

port duties but kept duties on most products high. In response, the South Carolina legislature called a special election to choose a nullification convention. The convention then passed the Ordinance of Nullification on November 24, 1832. The ordinance nullified the tariffs of 1828 and 1832. It also prohibited the collection of import duties in South Carolina after February 1, 1833. In addition, the state legislature called up the state militia and voted money to buy weapons for the militia.

President Jackson used threats and conciliation against South Carolina's acts. In his "Proclamation to the People of South Carolina," Jackson declared, "Disunion by armed force is *treason*. Are you really ready to incur its guilt?" Congressional backers of Jackson introduced a force bill that gave the President the power to use the army to collect revenues. At the same time, Congress began debating a new and lower tariff.

During the crisis, South Carolina hoped that other states would follow its lead. But no other state legislature or state convention nullified tariffs. Also, Jackson's bold threat to "hang the first man of them [the nullifiers] I can get my hands on to the first tree I can find" frightened the supporters of nullification. South Carolina rather quickly postponed its February deadline while John C. Calhoun and Henry Clay argued for a lower tariff in Congress.

In March 1833, Congress passed a compromise tariff bill. Duties were only slightly lowered. Still, the South Carolina legislature accepted the compromise and repealed the Ordinance of Nullification. As a final protest, the South Carolina legislature nullified the force bill.

The crisis brought on by the Ordinance of Nullification was over. Many South Carolinians, however, still believed in their right to nullify federal laws. This belief, as well as the idea of secession, was to have grave consequences for the future of the young country.

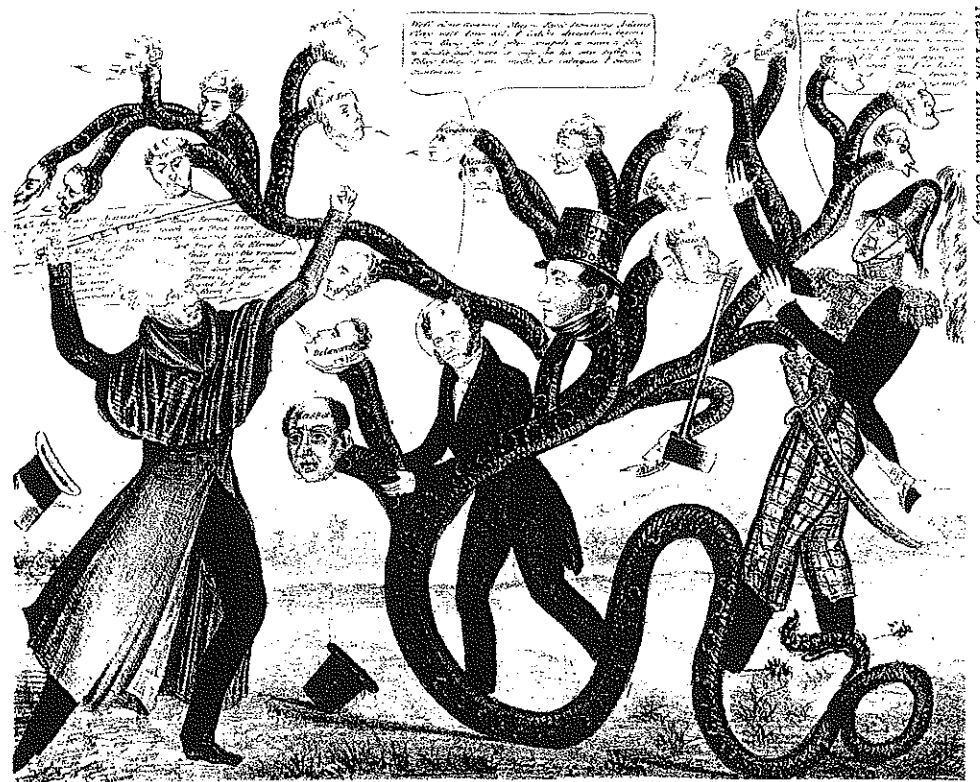
The Bank of the United States Another conflict in which President Jackson showed strong leadership concerned the Second Bank of the United States (BUS). The bank had been chartered in 1816. By the time Jackson became President, it had gained a powerful influence on the country's economy.

Under the strong leadership of its president, Nicholas Biddle, the bank stabilized the economy both with its credit policies and with its regulation of state banking practices. The federal government deposited all the money it received from taxes, tariffs, land sales, and bonds into the bank. So the bank had a monopoly of the money available for loans. The bank could therefore expand or restrict credit for business as it pleased.

The bank also kept state banks from issuing large amounts of paper money by demanding that state bank notes be redeemed for specie. This practice made most state banks reluctant to circulate more money than they could back with specie. So inflation and speculation were kept in check. At the same time, the bank issued its own bank notes. These were the only sound and stable national currency.

Biddle once boasted that the Bank of the United States was the "balance wheel of the banking system." But by the end of the 1820's, a large number of Americans were against the bank's practices. The heads of strong state banks in the East resented the power of the BUS in the banking system. They charged that it restricted competition. Many state bankers, land speculators, and entrepreneurs, especially in the West and the South, were against the bank's credit policies. They wanted easier credit and more currency so that they could take advantage of the growing business opportunities of the time. On the other hand, many planters and farmers in the South condemned the bank and many other banks for issuing paper money. They were "hard money" people, who believed specie was the only safe currency. Many others throughout the country blamed the bank for the Panic of 1819.

Jackson and the Bank No one hated the BUS more than Andrew Jackson. Jackson had had some bad dealings when he was a land speculator. So he did not trust banks or paper money. But he also saw the bank as a danger to the liberty of the American people. He charged that it was controlled by one man—Nicholas Biddle. He also said that the bank corrupted congressional leaders with loans and special favors. The bank, Jackson declared, was a "hydra-headed monster" that "impaired the morals of our people" and "threatened our liberty."



For Andrew Jackson, the battle to destroy the "hydra-headed monster" of the Bank of the United States became almost a holy crusade. Many modern scholars, however, believe that the destruction of the bank left a void in the American economy and contributed to further financial crises in the young nation.

The bank's charter did not run out until 1836. In 1832, however, Daniel Webster and Henry Clay persuaded Nicholas Biddle to ask Congress for an early renewal of the bank's charter. Clay, who was the National-Republican candidate for President at the time, believed that Jackson's reaction to the bank bill would hurt Jackson's chances for reelection in November. If Jackson signed the bill, he would lose votes in the West and the South, where feelings against the bank were particularly high. A veto, on the other hand, would cost Jackson support in the North, where voters generally favored the bank.

In July 1832, Congress passed the bank bill. Jackson promptly vetoed it. In a veto message, Jackson stated that the bank favored the rich and the powerful, was unconstitutional, and was run by its many foreign investors. "The Bank," Jackson told Van Buren, "is trying to kill me, but I will kill it!"

Jackson's veto of the bank bill became the central issue of the presidential campaign of 1832. Though the National-Republicans were hopeful

during the campaign, they had completely misjudged Jackson's popularity as well as public feelings toward the Bank. Jackson won a victory by getting a majority of the popular vote and 219 electoral votes to Clay's 49. Believing that his victory was a mandate from the people, Jackson promised to destroy the BUS even before its charter ran out in 1836.

The Bank War Immediately after Jackson began his second term, he moved to destroy the BUS. He did this by removing government funds from the bank and depositing these funds in state banks—called "pet banks" by Jackson's opponents. Faced with steