholders. By 1862, the Union army often penetrated deep into the Confederacy. Almost everywhere they went, escaped enslaved people, often whole families, flocked to join them by the thousands. Some of them joined the Union army, others simply stayed with the troops until they could find their way to free states. When the Union captured New Orleans and much of southern Louisiana, enslaved people refused to work for their former slaveholders, even though the Union occupiers had not made any provisions for liberating African Americans.

By the end of the war, slavery had been abolished in two Union slave states–Maryland and Missouri–and in three Confederate states occupied by Union forces–Tennessee, Arkansas, and Louisiana. The final step came in 1865, when Congress approved and the necessary states ratified the Thirteenth Amendment, abolishing slavery as an institution in all parts of the United States. After more than two centuries, legalized slavery finally ceased to exist in the United States.

African Americans and the Union Cause

About 186,000 emancipated African Americans served as soldiers, sailors, and laborers for the Union forces, joining a significant number of free African Americans from the North. The services of African Americans to the Union military were significant in many ways, not least because of the substantial obstacles many black men had to surmount in order to enlist.

In the first months of the war, African Americans were largely excluded from the military. A few black regiments eventually took shape in some of the Union-occupied areas of the Confederacy, mainly because they were a ready source of manpower in these defeated regions. But once Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation, African American enlistment increased rapidly and the Union military began actively to recruit African American soldiers and sailors in both the North and, where possible, the South.

African American Enlistment

Some of these men were organized into fighting units. The best known was probably the Fifty-fourth Massachusetts Infantry, which (like most black regiments) had a white commander: Robert Gould Shaw, a member of an aristocratic Boston family. Shaw and more than half his regiment died during a battle near Charleston, South Carolina, in the summer of 1863.

Most African American soldiers, however, were assigned menial tasks behind the lines, such as digging trenches and transporting water. Even though fewer African American

AFRICAN AMERICAN TROOPS Although most of the black soldiers who enlisted in the Union army during the Civil War performed noncombat jobs behind the lines, there were also black combat regiments—members of one of which are pictured here—who fought with great success and valor in critical battles.

soldiers than white soldiers died in combat, the black mortality rate was higher than the rate for white soldiers because so many died of disease from working long, arduous hours in unsanitary conditions. Conditions for African American and white soldiers were unequal in other ways as well. African American soldiers were paid a third less than were white soldiers (until Congress changed the law in mid-1864). But however dangerous, onerous, or menial the tasks African American soldiers were given, most of them felt enormous pride in their service–pride they retained throughout their lives and often through the lives of their descendants. Many moved from the army into politics and other forms of leadership (in both the North and, after the war, the Reconstruction South).

Mistreatment of Black Soldiers

African American soldiers captured by the Confederates were, unlike white prisoners, not returned to the North in exchange for Southern soldiers being returned to the South. They were sent back to their slaveholders (if they were fugitive enslaved men) or often executed. In 1864, Confederate soldiers killed more than 260 African Americans after capturing them in Tennessee.

The War and Economic Development

The Civil War did not, as some historians used to claim, transform the North from an agrarian to an industrial society. Industrialization was already far advanced when the war began, and in some areas, the war retarded growth–by cutting manufacturers off from their Southern markets and sources of raw material, and by diverting labor and resources to military purposes.

On the whole, however, the war sped the economic development of the North. That was in part a result of the political dominance of the Republican Party and its promotion of nationalistic economic legislation. But it was also because the war itself required the expansion of certain sectors of the economy. Coal production increased by nearly 20 percent during the war. Railroad facilities improved–mainly through the adoption of a standard gauge (track width) on new lines. The loss of farm labor to the military forced many farmers to increase the mechanization of agriculture.

The war was a difficult experience for many American workers. For industrial workers, there was a substantial loss of purchasing power, as prices in the North rose by more than 70 percent during the war, while wages rose only about 40 percent. That was partly because liberalized immigration laws permitted a flood of new workers into the labor market and helped keep wages low. It was also because the increasing mechanization of production eliminated the jobs of many skilled workers. One result of these changes was a substantial increase in union membership in many industries and the creation of several national unions, for coal miners, railroad engineers, and others–organizations bitterly opposed and rigorously suppressed by employers.

Hard Times for Workers

CONSIDER THE SOURCE

WARTIME ORATORY

The causes of wars are rather different from their *meanings*. Presidents often use wartime speeches to shape public understanding of those meanings–to articulate their visions of what wars are really about. They tend to emphasize broad principles and cherished ideals rather than more-narrow economic concerns or even national security arguments.

More than four months after the pivotal battle at Gettysburg, President Abraham Lincoln traveled there to dedicate a military cemetery. A crowd of 15,000 listened first to the famed orator Edward Everett's two-hour account of the battle. Then came Lincoln. His speech was much shorter–just over two minutes. The President touched briefly on American history before turning to the Civil War and what it meant. The Gettysburg Address is reproduced here in its entirety (the "1863" document).

Almost a hundred and fifty years later, President George W. Bush also appealed to the past in explaining the conflict of his time, the war on terrorism of the early twenty-first century. The occasion was Bush's second inaugural address, delivered in January 2005 after his victory over the Democratic nominee, John Kerry. His speech came in the middle of the ongoing wars in Iraq and Afghanistan that had been prompted by the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001. Though the context couldn't have been more different, Bush devoted part of his address to themes similar to Lincoln's so many years before. That excerpt is included here as the "2005" document.

LINCOLN—1863

The Gettysburg Address, November 19, 1863

Four score and seven years ago our fathers brought forth on this continent, a new nation, conceived in Liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal.

Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that nation, or any nation so conceived and so dedicated, can long endure. We are met on a great battle-field of that war. We have come to dedicate a portion of that field, as a final resting place for those who here gave their lives that that nation might live. It is altogether fitting and proper that we should do this.

But, in a larger sense, we can not dedicate–we can not consecrate–we can not hallow–this ground. The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here, have consecrated it, far above our poor power to add or detract. The world will little note, nor long remember what we say here, but it can never forget what they did here. It is for us the living, rather, to be dedicated here to the unfinished work which they who fought here have thus far so nobly advanced. It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us–that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion–that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain–that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom–and that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth.

Source: abrahamlincolnonline.org

BUSH—2005

George W. Bush's Second Inaugural Address, January 20, 2005

We are led, by events and common sense, to one conclusion: The survival of liberty in our land increasingly depends on the success of liberty in other lands. The best hope for peace in our world is the expansion of freedom in all the world.

America's vital interests and our deepest beliefs are now one. From the day of our Founding, we have proclaimed that every man and woman on this earth has rights, and dignity, and matchless value, because they bear the image of the Maker of Heaven and earth. Across the generations we have proclaimed the imperative of self-government, because no one is fit to be a master, and no one deserves to be a slave. Advancing these ideals is the mission that created our Nation. It is the honorable achievement of our fathers. Now it is the urgent requirement of our nation's security, and the calling of our time.

So it is the policy of the United States to seek and support the growth of democratic movements and institutions in every nation and culture, with the ultimate goal of ending tyranny in our world.

This is not primarily the task of arms, though we will defend ourselves and our friends by force of arms when necessary. Freedom, by its nature, must be chosen, and defended by citizens, and sustained by the rule of law and the protection of minorities. And when the soul of a nation finally speaks, the institutions that arise may reflect customs and traditions very different from our own. America will not impose our own style of government on the unwilling. Our goal instead is to help others find their own voice, attain their own freedom, and make their own way.

Source: http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov

ANALYZING SOURCES

Questions assume cumulative content knowledge from this chapter and previous chapters.

1. Which of the following groups might most applaud Lincoln's message regarding the meaning for fighting the war?
   - **(A)** those who supported the formation of political parties in the early years of the nation
   - **(B)** those in the early 1800s who opposed a strong, national bank
   - **(C)** Those who, at the time of the American Revolution, supported the formation of America as a confederation of states
   - **(D)** those who at the time of the Constitutional Convention wished to build a stronger central government

2. Which of the following best describes the common vision expressed in both documents regarding the respective war's meaning?
   - **(A)** ending tyranny in the world
   - **(B)** spread of American democracy through all the nations
   - **(C)** fulfillment of the American democratic ideal of individual freedom of opportunity and choice
   - **(D)** the need for America to adopt a policy of imperialism

3. How does Bush's speech reflect his articulation about the larger meaning for the war on terrorism?
   - **(A)** By stating that America will not impose its political and social systems on a country, but will, instead, help that country determine its own freedom.
   - **(B)** By stating that it will overthrow tyranny in the world and establish American-style democracy throughout the world.
   - **(C)** By stating that the security of America depends on the security of all nations.
   - **(D)** By stating that America is a blessed country.

Women, Nursing, and the War

Responding not only to the needs of employers for additional labor, but to their own, often desperate, need for money, women found themselves, by either choice or necessity, thrust into new and often unfamiliar roles during the war. They took over positions vacated by men and worked as teachers, retail salesclerks, office workers, and mill and factory hands.

Above all, women entered nursing, a field previously dominated by men. The U.S. Sanitary Commission, an organization of civilian volunteers led by social reformer Dorothea Dix, mobilized large numbers of female nurses to serve in field hospitals. By the end of the war, women were the dominant force in nursing; by 1900, nursing had become an almost entirely female profession. Female nurses not only cared for patients but also performed other tasks considered appropriate for women: cooking, cleaning, and laundering.

U.S. Sanitary Commission

Female nurses encountered considerable resistance from male doctors, many of whom considered women too weak for medical work and who, in any case, thought it inappropriate that women were taking care of men who were strangers to them. The Sanitary Commission tried to counter such arguments by attributing to nursing many of the domestic ideals that American society attributed to women's work in the home: women as nurses would play the same maternal, nurturing, instructive role they played as wives and mothers. "The right of woman to her sphere, which includes housekeeping, cooking, and nursing, has never been disputed," one Sanitary Commission official insisted. But not all women who worked for the commission were content with a purely maternal role; some challenged the dominance of men in the organization and even stood up against doctors whom they considered incompetent, increasing the resentment felt toward them by many men. In the end, though, the work of female nurses was so indispensable to the military that the complaints of male doctors were irrelevant.

Traditional Gender Roles Reinforced

Nurses, and many other women, found the war a liberating experience, in which (as one Sanitary Commission nurse later wrote) the American woman "had developed potencies and possibilities of which she had been unaware and which surprised her, as it did those who witnessed her marvelous achievement." Some women, especially those who had been committed to feminist causes earlier, came to see the war as an opportunity to win support for their own goals. Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony, who together founded the National Woman's Loyal League in 1863, worked simultaneously for the abolition of slavery and the awarding of suffrage to women. Clara Barton, who was active during the war in collecting and distributing medical supplies and who later became an important figure in the nursing profession (and a founder of the American Red Cross), said in 1888: "At the war's end, woman was at least fifty years in advance of the normal position which continued peace would have assigned her." That may have been an exaggeration; but it captured the degree to which many women looked back on the war as a crucial moment in the redefinition of female roles and in the awakening of a sense of independence and new possibilities.

Whatever nursing may have done for the status of women, it had an enormous impact on the medical profession and on the treatment of wounded soldiers during the war. The U.S. Sanitary Commission not only organized women to serve at the front; it also funneled medicine and supplies to badly overtaxed field hospitals. The commission also (as its name suggests) helped spread ideas about the importance of sanitary conditions in hospitals and clinics and probably contributed to the relative decline of death by disease in the Civil War. Nevertheless, twice as many soldiers died of diseases–malaria, dysentery, typhoid, gangrene, and others–as died in combat during the war. Even minor injuries could lead to fatal infections.

Nursing and Medicine

THE U.S. SANITARY COMMISSION Mathew Brady took this photograph of female nurses and Union soldiers standing before an infirmary at Brandy Station, Virginia, near Petersburg, in 1864. The infirmary was run by the U.S. Sanitary Commission, the government-supported nursing corps that became important to the medical care of wounded soldiers during the Civil War.

National Archives and Records Administration

THE MOBILIZATION OF THE SOUTH

Many Southerners boasted loudly of the differences between their new nation and the nation they had left. The differences were real. But there were also important similarities between the Union and the Confederacy, which became clear as the two sides mobilized for war: similarities in their political systems, in the methods they used for financing the war and conscripting troops, and in the way they fought.

The Confederate Government

The Confederate constitution was largely identical to the Constitution of the United States, but with several significant exceptions: it explicitly acknowledged the sovereignty of the individual states (although not the right of secession), and it specifically sanctioned slavery and made its abolition (even by one of the states) practically impossible.

The constitutional convention at Montgomery named a provisional president and vice president: Jefferson Davis of Mississippi and Alexander H. Stephens of Georgia, who were later chosen by the general electorate, without opposition, for six-year terms. Davis had been a moderate secessionist before the war; Stephens had argued against secession. The Confederate government, like the Union government, was dominated throughout the war by moderate leaders. Also like the Union's, it was dominated less by the old aristocracy of the East than by the newer aristocrats of the West, of whom Davis was the most prominent example.

Davis was, in the end, an unsuccessful president. He was a reasonably able administrator and the dominating figure in his government, encountering little interference from the generally tame members of his unstable cabinet and serving as his own secretary of war. But he rarely provided genuinely national leadership. One shrewd Confederate official wrote: "All the revolutionary vigor is with the enemy. . . . With us timidity-hair splitting."

Davis's Leadership

There were no formal political parties in the Confederacy, but its congressional and popular politics were rife with dissension nevertheless. Some white Southerners (and of course most African Americans who were aware of the course of events) opposed secession and war. Many white people in poorer "backcountry" and "upcountry" regions, where slavery was limited, refused to recognize the new Confederate government or to serve in the Southern army; some worked or even fought for the Union. Most white Southerners supported the war; but as in the North, many were openly critical of the government and the military, particularly as the tide of battle turned against the South and the Confederate economy decayed.

Southern Divisions

Money and Manpower

Financing the Confederate war effort was a monumental and ultimately impossible task. It involved creating a national revenue system in a society unaccustomed to significant tax burdens. It depended on a small and unstable banking system that had little capital to lend. Because most wealth in the South was invested in enslaved people and land, liquid assets were scarce; and the Confederacy's only gold–seized from U.S. mints located in the South–was worth only about $1 million.

The Confederate congress tried at first not to tax the people directly but to requisition funds from the individual states. Most of the states, however, were also unwilling to tax their citizens and paid their shares, when they paid them at all, with bonds or notes of dubious worth. In 1863, the congress enacted an income tax–which planters could pay "in kind" (as a percentage of their produce). But taxation never provided the Confederacy with much revenue; it produced only about 1 percent of the government's total income. Borrowing was not much more successful. The Confederate government issued bonds in such vast amounts that the

Funding Problems

CONFEDERATE VOLUNTEERS Young Southern soldiers posed for this photograph in 1861, shortly before the First Battle of Bull Run. The Civil War was the first major military conflict in the age of photography, and it launched the careers of many of America's early photographers.

public lost faith in them and stopped buying them. Efforts to borrow money in Europe using cotton as collateral fared no better.

As a result, the Confederacy had to pay for the war through the least stable, most destructive form of financing: paper currency, which it began issuing in 1861. By 1864, the Confederacy had issued the staggering total of $1.5 billion in paper money, more than twice what the Union had produced. And unlike the Union, the Confederacy did not establish a uniform currency system; the national government, states, cities, and private banks all issued their own notes, producing widespread chaos and confusion. The result was a disastrous inflation, far worse than anything the North experienced. Prices in the North rose 80 percent in the course of the war; in the South they rose 9,000 percent, with devastating effects on the South's morale.

Like the United States, the Confederacy first raised a military by calling for volunteers. And as in the North, by the end of 1861 voluntary enlistments were declining. In April 1862, therefore, the congress enacted a Conscription Act, which subjected all white males between the ages of eighteen and thirty-five to military service for three years. As in the North, a draftee could avoid service if he furnished a substitute. But since the price of substitutes was high, the provision aroused such opposition from poorer white Southerners that it was repealed in 1863. Even more controversial was the exemption from the draft of one white man on each plantation with twenty or more enslaved people, a provision that caused smaller farmers to make the same complaint some Northerners made: "It's a rich man's war but a poor man's fight." Many more white Southerners were exempted from military service than were Northerners.

Raising the Confederate Army

Even so, conscription worked for a time. At the end of 1862, about 500,000 men were in the Confederate military. (A total of approximately 900,000 served in the course of the entire war.) That number did not include the many enslaved men and enslaved women recruited by the military to perform such services as cooking, laundry, and manual labor, hence freeing additional white manpower for fighting. After 1862, however, conscription began producing fewer men–in part because the Union had by then begun to seize large areas of the Confederacy and thus had cut off much of the population from conscription or recruitment.

Early in 1864, the government faced a critical manpower shortage. In a desperate move, the Confederate congress began trying to draft men as young as seventeen and as old as fifty. But in a nation suffering from intense war weariness, where many had concluded that defeat was inevitable, nothing could attract or retain an adequate army any longer. In 1864–1865 there were 100,000 desertions. In a frantic final attempt to raise men, the Confederate congress authorized the conscription of 300,000 enslaved men, but the war ended before the government could attempt this incongruous experiment.

Manpower Shortage

States' Rights versus Centralization

The greatest sources of division in the South, however, were differences of opinion over the doctrine of states' rights. States' rights had become such a cult among many white Southerners that they resisted all efforts to exert national authority, even those necessary to win the war. They restricted Davis's ability to impose martial law and suspend habeas corpus. They obstructed conscription. Recalcitrant governors such as Joseph Brown of Georgia and Zebulon M. Vance of North Carolina tried at times to keep their own troops apart from the Confederate forces and insisted on hoarding surplus supplies for their own states' militias.

Even so, the Confederate government did make substantial strides in centralizing power in the South. By the end of the war, the Confederate bureaucracy was larger than its counterpart in Washington. The central government experimented, successfully for a time, with a "food draft"–which permitted soldiers to feed themselves by seizing crops from farms in their path. The government impressed enslaved people, often over the objections of slaveholders, to work as laborers on military projects. The Confederacy seized control of the railroads and shipping; it imposed regulations on industry; it limited corporate profits. States' rights sentiment was a significant handicap, but the South nevertheless took important steps in the direction of centralization–becoming in the process increasingly like the region whose institutions it was fighting to escape.

Centralization

Economic and Social Effects of the War

The war had a devastating effect on the economy of the South. It cut off Southern planters and producers from the markets in the North on which they had depended; it made the sale of cotton overseas much more difficult; it robbed farms and industries that did not have large enslaved populations of a male workforce, leaving some of them unable to function effectively. While in the North production of all goods, agricultural and industrial, increased somewhat during the war, in the South production declined by more than a third.

Most of all, perhaps, the fighting itself wreaked havoc on the Southern economy. Almost all the major battles of the war occurred within the Confederacy; both armies spent most of their time on Southern soil. As a result of the savage fighting, the South's already inadequate railroad system was nearly destroyed; much of its most valuable farmland and many of its most successful plantations were ruined by Union troops (especially in the last year of the war).

Once the Northern naval blockade became effective in 1862, the South experienced massive shortages of almost everything. The region was overwhelmingly agricultural, but since it had concentrated so single-mindedly on producing cotton and other export crops, it did not grow enough food to meet its

own needs. And despite the efforts of women and enslaved laborers to keep farms functioning, the departure of white male workers seriously diminished the region's ability to keep up what food production there had been. Large numbers of doctors were conscripted to serve the needs of the military, leaving many communities without any medical care. Blacksmiths, carpenters, and other craftsmen were similarly in short supply.

Economic Woes

As the war continued, the shortages, the inflation, and the suffering created increasing instability in Southern society. There were major food riots, some led by women, in Georgia, North Carolina, and Alabama in 1863, as well as a large demonstration in Richmond that quickly turned violent. Resistance to conscription, food impressment, and taxation increased throughout the Confederacy, as did hoarding and black-market commerce.

Despite the economic woes of the South, the war transformed Confederate society in many of the same ways that it was changing the society of the Union. The changes were particularly significant for Southern women. Because so many men left the farms and plantations to fight, the task of keeping families together and maintaining agricultural production fell increasingly to women. Slaveholders' wives often became responsible for managing large enslaved workforces; the wives of modest farmers learned to plow fields and harvest crops. Substantial numbers of females worked as schoolteachers or in government agencies in Richmond. Even larger numbers chose nursing, both in hospitals and in temporary facilities set up to care for wounded soldiers.

New Roles for Women

The long-range results of the war for Southern women are more difficult to measure but equally profound. The experience of the 1860s forced many women to question the prevailing Southern assumption that females were unsuited for certain activities, that they were not fit to participate actively in the public sphere. A more concrete legacy was the decimation of the male population and the creation of a major gender imbalance in the region. After the war, there were many thousands more women in the South than there were men. In Georgia, for example, women outnumbered men by 36,000 in 1870; in North Carolina by 25,000. The result, of course, was a large number of unmarried or widowed women who, both during and after the war, had to find employment–thus, by necessity rather than choice, expanding the number of acceptable roles for women in Southern society.

Even before emancipation, the war had far-reaching effects on the lives of enslaved people. Confederate leaders, who were more terrified of slave revolts during the war than they had been in peacetime, enforced slave codes and other regulations with particular severity. Even so, many enslaved people–especially those near the front–found ways to escape their slaveholders and cross behind Union lines in search of freedom. Those who had no realistic avenue for escape seemed, to slaveholders at least, to be particularly resistant to authority during the war. That was in part because on many plantations, the slaveholders and overseers for whom they were accustomed to working were away at war; they found it easier to resist the authority of the women and boys left behind to manage the farms.

ATLANTA AFTER THE BURNING General Sherman captured Atlanta on September 2, 1864, evacuated most of the population, and set fire to the city. This photograph shows the extent of the devastation. The destruction of Atlanta was the beginning of Sherman's famous "March to the Sea." It also signaled the beginning of a new kind of warfare, waged not just against opposing armies but also against the economies and even the populations of the enemy.

STRATEGY AND DIPLOMACY

Militarily, the initiative in the Civil War lay mainly with the North, since it needed to destroy the Confederacy, while the South needed only to avoid defeat. Diplomatically, however, the initiative lay with the South. It needed to enlist the recognition and support of foreign governments; the Union wanted to preserve the status quo prior to the war.

THE COMMANDERS

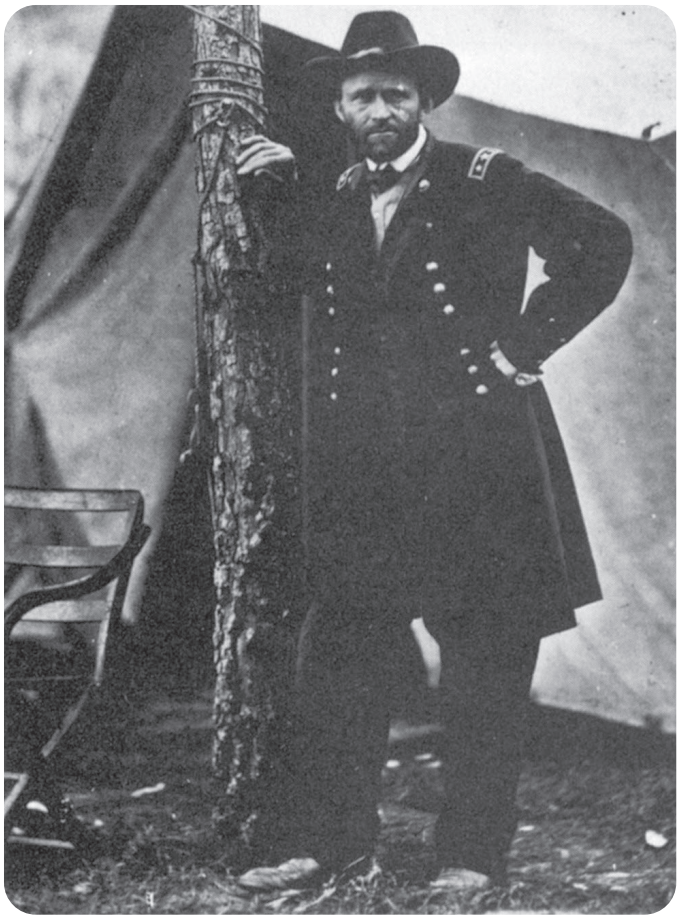
The most important Union military commander was Abraham Lincoln, whose previous military experience consisted only of brief service in his state militia during the Black Hawk War. Lincoln was a successful commander in chief because he realized that numbers and resources were on his side, and because he took advantage of the North's material advantages. He realized, too, that the proper objective of his armies was the destruction of the Confederate armies, not the occupation of Southern territory. It was important that Lincoln had a good grasp of strategy, because many of his generals did not. The problem of finding adequate commanders for the troops in the field plagued him throughout the first three years of the war.

LINCOLN'S LEADERSHIP

From 1861 to 1864, Lincoln tried time and again to find a chief of staff capable of orchestrating the Union war effort. He turned first to General Winfield Scott, the aging hero of the Mexican War. But Scott was unprepared for the magnitude of the new conflict and retired on November 1, 1861. Lincoln replaced him with the young George B. McClellan, commander of the Union armies in the East, the Army of the Potomac; but the proud, arrogant McClellan had a wholly inadequate grasp of strategy and returned to the field in March 1862. For most of the rest of the year, Lincoln had no chief of staff. And when he finally appointed General Henry W. Halleck to the post, he found him an ineffectual strategist who left all substantive decision making to the president. Not until March 1864 did Lincoln finally find a general he trusted to command the war effort: Ulysses S. Grant, who shared Lincoln's belief in making enemy armies and resources, not enemy territory, the target of military efforts. Lincoln gave Grant a relatively free hand, but the general always submitted at least the broad outlines of his plans to the president for advance approval.

Lincoln's (and later Grant's) handling of the war effort faced constant scrutiny from the Committee on the Conduct of the War, a joint investigative committee of the two houses of Congress and the most powerful voice the legislative branch has ever had in formulating war policies. Established in December 1861 and chaired by Senator Benjamin F. Wade of Ohio, it complained constantly of the insufficient ruthlessness of Northern generals, which Radicals on the committee attributed (largely inaccurately) to a secret sympathy among the officers for slavery. The committee's efforts often seriously interfered with the conduct of the war.

Southern command arrangements centered on President Davis, who, unlike Lincoln, was a trained professional soldier.



ULYSSES S. GRANT One observer said of Grant (seen here posing for a photograph during the Wilderness campaign of 1864): "He habitually wears an expression as if he had determined to drive his head through a brick wall, and was about to do it." It was an apt metaphor for Grant's military philosophy, which relied on constant, unrelenting assault. One result was that Grant was willing to fight when other Northern generals held back. Another was that Grant presided over some of the worst carnage of the Civil War.

Nevertheless, he failed to create an effective command system. Early in 1862, Davis named General Robert E. Lee as his principal military adviser. But in fact, Davis had no intention of sharing control of strategy with anyone. After a few months, Lee left Richmond to command forces in the field, and for the next two years Davis planned strategy alone. In February 1864, he named General Braxton Bragg as a military adviser; but Bragg never provided much more than technical advice. Not until February 1865 did the Confederate Congress create the formal position of general in chief. Davis named Lee to the post but made clear that he expected to continue to make all basic decisions. In any case, the war ended before this last command structure had time to take shape.

ROBERT E. LEE

At lower levels of command, men of markedly similar backgrounds controlled the war in both the North and the South. Many of the professional officers on both sides were graduates of the U.S. Military Academy at West Point and the U.S. Naval Academy at Annapolis, and thus had been trained in similar

The Library of Congress

ROBERT E. LEE Lee, who was a moderate by the standards of Southern politics in the 1850s, opposed secession and was ambivalent about slavery. But he could not bring himself to break with his region, and he left the U.S. Army to lead Confederate forces beginning in 1861. He was (and remains) the most revered of all the white Southern leaders of the Civil War. For decades after his surrender at Appomattox, Lee was a symbol to white Southerners of the "Lost Cause."

ways. Many were closely acquainted, even friendly, with their counterparts on the other side. And all were imbued with the classic, eighteenth-century models of warfare that the service academies still taught. The most successful officers were those who, like Grant and William Tecumseh Sherman, were able to see beyond their academic training and envision a new kind of warfare in which destruction of resources was as important as battlefield tactics.

Amateur officers played an important role in both armies as commanders of volunteer regiments. In both North and South, such men were usually economic or social leaders in their communities who appointed themselves officers and rounded up troops to lead. This system was responsible for recruiting considerable numbers of men into the armies of the two nations. Only occasionally, however, did it produce officers of real ability.

The Role of Sea Power

The Union had an overwhelming advantage in naval power, and it gave its navy two important roles in the war. One was enforcing a blockade of the Southern coast, which the president ordered on April 19, 1861. The other was assisting the Union armies in field operations.

The blockade of the South was never fully effective, but it had a major impact on the Confederacy nevertheless. The U.S. Navy could generally keep oceangoing ships out of Confederate ports. For a time, small blockade runners continued to slip through. But gradually, federal forces tightened the blockade by seizing the ports themselves. The last important port in Confederate hands–Wilmington, North Carolina–fell to the Union early in 1865.

The Union Blockade

The Confederates made bold attempts to break the blockade with new weapons. Foremost among them was an ironclad warship, constructed by plating with iron a former U.S. frigate, the *Merrimac*, which the Yankees had scuttled in Norfolk harbor when Virginia seceded. On March 8, 1862, the refitted *Merrimac*, renamed the *Virginia*, left Norfolk to attack a blockading squadron of wooden ships at nearby Hampton Roads. It destroyed two of the ships and scattered the rest. But the Union government had already built ironclads of its own. And one of them, the *Monitor*, arrived off the coast of Virginia only a few hours after the *Virginia*'s dramatic foray. The next day, it met the *Virginia* in the first battle between ironclad ships. Neither vessel was able to sink the other, but the *Monitor* put an end to the *Virginia*'s raids and preserved the blockade. The Confederacy experimented as well with other naval innovations, such as small torpedo boats and hand-powered submarines. But despite occasional small successes with these new weapons, the South never managed to overcome the Union's naval advantages.

Ironclads

As a supporter of land operations, the Union navy was particularly important in the western theater of war–the vast region between the Appalachian Mountains and the Mississippi River–where the major rivers were navigable by large vessels. The navy transported supplies and troops and joined in attacking Confederate strong points. With no significant navy of its own, the South could defend only with fixed land fortifications, which proved no match for the mobile land-and-water forces of the Union.

Europe and the Disunited States

Judah P. Benjamin, the Confederate secretary of state for most of the war, was a clever and intelligent man, but he confined most of his energy to routine administrative tasks. William Seward, his counterpart in Washington, gradually became one of the great American secretaries of state. He had invaluable assistance from Charles Francis Adams, the American minister to London, who had inherited the considerable diplomatic talents of his father, John Quincy Adams, and his grandfather, John Adams.

At the beginning of the war, the ruling classes of England and France, the two nations whose support was most crucial to both sides, were generally sympathetic to the Confederacy,

for several reasons. The two nations imported much Southern cotton for their textile industries; they were eager to weaken the United States, an increasingly powerful commercial rival; and some British and French citizens admired the supposedly aristocratic social order of the South, which they believed resembled the hierarchical structures of their own societies. But France was unwilling to take sides in the conflict unless England did so first. And in England, the government was reluctant to act because there was powerful popular support for the Union. Important English liberals such as John Bright and Richard Cobden considered the war a struggle between free and slave labor and urged their followers to support the Union cause. The politically conscious but largely unenfranchised workers in Britain expressed their sympathy for the North frequently and unmistakably–in mass meetings, in resolutions, and through their champions in Parliament. After Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation, these groups worked particularly avidly for the Union.

Southern leaders hoped to counter the strength of the British antislavery forces by arguing that access to Southern cotton was vital to the English and French textile industries. But this "King Cotton diplomacy," on which the Confederacy had staked so many of its hopes, failed. English manufacturers had a surplus of both raw cotton and finished goods on hand in 1861 and could withstand a temporary loss of access to American cotton. Later, as the supply of American cotton began to diminish, both England and France managed to keep some of their mills open by importing cotton from Egypt, India, and other sources. Equally important, English workers, the people most seriously threatened by the cotton shortage, did not clamor to have the blockade broken. Even most of the 500,000 English textile workers thrown out of jobs as a result of mill closings continued to support the North. In the end, therefore, no European nation offered diplomatic recognition to the Confederacy or intervened in the war. No nation wanted to antagonize the United States unless the Confederacy seemed likely to win, and the South never came close enough to victory to convince its potential allies to support it.

King Cotton Diplomacy

Even so, there was considerable tension, and on occasion near hostilities, between the United States and Britain, beginning in the first days of the war. Great Britain declared itself neutral as soon as the fighting began, followed by France and other nations. The Union government was furious: neutrality implied that the two sides to the conflict had equal stature. Leaders in Washington were insisting that the conflict was simply a domestic insurrection, not a war between two legitimate governments.

A more serious crisis, the so-called Trent affair, began in late 1861. Two Confederate diplomats, James M. Mason and John Slidell, had slipped through the then-ineffective Union blockade to Havana, Cuba, where they boarded an English steamer, the *Trent*, for England. Waiting in Cuban waters was the American frigate *San Jacinto*, commanded by the impetuous Charles Wilkes. Acting without authorization, Wilkes stopped the British vessel, arrested the diplomats, and carried them in triumph to Boston. The British government demanded the release of the prisoners, reparations, and an apology. Lincoln and Seward, aware that Wilkes had violated maritime law and unwilling to risk war with England, stalled the negotiations until American public opinion had cooled off, then released the diplomats with an indirect apology. A second diplomatic crisis lasted for years. Unable to construct large vessels itself, the Confederacy bought six ships, known as commerce destroyers, from British shipyards. The best known of them were the *Alabama*, the *Florida*, and the *Shenandoah*. The United States protested that this sale of military equipment to a belligerent violated the laws of neutrality, and the protests became the basis, after the war, of damage claims by the United States against Great Britain.

Trent Affair

The American West and the War

Except for Texas, which joined the Confederacy, all the western states and territories remained officially loyal to the Union–but not without controversy and conflict. Southerners and Southern sympathizers were active throughout the West. And, in some places, there was actual combat between Unionists and secessionists.

There was particularly vicious fighting in Kansas and Missouri, the scene of so much bitterness before the war. The same pro-slavery and free-state forces who had fought one another in the 1850s continued to do so, with even more deadly results. William C. Quantrill, an Ohio native who had spent much of his youth in the West, became a captain in the Confederate army after he organized a band of guerrilla fighters (mostly teenage boys) with which he terrorized areas around the Kansas-Missouri border. Quantrill and his band were an exceptionally murderous group, notorious for killing almost everyone in their path. Their most infamous act was a siege of Lawrence, Kansas, during which they slaughtered 150 civilians, adults and children alike. Union troops killed Quantrill shortly after the end of the war. Union sympathizers in Kansas, organized in bands known as the Jayhawkers, were only marginally less savage, as they moved across western Missouri exacting reprisals for the actions of Quantrill and other Confederate guerrillas. One Jayhawk unit was jointly commanded by the son of John Brown and the brother of Susan B. Anthony, men who brought the fervor of abolitionists to their work. Even without a major battle, the border areas of Kansas and Missouri were among the bloodiest and most terrorized places in the United States during the Civil War.

Guerrilla War in the West

Not long after the war began, Confederate agents tried to negotiate alliances with the Five Civilized Tribes living in Indian Territory (later Oklahoma), in hopes of recruiting their support against Union forces in the West. The Native Americans themselves were divided. Some wanted to support the South, both because they resented the way the U.S. government had treated them and because some tribal leaders were themselves slaveholders. But other Native Americans supported the North out of a general hostility to slavery (in both the South and their own nation).

Baseball and the Civil War

Long before the great urban stadiums, long before the lights and the cameras and the multimillion-dollar salaries, long before the Little Leagues and the high school and college teams, baseball was the most popular game in America. And during the Civil War, it was a treasured pastime for soldiers, and for thousands of men (and some women) behind the lines, in both North and South.

The legend that baseball was invented by Abner Doubleday, who probably never even saw the game, came from Albert G. Spalding, a patriotic sporting-goods manufacturer eager to prove that the game had purely American origins and to dispel the notion that it came from England. In fact, baseball was derived from a variety of earlier games, especially the English pastimes of cricket and rounders. American baseball took its own distinctive form beginning in the 1840s, when Alexander Cartwright, a shipping clerk, formed the New York Knickerbockers, laid out a diamond-shaped field with four bases, and declared that batters with three strikes were out and that teams with three outs were retired.

Alexander Cartwright moved west in search of gold in 1849, ultimately grew rich, and settled finally in Hawaii (where he brought the game to Americans in the Pacific). But the game did not languish in his absence. Henry Chadwick, an English-born journalist, spent much of the 1850s popularizing the game (and regularizing its rules). By 1860, baseball was being played by college students and Irish workers, by urban elites and provincial farmers, by people of all classes and ethnic groups from New England to Louisiana. It was also attracting the attention of women. Students at Vassar College formed "ladies" teams in the 1860s, and in Philadelphia, free black men formed the first of what would become a great network of African American baseball teams, the Pythians. From the beginning, they were barred from playing against most white teams.

When young men marched off to war in 1861, some took their bats and balls with them. Almost from the start of the fighting, soldiers in both armies took advantage of idle moments to lay out baseball diamonds and organize games. There were games in prison camps; games on the White House lawn (where Union soldiers were sometimes billeted); and games on battlefields that were sometimes interrupted by gunfire and cannonfire. "It is astonishing how indifferent a person can become to danger," a soldier wrote home to Ohio in 1862. "The report of musketry is heard but a very little distance from us, . . . yet over there on the other side of the road is most of our company, playing Bat Ball." After a skirmish in Texas, another Union soldier lamented that, in addition to casualties, his company had lost "the only baseball in Alexandria, Texas." Far from discouraging baseball, military commanders—and the United States Sanitary Commission, the Union army's medical arm—actively encouraged the game during the war. It would, they believed, help keep up the soldiers' morale.

Away from the battlefield, baseball continued to flourish. In New York City, games between local teams drew crowds of ten or twenty thousand. The National Association of Baseball Players (founded in 1859) had recruited ninety-one clubs in ten Northern states by 1865; a North Western Association of Baseball Players, organized in Chicago in 1865, indicated that the game was becoming well established in the West as well. In Brooklyn, William Cammeyer drained a skating pond on his property, built a board fence around it, and created the first enclosed baseball field in America—the Union Grounds. He charged 10 cents admission. The professionalization of the game was under way.

BATS BEHIND BARS **Baseball was a popular recreation for troops on both sides of the Civil War. This image depicts Union prisoners playing the game while incarcerated in a prison camp at Salisbury, North Carolina, in about 1863.**

Despite the commercialization and spectacle that became associated with baseball in the years after the Civil War, the game remained for many Americans what it was to millions of young men fighting in the most savage war in the nation's history—an American passion that at times, even if briefly, erased the barriers dividing groups from one another. "Officers and men forget, for a time, the differences in rank," a Massachusetts private wrote in 1863, "and indulge in the invigorating sport with a schoolboy's ardor."

HISTORICAL THINKING SKILLS

1. **Determining Context** How could a competitive game of baseball erase "the barriers dividing groups from one another"?
2. **Identifying Historical Concepts** How and why did baseball take on a unique American identity?
3. **Making Connections** Baseball during the Civil War crossed the lines of cultural differences between the North and the South. Does baseball today, professional or amateur, continue to cross lines of cultural differences? Explain your reasoning.

One result of these divisions was a civil war within Indian Territory. Another was that Native American regiments fought for both the Union and the Confederacy during the war. But the tribes themselves never formally allied themselves with either side.

THE COURSE OF BATTLE

In the absence of direct intervention by the European powers, the two contestants in America were left to resolve the conflict between themselves. They did so in four long years of bloody combat that produced more carnage than any war in American history, before or since. More than 618,000 Americans died in the Civil War, far more than the 115,000 who perished in World War I or the 318,000 who died in World War II–more, indeed, than died in all other American wars combined prior to Vietnam. There were nearly 2,000 deaths for every 100,000 of population during the Civil War. In World War I, the comparable figure was 109 deaths; in World War II, 241 deaths. Massive death, and along with it massive grief, shadowed both North and South during and after the war.

High Casualties

Despite the gruesome cost, the Civil War has become the most romanticized and the most intently studied of all American wars. In part, that is because the conflict produced–in addition to terrible fatalities–a series of military campaigns of classic strategic interest and a series of military leaders who displayed unusual brilliance and daring.

The Technology of Battle

Much of what happened on the battlefield in the Civil War was a result of new technologies that transformed the nature of combat. The Civil War has often been called the first "modern" war and the first "total" war. The great conflict between the North and the South was unlike any war fought before it, and it suggested what warfare would be like in the future.

The most obvious change in the character of warfare in the 1860s was the nature of the armaments that both sides used in battle. Among the most important was the introduction of repeating weapons. Samuel Colt had patented a repeating pistol (the revolver) in 1835, but more important for military purposes was the repeating rifle, introduced in 1860 by Oliver Winchester. Also important were greatly improved cannons and artillery, a result of advances in iron and steel technology of the previous decades.

Repeating Weapons

These devastating advances in the effectiveness of arms and artillery changed the way soldiers in the field fought. It was now impossibly deadly to fight battles as they had been fought for centuries, with lines of infantry soldiers standing erect in the field firing volleys at their opponents until one side withdrew. Fighting in that way now produced almost inconceivable slaughter, and soldiers quickly learned that the proper position for combat was staying low to the ground and behind cover. For the first time in the history of organized warfare infantry did not fight in formation, and the battlefield became a more chaotic place. Gradually, the deadliness of the new weapons encouraged armies on both sides to spend a great deal of time building elaborate fortifications and trenches to protect themselves from enemy fire. The sieges of Vicksburg and Petersburg, the defense of Richmond, and many other sieges led to the construction of vast fortifications around cities and attacking armies. (They were the predecessors to the great network of trenches that became so central a part of World War I.)

Other weapons technologies were less central to the fighting of the war, but important nevertheless. There was sporadic use of the relatively new technology of hot-air balloons, employed intermittently to provide a view of enemy formations in the field. (During one battle, a Union balloonist took a telegraph line aloft with him in his balloon and tapped out messages about troop movements to the commanders below.) Ironclad ships such as the *Merrimac* (or *Virginia*) and the *Monitor*, torpedoes, and submarine technology all suggested the dramatic changes that would soon overtake naval warfare, although none played a major role in the Civil War.

Critical to the conduct of the war, however, were two other relatively new technologies: the railroad and the telegraph. The railroad was particularly important in a war in which millions of soldiers were being mobilized and transferred to the front, and in which a single field army could number as many as 250,000 men. Transporting such enormous numbers of soldiers, and the supplies necessary to sustain them, would have been almost impossible without railroads. But they also limited mobility. Railroad lines and stations are, of course, in fixed positions. Commanders, therefore, were forced to organize their campaigns around the location of the railroads whether the location was optimal or not.

Importance of the Railroad

The impact of the telegraph on the war was limited both by the scarcity of qualified telegraph operators and by the difficulty of bringing telegraph wires into the fields where battles were being fought. The situation improved somewhat after the new U.S. Military Telegraph Corps, headed by Thomas Scott and Andrew Carnegie, trained and employed over 1,200 operators. Gradually, too, both the Union and Confederate armies learned to string telegraph wires along the routes of their troops so that field commanders were able to stay in close touch with one another during battles. Both the North and the South sent spies behind enemy lines who tried to tap the telegraph lines of their opponents and send important information back about troop movements and formations.

The Telegraph

The Opening Clashes, 1861

The Union and the Confederacy fought their first major battle of the war in northern Virginia. A Union army of over 30,000 men under the command of General Irvin McDowell was stationed just outside Washington. About thirty miles away, at

The Consolidation of Nations

The American Civil War was an event largely rooted in conditions particular to the United States. But it was also a part of a worldwide movement in the nineteenth century to create large, consolidated nations. A commitment to preserving the Union—to consolidating, rather than dismantling, the nation—was one of the principal motives for the North's commitment to fighting a war against the seceding states. Similar efforts at expansion, consolidation, and unification were occurring in many other nations around the same time.

The consolidation of nation-states was, of course, not new to the nineteenth century. The revolutions in America and France in the late eighteenth century—and the subsequent strengthening of the French concept of nationhood under Napoleon in the early nineteenth century—inspired new nationalist enthusiasms in other parts of Europe. Nationalist sentiment also grew among peoples who shared language, culture, ethnicity, and tradition and who came to believe that a consolidated nation was the best vehicle for strengthening their common bonds.

In 1848, a wave of nationalist revolutions erupted in Italy, France, and Austria, challenging the imperial powers that many Europeans believed were subjugating national cultures. Those revolutions failed, but they helped lay the groundwork for the two most important national consolidations of nineteenth-century Europe.

One of these consolidations occurred in Germany, which was divided into numerous small, independent states in the early nineteenth century but where popular sentiment for German unification had been growing for decades. It was spurred in part by new histories of the German Volk (people) and by newly constructed images of German traditions, visible in such literature as the Grimms' fairy tales—an effort to record and popularize German folk traditions and make them the basis of a shared sense of a common past. In 1862, King Wilhelm I of Prussia—the leader of one of the most powerful of the scattered German states—appointed an aristocratic landowner, Otto von Bismarck, as his prime minister. Bismarck exploited the growing nationalism throughout the various German states and helped develop a strong popular base for unification. He did so in part by launching Prussian wars against Denmark, Austria, and France—wars Prussia easily won, inspiring pride in German power that extended well beyond Prussia. The Franco-Prussian War of 1870 was particularly important, because Prussia fought it to take possession of the French provinces of Alsace and Lorraine—provinces the Prussians claimed were part of the German "national community" because its people, although legally French citizens, were ethnically and linguistically German. In 1871, capitalizing on the widespread nationalist sentiment the war had created throughout the German-speaking states, Bismarck persuaded the German king to proclaim himself emperor (or Kaiser) of a new empire that united all German peoples except those in Austria and Switzerland.

The second great European movement for national unification occurred in Italy, which had long been divided into small kingdoms, city-states, and regions controlled by the Vatican. Beginning in the early nineteenth century, Italian nationalists formed what became known as the "Young Italy" movement, under the leadership of Giuseppe Mazzini. The movement demanded an end to foreign control in Italy and the unification of the Italian people into a single nation. Peoples with common language, culture, and tradition, Mazzini believed, should be free to unite and govern themselves. More important than this growing popular nationalism as a cause of Italian unification were the efforts of powerful and ambitious leaders. The most powerful Italian state in the mid-nineteenth century was the kingdom of the Piedmont and Sardinia, in the northwestern part of the peninsula. Its king, Victor Emmanuel II, appointed his own version of Bismarck—Camillo di Cavour—as prime minister in 1852. Cavour joined forces with nationalists in other areas of Italy to drive the Spanish and the Austrians out of Italian territory. Having first won independence for northern Italy, Cavour joined forces with the Southern nationalist leader Giuseppe Garibaldi, who helped win independence in the south and then agreed to a unification of the entire Italian nation under Victor Emmanuel II in 1860.

THE UNIFICATION OF ITALY **This engraving shows the Battle of Volturno, which was really a series of skirmishes that took place in September and October 1860. The main battle, between Garibaldi's volunteers and the troops of the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies, occurred on October 1. Although the immediate aftermath of the battle left Garibaldi's forces exhausted, they did go on to successfully unify Italy under King Victor Emmanuel II.**

Other nations in these years were also trying to create, preserve, and strengthen nation-states. Some failed to do so—Russia, for example, despite the reform efforts of several tsars, never managed to create a stable nation-state from among its broad and diverse peoples. But others succeeded—Meiji Japan, for example, instituted a series of reforms in the 1880s and 1890s that created a powerful new Japanese nation-state.

In fighting and winning the Civil War, the nationalists of the Northern parts of the United States not only preserved the unity of their nation. They also became part of a movement toward the consolidation of national cultures and national territories that extended through many areas of the globe.

HISTORICAL THINKING SKILLS

1. **Comparing and Contrasting** How were the problems Bismark faced similar to and different from those faced by Lincoln?
2. **Drawing Conclusions** Which man—Mazzini, Cavour, or Garibaldi—in the struggle to achieve the unification of Italy most closely parallels Lincoln and the fight to preserve the Union?
3. **Developing Arguments** Does Mazzini's argument—that peoples with common language, culture, and tradition should be free to unite and govern themselves—apply to the North's attempt to preserve the Union, or does it better fit the South's attempt to secede and form a separate nation?

the town of Manassas, was a slightly smaller Confederate army under General P. G. T. Beauregard. If the Northern army could destroy the Southern one, Union leaders believed, the war might end at once. In mid-July, McDowell marched his inexperienced troops toward Manassas. Beauregard moved his troops behind Bull Run, a small stream north of Manassas, and called for reinforcements, which reached him the day before the battle. The two armies were now approximately the same size.

On July 21, in the First Battle of Bull Run, or First Battle of Manassas, McDowell almost succeeded in dispersing the Confederate forces. But the Southerners stopped a last strong Union assault and then began a savage counterattack. The

First Battle of Bull Run

Union troops, exhausted after hours of hot, hard fighting, suddenly panicked. They broke ranks and retreated chaotically. McDowell was unable to reorganize them, and he had to order a retreat to Washington–a disorderly withdrawal complicated by the presence along the route of many civilians who had ridden down from the capital, picnic baskets in hand, to watch the battle from nearby hills. The Confederates, as disorganized by victory as the Union forces were by defeat, and short of supplies and transportation, did not pursue. The battle was a severe blow to Union morale and to President Lincoln's confidence in his officers. It also dispelled the illusion that the war would be a brief one.

Elsewhere in 1861, Union forces were achieving some small but significant victories. In Missouri, rebel forces gathered

Wilson's Creek

behind Governor Claiborne Jackson and other state officials who wanted to secede from the Union. Nathaniel Lyon, who commanded a small regular army force in St. Louis, moved his troops into southern Missouri to face the secessionists. On August 10, at the Battle of Wilson's Creek, Lyon was defeated and killed–but not before he had seriously weakened the striking power of the Confederates. Union forces were subsequently able to hold most of the state.

Meanwhile, a Union force under George B. McClellan moved east from Ohio into western Virginia. By the end of 1861, it had "liberated" the anti-secession mountain people of the region. They created their own state government loyal to the Union and were admitted to the Union as West Virginia in 1863. The occupation of western Virginia was of limited military value, since the mountains cut the area off from the rest of Virginia. It was, however, an important symbolic victory for the North.

The Western Theater

After the First Battle of Bull Run, military operations in the East settled into a long and frustrating stalemate. The first decisive operations in 1862 occurred in the West. Union forces were trying to seize control of the southern Mississippi River, which would divide the Confederacy and give the North easy transportation into the heart of the South. Northern soldiers advanced on the river from both the north and south, moving downriver from Kentucky and upriver from the Gulf of Mexico toward New Orleans.

In April, a Union squadron of ironclads and wooden vessels commanded by David G. Farragut gathered in the Gulf of Mexico, then smashed past weak Confederate forts near the

New Orleans Captured

mouth of the Mississippi, and from there sailed up to New Orleans, which was defenseless because the Confederate high command had expected the attack to come from the north. The city surrendered on April 25–the first major Union victory and an important turning point in the war. From then on, the mouth of the Mississippi was closed to Confederate trade; and the South's largest city and most important banking center was in Union hands.

Farther north in the western theater, Confederate troops under the command of Albert Sidney Johnston were stretched out in a long defensive line centered at two forts in Tennessee, Fort Henry and Fort Donelson, on the Tennessee and Cumberland Rivers, respectively. But the forts were well behind the main Southern flanks, a fatal weakness that Union commanders recognized and exploited. Early in 1862, Ulysses S. Grant attacked Fort Henry, whose defenders, awed by the ironclad riverboats accompanying the Union army, surrendered with almost no resistance on February 6. Grant then moved both his naval and ground forces to Fort Donelson, where the Confederates put up a stronger fight but finally, on February 16, had to surrender. By cracking the Confederate center, Grant had gained control of river communications and forced Confederate forces out of Kentucky and half of Tennessee.

With about 40,000 men, Grant now advanced south along the Tennessee River to seize control of railroad lines vital to the Confederacy. From Pittsburg Landing, he marched to

Shiloh

nearby Shiloh, Tennessee, where a force almost equal to his own, commanded by Albert Sidney Johnston and P. G. T. Beauregard, caught him by surprise. The result was the Battle of Shiloh, April 6–7. In the first day's fighting (during which Johnston was killed), the Southerners drove Grant back to the river. But the next day, reinforced by 25,000 fresh troops, Grant recovered the lost ground and forced Beauregard to withdraw. After the narrow Union victory at Shiloh, Northern forces occupied Corinth, Mississippi, the hub of several important railroads, and established control of the Mississippi River as far south as Memphis.

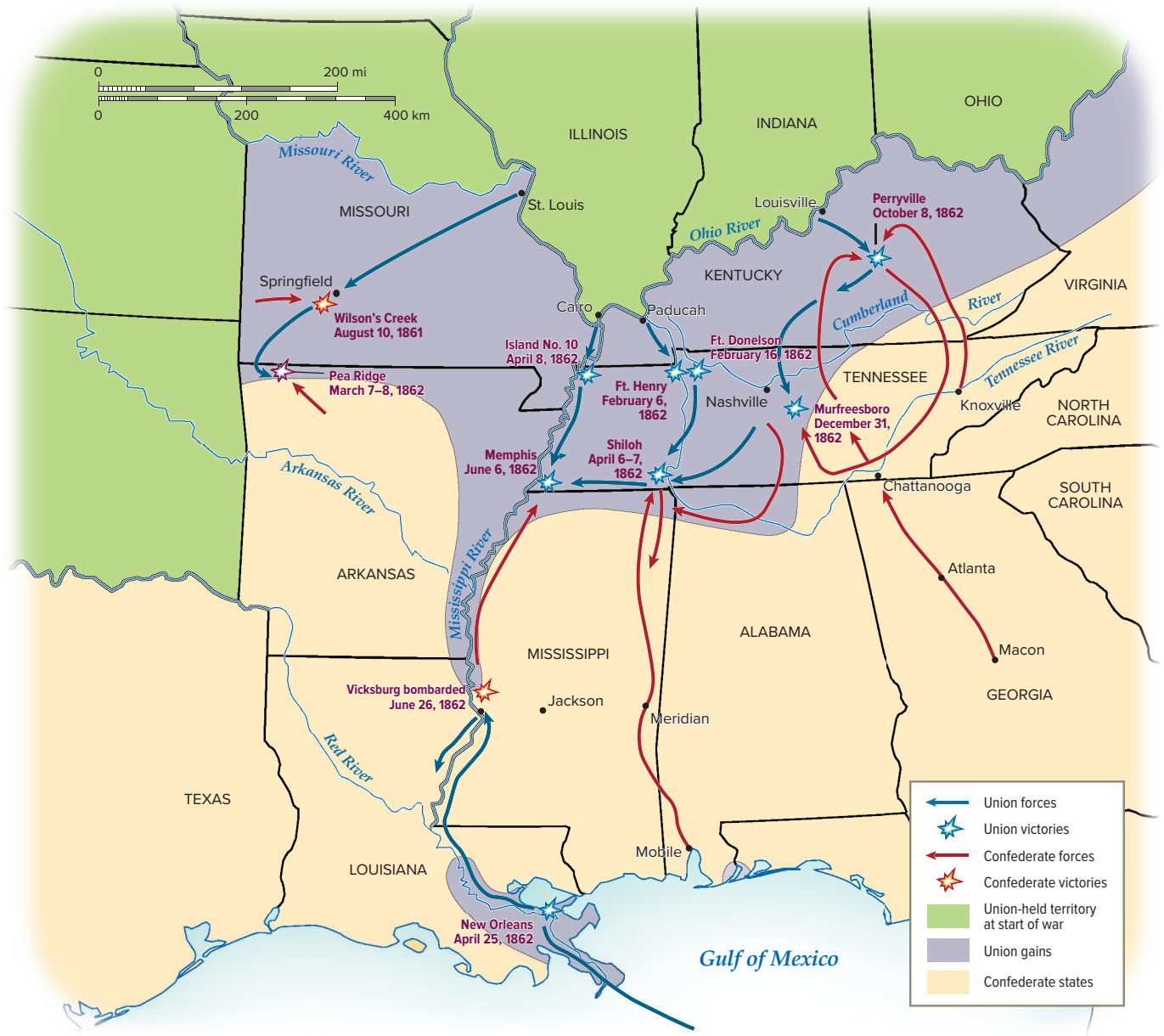
Braxton Bragg, who succeeded Johnston as commander of the Confederate army in the West, gathered his forces at Chattanooga, in eastern Tennessee, which the Confederacy still controlled. He hoped to win back the rest of the state and then move north into Kentucky. But first he had to face a Union army (commanded by Don Carlos Buell and later William S. Rosecrans), whose assignment was to capture Chattanooga. The two armies maneuvered for advantage inconclusively in northern Tennessee and southern Kentucky for several months until they finally met, December 31–January 2, in the Battle of Murfreesboro, or Stone's River. Bragg was forced to withdraw to the south, his campaign a failure. By the end of 1862, Union forces had made considerable progress in the West. But the major conflict remained in the East, where they were having much less success.

The Virginia Front, 1862

Union operations were being directed in 1862 by George B. McClellan, commander of the Army of the Potomac and the most controversial general of the war. McClellan was a superb trainer of men, but he often appeared reluctant to commit his troops to battle. Opportunities for important engagements came and went, and McClellan seemed never to take advantage of them–claiming always that his preparations were not yet complete or that the moment was not right. During the winter of 1861–1862, McClellan concentrated on training his army of 150,000 men near Washington. Finally, he designed a spring campaign whose purpose was to capture the Confederate capital at Richmond. But instead of heading overland directly toward Richmond, McClellan chose a complicated, roundabout route that he thought would circumvent the Confederate defenses. The navy would carry his troops down the Potomac to a peninsula east of Richmond, between the York and James Rivers. The army would approach the city from there. It became known as the Peninsular campaign.

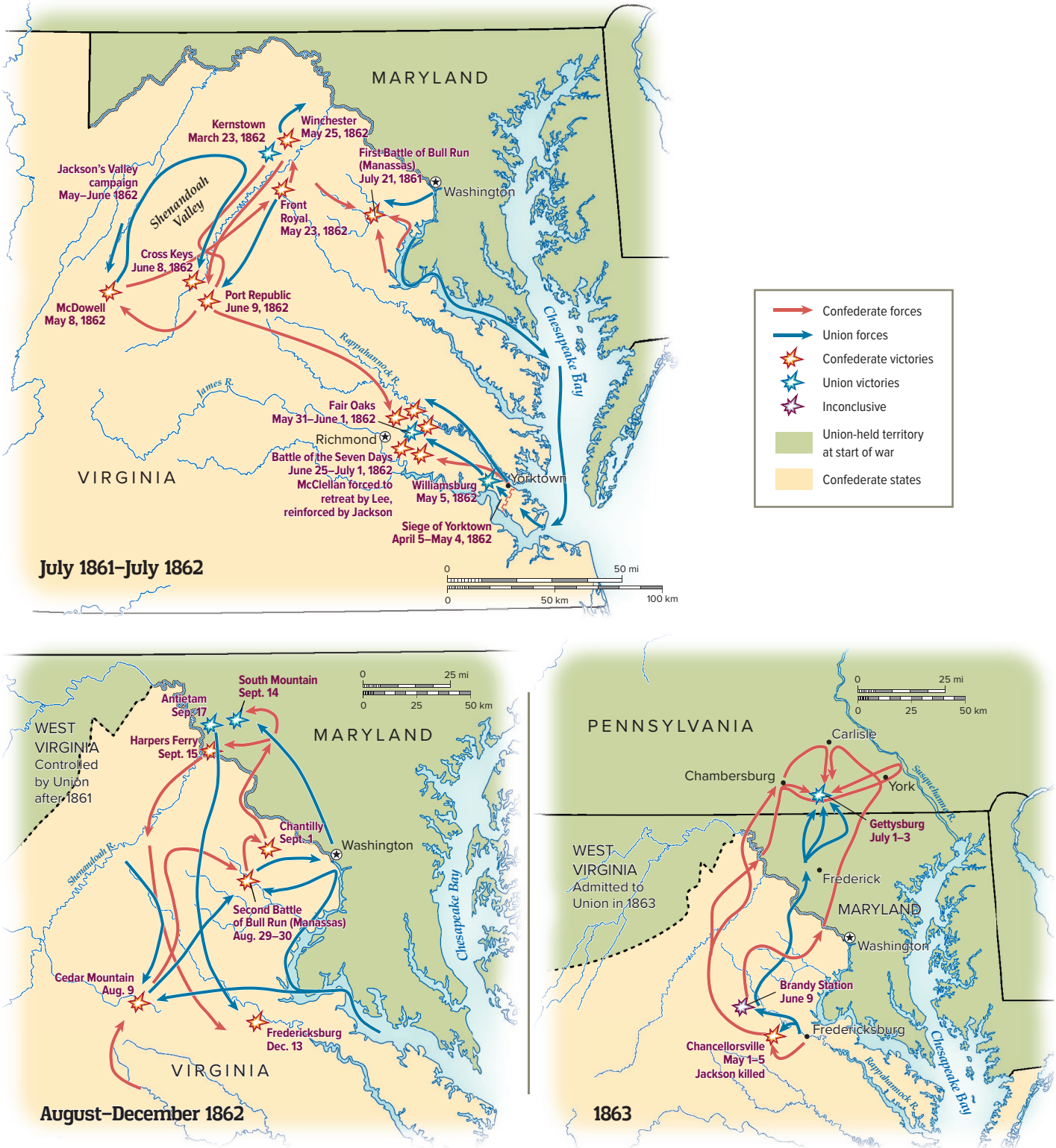
George McClellan

McClellan began the campaign with only part of his army. Approximately 100,000 men accompanied him down the Potomac. Another 30,000–under General Irvin McDowell–



THE WAR IN THE WEST, 1861–1863 While the Union armies in Virginia were meeting with repeated frustrations, the Union armies in the West were scoring notable successes in the first two years of the war. This map shows a series of Union drives in the western Confederacy. Admiral David Farragut's ironclads led to the capture of New Orleans—a critical Confederate port—in April 1862, while forces farther north under the command of Ulysses S. Grant drove the Confederate army out of Kentucky and western Tennessee. These battles culminated in the Union victory at Shiloh, which led to Union control of the upper Mississippi River.

Why was control of the Mississippi so important to both sides?



THE VIRGINIA THEATER, 1861–1863 Much of the fighting during the first two years of the Civil War took place in what became known as the Virginia theater—although the campaigns in this region eventually extended north into Maryland and Pennsylvania. The Union hoped for a quick victory over the newly created Confederate army. But as these maps show, the Southern forces consistently thwarted such hopes. The map at top left shows the battles of 1861 and the first half of 1862, almost all of them won by the Confederates. The map at lower left shows the last months of 1862, during which the Southerners again defeated the Union in most of their engagements—although Northern forces drove the Confederates back from Maryland in September. The map on the right shows the troop movements that led to the climactic battle of Gettysburg in 1863.

Why were the Union forces unable to profit more from their material advantages during these first years of the war?

remained behind to protect Washington. McClellan insisted that Washington was safe as long as he was threatening Richmond, and finally persuaded Lincoln to promise to send him the additional men. But before the president could do so, a Confederate army under Thomas J. ("Stonewall") Jackson changed his plans. Jackson staged a rapid march north through the Shenandoah Valley, as if he were planning to cross the Potomac and attack Washington. Alarmed, Lincoln dispatched McDowell's corps to head off Jackson. In the brilliant Valley campaign of May 4–June 9, 1862, Jackson defeated two separate Union forces and slipped away before McDowell could catch him.

Seven Pines

Meanwhile, Confederate troops under Joseph E. Johnston were attacking McClellan's advancing army outside Richmond. But in the two-day Battle of Fair Oaks, or Seven Pines (May 31–June 1), they could not repel the Union forces. Johnston, badly wounded, was replaced by Robert E. Lee, who then recalled Stonewall Jackson from the Shenandoah Valley. With a combined force of 85,000 to face McClellan's 100,000, Lee launched a new offensive, known as the Battle of the Seven Days (June 25–July 1). Lee wanted to cut McClellan off from his base on the York River and then destroy the isolated Union army. But McClellan fought his way across the peninsula and set up a new base on the James. There, with naval support, the Army of the Potomac was safe.

McClellan was now only twenty-five miles from Richmond, with a secure line of water communications, and thus in a good position to renew the campaign. Time and again, however, he found reasons for delay. Instead of replacing McClellan with a more aggressive commander, Lincoln finally ordered the army to move to northern Virginia and join a smaller force under John Pope. The president hoped to begin a new offensive against Richmond on the direct overland route that he himself had always preferred.

As the Army of the Potomac left the peninsula by water, Lee moved north with the Army of Northern Virginia to strike Pope before McClellan could join him. Pope was as rash as McClellan was cautious, and he attacked the approaching Confederates without waiting for the arrival of all of McClellan's troops. In the ensuing Second Battle of Bull Run, or Second Battle of Manassas (August 29–30), Lee threw back the assault and routed Pope's army, which fled to Washington. With hopes for an overland campaign against Richmond now in disarray, Lincoln removed Pope from command and put McClellan in charge of all the Union forces in the region.

Lee soon went on the offensive again, heading north through western Maryland, and McClellan moved out to meet him. McClellan had the good luck to get a copy of Lee's orders,

Antietam

which revealed that a part of the Confederate army, under Stonewall Jackson, had separated from the rest to attack Harpers Ferry. But instead of attacking quickly before the Confederates could recombine, McClellan delayed and gave Lee time to pull most of his forces together behind Antietam Creek, near the town of Sharpsburg. There, on September 17, in the bloodiest single-day engagement of the war, McClellan's 87,000-man army repeatedly attacked Lee's force of 50,000, with enormous casualties on both sides. Six thousand soldiers died, and 17,000 sustained injuries. Late in the day, just as the Confederate line seemed ready to break, the last of Jackson's troops arrived from Harpers Ferry to reinforce it. McClellan might have broken through with one more assault. Instead, he allowed Lee to retreat into Virginia. Technically, Antietam was a Union victory, but in reality, it was an opportunity squandered. In November, Lincoln finally removed McClellan from command for good.

McClellan's replacement, Ambrose E. Burnside, was a short-lived mediocrity. He tried to move toward Richmond by crossing the Rappahannock at Fredericksburg, the strongest defensive point on the river. There, on December 13, he launched a series of attacks against Lee, all of them bloody, all of them hopeless. After losing a large part of his army, Burnside withdrew to the north bank of the Rappahannock. He was relieved at his own request.

The Progress of the War

Why did the Union–with its much larger population and its much better transportation and technology than the Confederacy–make so little progress in the first two years of the war? Had there been a decisive and dramatic victory by either side early in the war–for example, a major victory by the Union at the First Battle of Bull Run–the conflict might have ended quickly by destroying the Confederacy's morale. But no such decisive victory occurred in the first two years of the war.

Many Northerners blamed the military stalemate on timid or incompetent Union generals, and there was some truth to that view. But the more important reason for the drawn-out conflict was that it was not a traditional war of tactics and military strategy. It was, even if the leaders of both sides were not yet fully aware of it, a war of attrition. Winning or losing battles here and there would not determine the outcome of the war. What would bring the war to a conclusion was the steady destruction of the resources that were necessary for victory. More than two bloody years of fighting was still to

THE FIRST CONNECTICUT ARTILLERY Mathew Brady's photograph shows the First Connecticut Artillery at Fort Richardson, Virginia.

The Library of Congress (LC-B8184-10601)

come. But those last years were a testimony to the slow, steady deterioration of the Confederacy's ability to maintain the war and to the consistent growth of the resources that allowed the Union armies to grow steadily stronger.

With the federal blockade growing tighter and tighter, the Confederacy found it difficult to secure food. On April 2, 1863, a Confederate soldier received a letter from Richmond from a friend. "Something very sad has just happened in Richmond," she said, "something that makes me ashamed of all my . . . hats, bonnets, gowns, stationery, books, magazines, dainty food." She saw hundreds of young women and men looking for food. "The crowd now rapidly increased and numbered, I am sure, more than a thousand women and children. It grew and grew until it reached the dignity of a mob–a bread riot. . . . While I write women and children are still standing in the streets, demanding food."

1863: Year of Decision

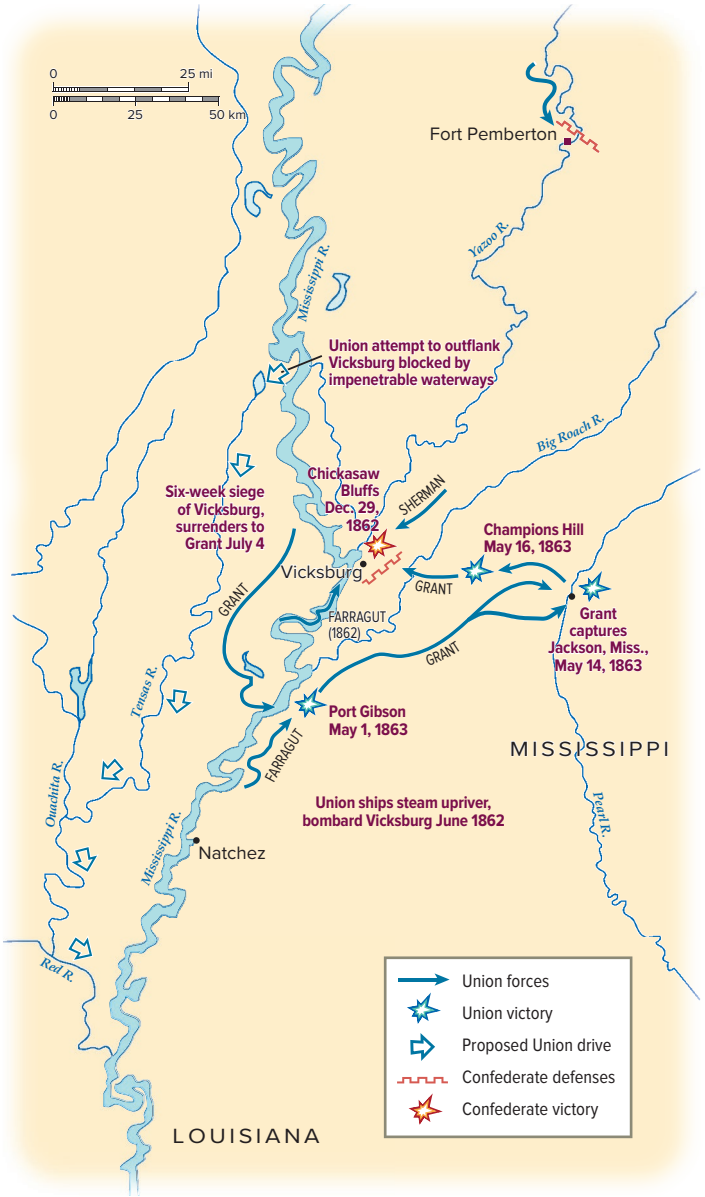
At the beginning of 1863, General Joseph Hooker was in command of the still formidable Army of the Potomac, whose 120,000 troops remained north of the Rappahannock, opposite Fredericksburg. But despite his reputation as a fighter (his popular nickname was "Fighting Joe"), Hooker showed little resolve as he launched his own campaign in the spring. Taking part of his army, Hooker crossed the river above Fredericksburg and moved toward the town and Lee's army. But at the last minute, he apparently lost his nerve and drew back to a defensive position in a desolate area of brush and scrub trees known as "the Wilderness." Lee had only half as many men as Hooker did, but he boldly divided his forces for a dual assault on the Union army. In the Battle of Chancellorsville, May 1–5, Stonewall Jackson attacked the Union right and Lee himself charged the front. Hooker barely managed to escape with his army. Lee had defeated the Union objectives, but he had not destroyed the Union army. And his ablest officer, Jackson, was wounded during the battle and subsequently died of pneumonia.

Battle of Chancellorsville

While the Union forces were suffering repeated frustrations in the East, they were continuing to achieve important victories in the West. In the spring of 1863, Ulysses S. Grant was driving at Vicksburg, Mississippi, one of the Confederacy's two remaining strongholds on the southern Mississippi River. Vicksburg was well protected, surrounded by rough country on the north and low, marshy ground on the west, and with good artillery coverage of the river itself. But in May, Grant boldly moved men and supplies–overland and by water–to an area south of the city, where the terrain was better. He then attacked Vicksburg from the rear. Six weeks later, on July 4, Vicksburg–whose residents were by then literally starving as a result of a prolonged siege–surrendered. At almost the same time, the other Confederate strong point on the river, Port Hudson, Louisiana, also surrendered–to a Union force that had moved north from New Orleans. The Union had achieved one of its basic military aims: control of the whole length of the Mississippi. The Confederacy was split in two, with Louisiana, Arkansas, and Texas cut off from the other seceded states. The victories on the Mississippi were among the great turning points of the war.

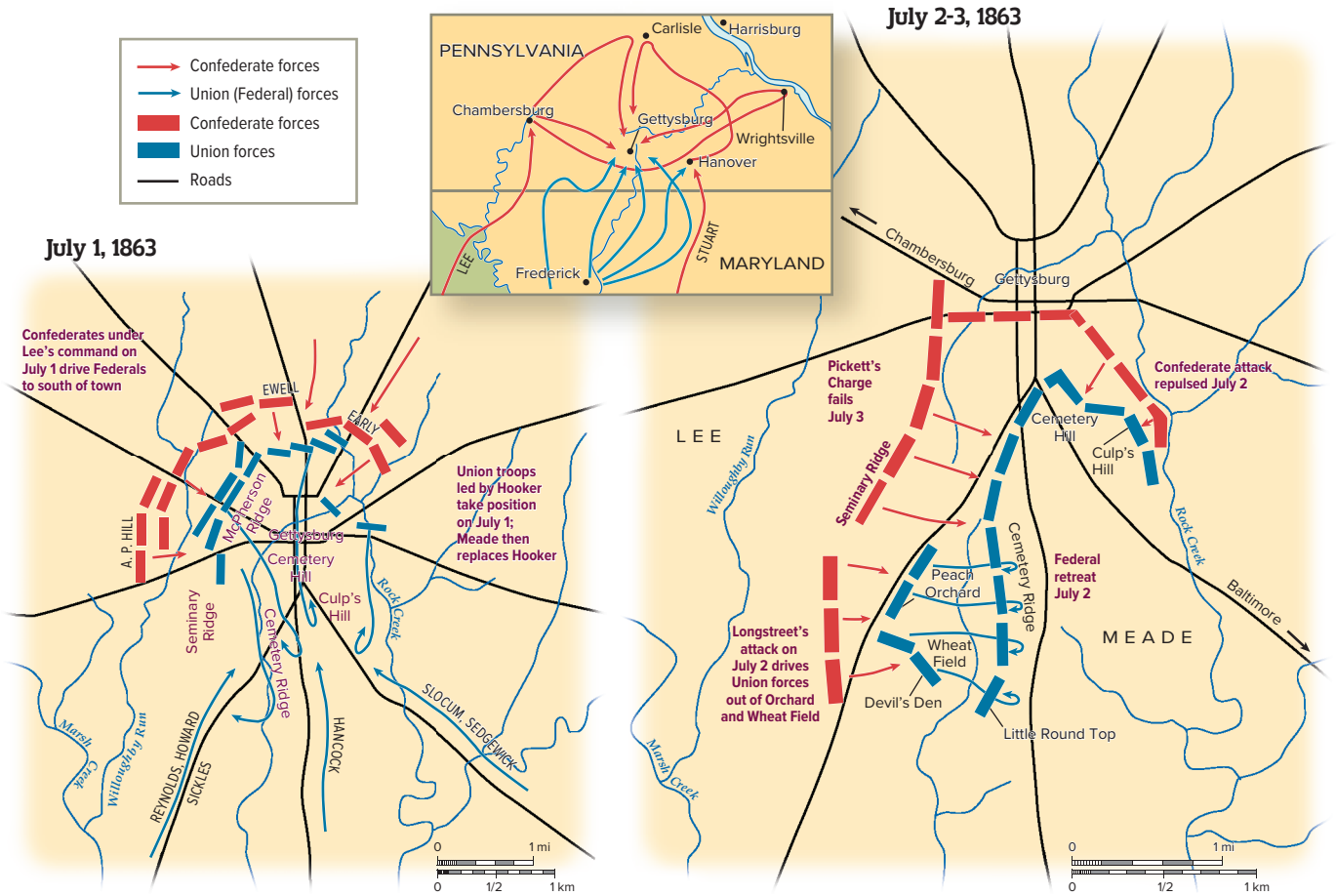
Vicksburg

During the siege of Vicksburg, Lee proposed an invasion of Pennsylvania, which would, he argued, divert Union troops north and remove the pressure on the lower Mississippi.



THE SIEGE OF VICKSBURG, MAY–JULY 1863 In the spring of 1863, Grant began a campaign to win control of the final piece of the Mississippi River still controlled by the Confederacy. To do that required capturing the Southern stronghold at Vicksburg—a well-defended city sitting above the river. Vicksburg's main defenses were in the North, so Grant boldly moved men and supplies around the city and attacked it from the south. Eventually, he cut off the city's access to the outside world, and after a six-week siege, its residents finally surrendered.

What impact did the combined victories at Vicksburg and Gettysburg have on Northern commitment to the war?



GETTYSBURG, JULY 1–3, 1863 Gettysburg was the most important single battle of the Civil War. The map on the left shows the distribution of Union and Confederate forces at the beginning of the battle, July 1, after Lee had driven the Northern forces south of town. The map on the right reveals the pattern of the attacks on July 2 and 3. Note, in particular, Pickett's bold and costly charge, whose failure on July 3 was the turning point in the battle and, some chroniclers have argued, the war.

Why did Robert E. Lee believe that an invasion of Pennsylvania would advance the Confederate cause?

Further, he argued, if he could win a major victory on Northern soil, England and France might come to the Confederacy's aid. The war-weary North might even quit the war before Vicksburg fell.

In June 1863, Lee moved up the Shenandoah Valley into Maryland and then entered Pennsylvania. The Union Army of the Potomac, commanded first by Hooker and then by George C. Meade, also moved north, parallel with the Confederates' movement, staying between Lee and Washington. The two armies finally encountered each other at the small town of Gettysburg, Pennsylvania. There, on July 1–3, 1863, they fought the most celebrated battle of the war.

Meade's army established a strong, well-protected position on the hills south of the town. The confident and combative Lee attacked, even though his army was outnumbered 75,000 to 90,000. His first assault on the Union forces on Cemetery Ridge failed. A day later he ordered a second, larger effort. In what is remembered as Pickett's Charge, a force of 15,000 Confederate soldiers advanced for almost a mile across open country while being swept by Union fire. Only about 5,000 made it up the ridge, and this remnant finally had to surrender or retreat. By now Lee had lost nearly a third of his army. On July 4, the same day as the surrender of Vicksburg, he withdrew from Gettysburg—another major turning point in the war. Never again were the weakened Confederate forces able to threaten Northern territory seriously.

GETTYSBURG

Before the end of 1863, there was a third important turning point, this one in Tennessee. After occupying Chattanooga on September 9, Union forces under William Rosecrans began an unwise pursuit of Bragg's retreating Confederate forces. Bragg was waiting for them just across the Georgia line, with reinforcements from Lee's army. The two armies engaged in the Battle of Chickamauga (September 19–20), one of the few battles in which the Confederates enjoyed a numerical superiority (70,000 to 56,000). Union forces could not break the Confederate lines and retreated back to Chattanooga.

Bragg now began a siege of Chattanooga itself, seizing the heights nearby and cutting off fresh supplies to the

Union forces. Grant came to the rescue. In the Battle of Chattanooga (November 23–25), the reinforced Union army drove the Confederates back into Georgia. Northern troops then occupied most of eastern Tennessee. Union forces had now achieved a second important objective: control of the Tennessee River. Four of the eleven Confederate states were now effectively cut off from the Southern nation. No longer could the Confederacy hope to win independence through a decisive military victory. They could hope to win only by holding on and exhausting the Northern will to fight.

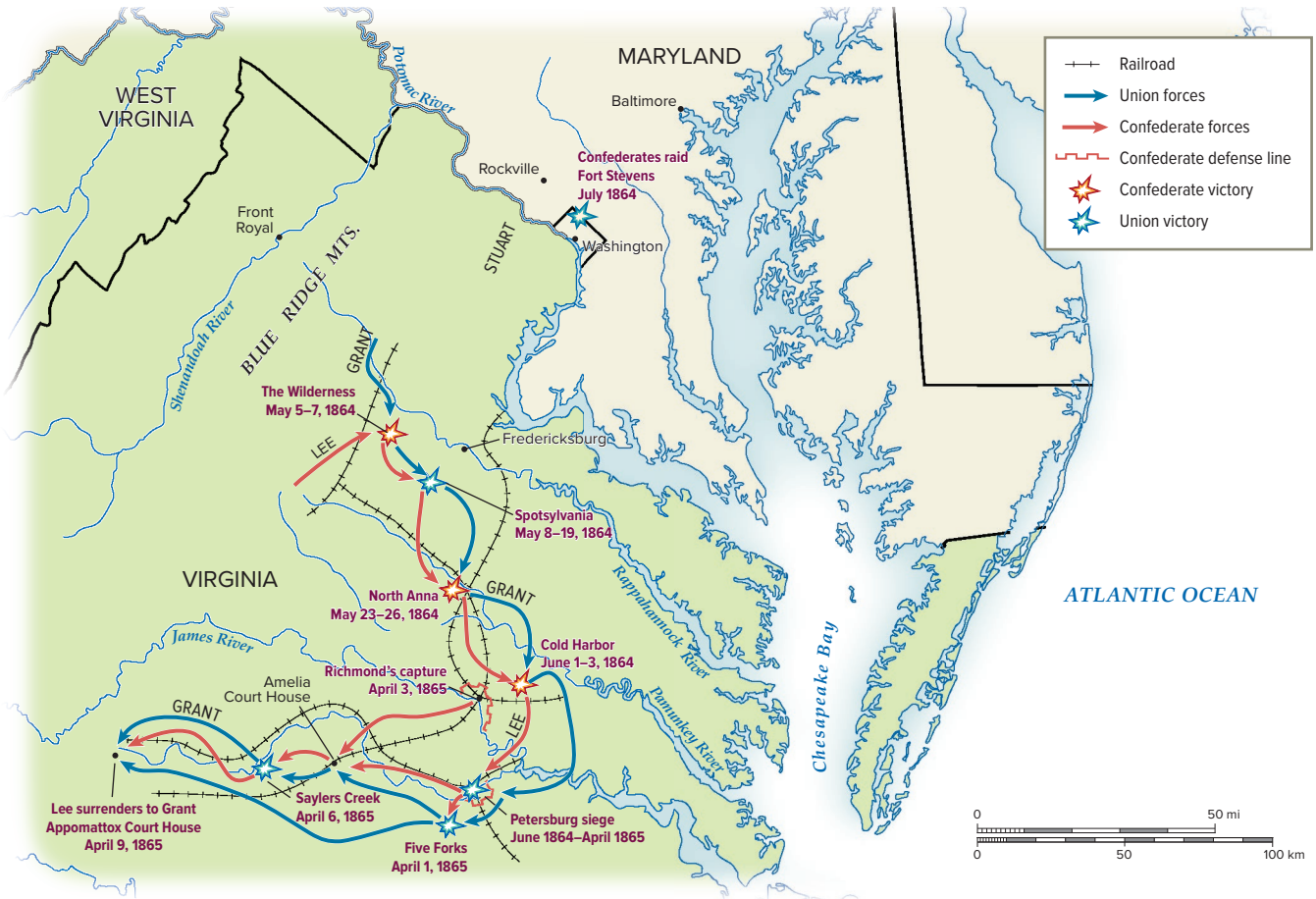
Battle of Chattanooga

The Last Stage, 1864–1865

By the beginning of 1864, Ulysses S. Grant had become general in chief of all the Union armies. At long last, President Lincoln had found a commander whom he could rely on to pursue the war doggedly and tenaciously. Grant was not a subtle strategic or tactical general; he believed in using the North's overwhelming advantage in troops and material resources to overwhelm the South. He was not afraid to absorb massive casualties as long as he was inflicting similar casualties on his opponents.

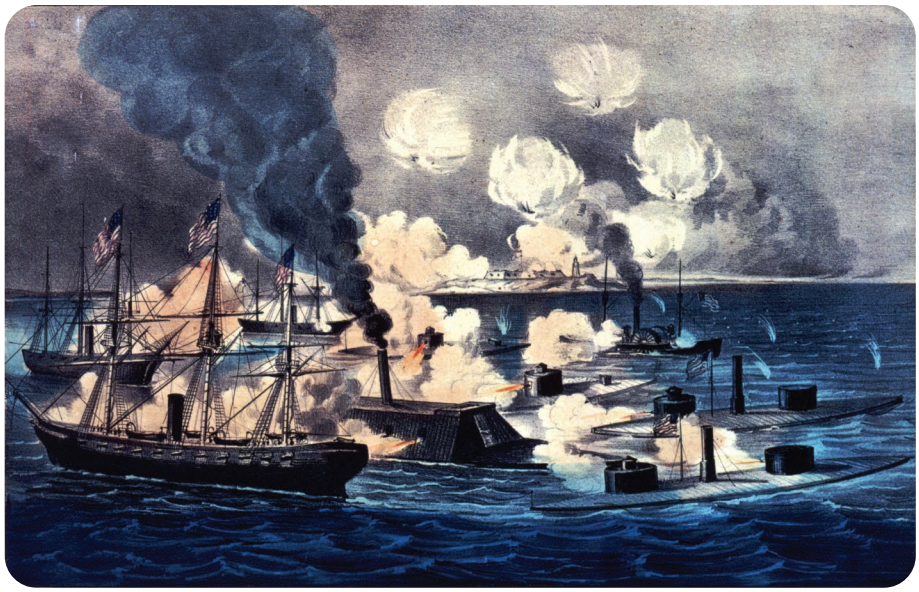
Grant planned two great offensives for 1864. In Virginia, the Army of the Potomac (technically under Meade's command, but really now under Grant's) would advance toward Richmond and force Lee into a decisive battle. In Georgia, the western army, under William Tecumseh Sherman, would advance east toward Atlanta and destroy the remaining Confederate force farther south, which was now under the command of Joseph E. Johnston. The northern campaign began when the Army of the Potomac, 115,000 strong, plunged into the rough, wooded Wilderness area of northwestern Virginia in pursuit of Lee's 75,000-man army. After avoiding an engagement for several weeks, Lee turned Grant back in the Battle of the Wilderness (May 5–7). But Grant was undeterred. Without stopping to rest or reorganize, he resumed his march toward Richmond. He met Lee again in the bloody, five-day Battle of Spotsylvania Court

Grant's Strategy

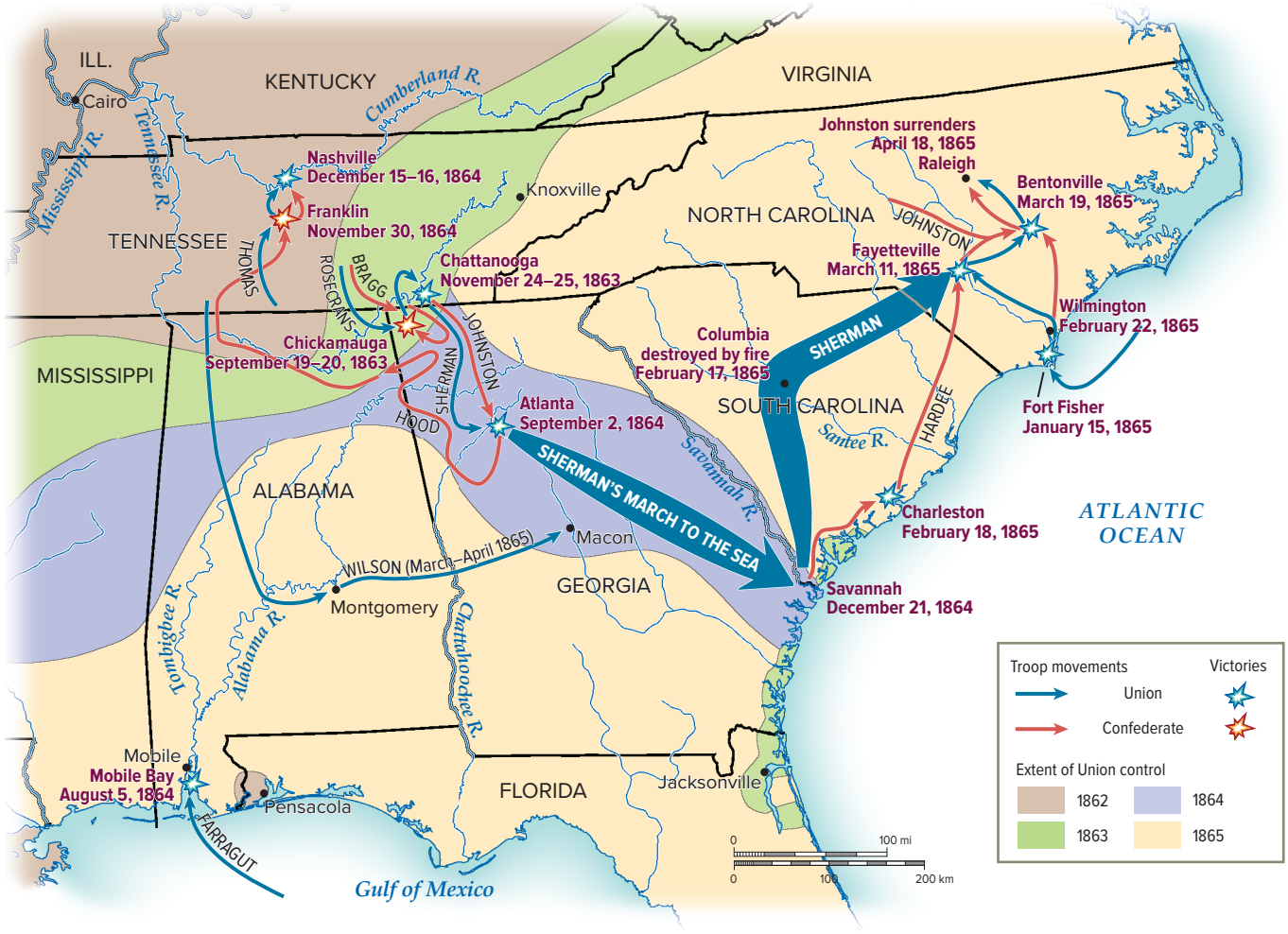


VIRGINIA CAMPAIGNS, 1864–1865 From the Confederate defeat and retreat from Gettysburg until the end of the war, most of the eastern fighting took place in Virginia. By now, Ulysses S. Grant was commander of all Union forces and had taken over the Army of the Potomac. Although Confederate forces won a number of important battles during the Virginia campaign, the Union army grew steadily stronger and the Southern forces steadily weaker. Grant believed that the Union strategy should reflect the North's greatest advantage: its superiority in men and equipment.

What effect did this decision have on the level of casualties?



MOBILE BAY, 1864 This image by Currier and Ives portrays a famous naval battle at the entrance to Mobile Bay between a Union sloop-of-war, the USS Richmond, part of a fleet commanded by Admiral David Farragut, and a Confederate ironclad, the CSS Tennessee. Although Confederate mines were scattered across the entrance to the harbor, Farragut ordered his ships into battle with the memorable command "Damn the torpedoes! Full speed ahead!" The Union forces defeated the Confederate flotilla and three weeks later captured the forts defending the harbor—thus removing from Confederate control the last port on the Gulf Coast available to the blockade runners who were attempting to supply the South's war needs.



SHERMAN'S MARCH TO THE SEA, 1864–1865 While Grant was wearing Lee down in Virginia, General William Tecumseh Sherman was moving east across Georgia. After a series of battles in Tennessee and northwest Georgia, Sherman captured Atlanta and then marched unimpeded to Savannah, on the Georgia coast—deliberately devastating the towns and plantations through which his troops marched. Note that after capturing Savannah by Christmas 1864, Sherman began moving north through the Carolinas. A few days after Lee surrendered to Grant at Appomattox, Confederate forces farther south surrendered to Sherman.

What did Sherman believe his devastating March to the Sea would accomplish?

House, in which 12,000 Union troops and a large but unknown number of Confederates died or were wounded. Despite the enormous losses, Grant kept moving. But victory continued to elude him.

Lee kept his army between Grant and the Confederate capital and on June 1–3 repulsed the Union forces again, just northeast of Richmond, at Cold Harbor. The month-long Wilderness campaign had cost Grant 55,000 men (killed, wounded, and captured) to Lee's 31,000. And Richmond still had not fallen.

Grant now changed his strategy. He moved his army east of Richmond, bypassing the capital altogether, and headed south toward the railroad center at Petersburg. If he could seize Petersburg, he could cut off the capital's communications with the rest of the Confederacy. But Petersburg had strong defenses; and once Lee came to the city's relief, the assault became a prolonged siege, which lasted nine months.

In Georgia, meanwhile, Sherman was facing less ferocious resistance. With 90,000 men, he confronted Confederate forces of 60,000 under Johnston, who was unwilling to risk a direct engagement. As Sherman advanced, Johnston tried to delay him by maneuvering. The two armies fought only one real battle–at Kennesaw Mountain, northwest of Atlanta, on June 27–where Johnston scored an impressive victory. Even so, he was unable to stop the Union advance toward Atlanta.

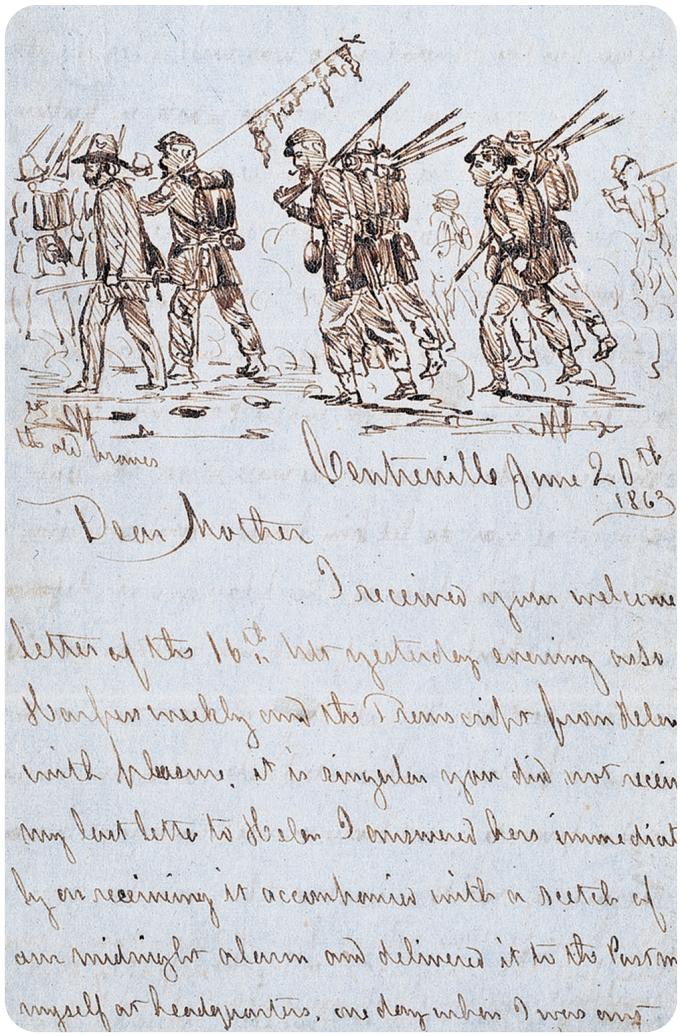
Capture of Atlanta

President Davis replaced Johnston with the combative John B. Hood, who twice daringly attacked Sherman's army but accomplished nothing except seriously weakening his own forces. Sherman took Atlanta on September 2. News of the victory electrified the North and helped unite the previously divided Republican Party behind President Lincoln.

A young Union drummer boy, William Bircher, left an account of the burning of Atlanta. "At night we destroyed the city by fire," he wrote. "A grand and awful spectacle it presented to the beholder. . . . The heaven was one expanse of lurid fire; the air was filled with flying, burning cinders. Buildings, covering two hundred acres, were in ruins or in flames; every instant there was the sharp detonation of the smothered booming sound of exploding shells and powder concealed in the buildings, and then the sparks and flames would shoot up into the black and red roof. . . . I heard the real fine band of the Thirty-third Massachusetts playing, 'John Brown's soul goes marching on.'"

Hood now tried unsuccessfully to draw Sherman out of Atlanta by moving back up through Tennessee and threatening an invasion of the North. Sherman did not take the bait. But he did send Union troops to reinforce Nashville. In the Battle of Nashville, on December 15–16, 1864, Northern forces practically destroyed what was left of Hood's army.

Meanwhile, Sherman had left Atlanta to begin his soon-to-be-famous March to the Sea. Living off the land, destroying supplies it could not use, his army cut a sixty-mile-wide swath of desolation across Georgia. "War is all hell," Sherman had once said. By that he meant not that war is a terrible thing to be avoided, but that it should be made as horrible and costly as possible for the opponent. He sought not only to deprive the Confederate army of war materials and railroad communications but also to break the will of the Southern people, by burning towns and plantations along his route. By December 20, he had reached Savannah, which surrendered two days later. Sherman offered it to President Lincoln as a Christmas gift. Early in 1865, having left Savannah largely undamaged, Sherman continued his destructive march northward through South Carolina. He was virtually unopposed until he was well inside North Carolina, where a small force under Johnston could do no more than cause a brief delay.



A LETTER FROM THE FRONT Charles Wellington Reed, a nineteen-year-old Union soldier who was also a talented artist, sent illustrated letters to the members of his family throughout the war. In this 1863 letter to his mother, he portrays the Ninth Massachusetts Battery leaving Centreville, Virginia, on its way to Gettysburg. Two weeks later, Reed fought in the famous battle and eventually received the Congressional Medal of Honor for his bravery there. "Such a shrieking, hissing, seathing I never dreamed was imaginable," he wrote of the fighting at the time.

Manuscript Division, The Library of Congress

March to the Sea

In April 1865, Grant's Army of the Potomac–still engaged in the prolonged siege at Petersburg–finally captured a vital railroad junction southwest of the town. Without rail access to the South, cut off from other Confederate forces, Lee could no

longer hope to defend Richmond. With the remnant of his army, now about 25,000 men, Lee began moving west in the forlorn hope of finding a way around the Union forces so that he could head south and link up with Johnston in North Carolina. But the Union army pursued him and blocked his escape route. Finally recognizing that further bloodshed was futile, Lee arranged to meet Grant at a private home in the small town of Appomattox Court House, Virginia. There, on April 9, he surrendered what was left of his forces. Nine days later, near Durham, North Carolina, Johnston surrendered to Sherman.

Appomattox Court House

In military terms, at least, the long war was now effectively over, even though Jefferson Davis refused to accept defeat. He fled south from Richmond and was finally captured in Georgia. A few Southern diehards continued to fight, but even their resistance collapsed before long. Well before the last shot was fired, the difficult process of reuniting the shattered nation had begun.

The war ensured the permanence of the Union, but many other issues remained far from settled. What would happen to the freedmen (the term used for enslaved people who were now liberated)? Could the South and the North reconcile? Would the massive industrial growth in the North during the Civil War spread to the South, or would the South remain an agrarian region with much less wealth than in the North? The end of the war was the beginning of more than a generation of struggle to determine the legacy of the Civil War.

The North's victory was not just a military one. The war strengthened the North's economy, giving a spur to industry and railroad development. It greatly weakened the South's economy, by destroying millions of dollars of property and depleting the region's young male population. Southerners had gone to war in part because of their fears of growing Northern dominance. The war itself, ironically, confirmed and strengthened that dominance. There was no doubt by 1865 that the future of the United States lay in the growth of industry and commerce, which would occur for many years primarily outside the South.

Impact of the North's Victory

But most of all, the Civil War was a victory for the millions of enslaved people, over whose plight the conflict had largely begun in the first place. The war produced Abraham Lincoln's epochal Emancipation Proclamation and, later, the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution, which abolished slavery. It also encouraged hundreds of thousands of enslaved people to free themselves, to desert their slaveholders and seek refuge behind Union lines–at times to fight in the Union armies. The future of the freed African Americans was not to be without challenges and hardships, but 3.5 million people who had once lived in bondage emerged from the war as free men and women.

CHAPTER 14 REVIEW

CONNECTING THEMES

Chapter Fourteen explored the causes of the Civil War and the failure of compromise. The war had a major and lasting impact on the social, political, and economic institutions of both the North and the South. Each side had significant, though different, advantages. But neither accurately predicted the length or toll of the war, which was the most devastating in U.S. history.

The Emancipation Proclamation led the North to recruit black soldiers and hindered the efforts of the South to gain recognition from Britain. The Proclamation also established a second overriding war aim beyond reunion and led to the ratification in 1865 of the Thirteenth Amendment, which abolished the institution of slavery. Yet African Americans would continue to face great challenges in both the South and the North for many years to come, and several of those challenges exist to this day.

The roles and responsibilities of women changed during and after the war as more entered the field of nursing and the workforce, often out of necessity. The decimation of the male population in the South further expanded the number of acceptable roles for Southern women after the war. Women in both the North and the South found more independence and sought opportunities to win support for other goals such as suffrage.

The Civil War accelerated industrial growth and railroad development in the North. The belief in the South that "King Cotton" was vital to the European textile industries proved unfounded. With no access to Northern or international markets, the Southern economy suffered greatly during the war. The South also experienced widespread physical destruction and an immense cost in human life, which devastated the region for decades. Ultimately, the growth of industry and commerce was concentrated in the North after the Civil War.

You should consider the following questions as you review the themes for this chapter:

- How did the idea of American identity, particularly for African Americans, change during and after the Civil War?
- What role did the differences in regional economic systems play in the causes and outcomes of the Civil War?
- How did the Civil War affect the social, political, and economic institutions of both the North and the South?
- In what ways did the Civil War alter existing labor systems?
- How was the population of the United States affected by the Civil War and by nineteenth century immigration?
- What political changes were brought about by the Northern victory in the Civil War?
- How was Southern infrastructure affected by the Civil War?
- How did the Civil War alter perceptions of government and democratic ideals?

KEY TERMS

Abraham Lincoln 385
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AP EXAM PRACTICE

Questions assume cumulative content knowledge from this chapter and previous chapters.

MULTIPLE CHOICE

Use the excerpt from the Gettysburg Address on page 394 and your knowledge of U.S. history to answer questions 1–3.

1. What foundational document does Lincoln reference in the introductory sentence?
   - **(A)** the Olive Branch Petition
   - **(B)** the Declaration of Independence
   - **(C)** the Constitution
   - **(D)** the Bill of Rights

2. Earlier in 1863, the "New Birth of Freedom" that Lincoln referenced was supported by
   - **(A)** the treaty between the Confederacy and Great Britain.
   - **(B)** the ratification of the Thirteenth Amendment.
   - **(C)** the issuance of the Emancipation Proclamation.
   - **(D)** the declaration of the draft.

3. What was a unique feature of the Battle of Gettysburg?
   - **(A)** It was fought completely on the water.
   - **(B)** It was the first battle in which African American troops saw front line combat.
   - **(C)** It convinced several European nations to aid the Confederacy.
   - **(D)** It was the last time the Confederates threatened Northern territory.

SHORT ANSWER

Use your knowledge of U.S. history to answer questions 4 and 5.

4. Use the image of the draft riot on page 390 to answer A, B, and C.
   - **(A)** Describe ONE historical context illustrated by the image.
   - **(B)** Briefly explain ONE specific historical cause that led to the New York draft riots during the Civil War.
   - **(C)** Briefly explain ONE specific historical effect that resulted from the New York draft riots during the Civil War.

5. Answer A, B, and C.
   - **(A)** Briefly describe ONE specific historical difference between the border and seceding states in the South at the beginning of the Civil War.
   - **(B)** Briefly describe ONE specific historical similarity between border and seceding states in the South at the start of the Civil War.
   - **(C)** Briefly explain ONE specific historical effect that resulted from the border states remaining in the Union during the Civil War.

LONG ESSAY

Develop a thoughtful and thorough historical argument that addresses the statement. Begin your essay with a thesis statement, and support it with specific historical evidence and examples.

6. Evaluate the extent of similarities between the North and the South at the beginning of the Civil War.

UNIT 5 AP EXAM PRACTICE

AP EXAM PRACTICE

As you answer the questions, consider how the historical developments, processes, and individuals in Unit 5 connect to those in previous units.

MULTIPLE CHOICE

Use the map on page 367 and your knowledge of U.S. history to answer questions 1–3.

1. The conflict illustrated by the map reflected continuing tensions from
   - **(A)** the Texan Revolution and American annexation of Texas.
   - **(B)** disputes in the Northwest Territory.
   - **(C)** the Mormon trek into Utah.
   - **(D)** disputes surrounding the California Gold Rush.

2. The conflict illustrated by the map was part of the larger movement known as
   - **(A)** the Second Great Awakening.
   - **(B)** the Cult of Domesticity.
   - **(C)** Manifest Destiny.
   - **(D)** popular sovereignty.

3. In the aftermath of the conflict illustrated by the map, political tensions flared over the status of
   - **(A)** taxation in the new territory.
   - **(B)** slavery in the new territory.
   - **(C)** immigration in the new territory.
   - **(D)** Senate representation for the new territory.

Use the chart on page 387 and your knowledge of U.S. history to answer questions 4 and 5.

4. The advantages of the Union as shown in the chart were balanced by which advantage held by the Confederacy?
   - **(A)** significant numbers of African Americans willing to fight for the Confederacy
   - **(B)** the support of foreign powers
   - **(C)** the ability to fight a largely defensive war
   - **(D)** a large immigrant population moving into Southern regions

5. What group of Americans enlisted in large numbers and proved to be crucial to the Union's victory?
   - **(A)** Native Americans
   - **(B)** Midwesterners
   - **(C)** naturalized citizens
   - **(D)** African Americans

Use the photograph on page 409 and your knowledge of U.S. history to answer questions 6 and 7.

6. What development transformed the nature of combat in the Civil War?
   - **(A)** the shots fired at Fort Sumter
   - **(B)** advances made to the railroad in the South
   - **(C)** new technologies used in armaments and artillery
   - **(D)** enlistment of Native Americans and African Americans in the Union Army

7. What trend contributed to the Union victory in the Civil War?
   - **(A)** England provided naval support and personnel to aid the Union.
   - **(B)** The Union was able to enlist Canadian soldiers in large numbers.
   - **(C)** The Confederacy failed to gain the support of European powers.
   - **(D)** The infrastructure in Southern states did not support military demands.

Use the image on page 421 to answer questions 8–10.

8. Which Amendment most directly made the scene in the "Freedmen's Bureau School" image possible?
   - **(A)** 12th Amendment
   - **(B)** 13th Amendment
   - **(C)** 14th Amendment
   - **(D)** 15th Amendment

9. Institutions such as the "Freedmen's Bureau School" could be best described as
   - **(A)** an attempt to recreate previous social structures.
   - **(B)** a limited attempt to provide educational opportunities to African Americans.
   - **(C)** dedicated to immediate legal and economic equality.
   - **(D)** focused on access to higher education.

10. Opponents of schools for African Americans were successful in instituting
    - **(A)** the economic system of sharecropping.
    - **(B)** laws that nullified the Black Codes.
    - **(C)** expanded access to voting.
    - **(D)** a political system that enabled racially mixed political leadership.

SHORT ANSWER

Use the image on page 436 and your knowledge of U.S. history to answer question 11.

11. Answer A, B, and C.
    - **(A)** Describe ONE point of view about Reconstruction as depicted in the image.
    - **(B)** Briefly explain ONE specific historical cause of the Compromise of 1877.
    - **(C)** Briefly explain ONE specific historical effect of the Compromise of 1877.

LONG ESSAY

Develop a thoughtful and thorough historical argument that addresses the statement below. Begin your essay with a thesis statement. and support it with specific historical evidence and examples.

12. Evaluate the extent of continuities involved in developing a unique American culture from 1754 to 1800.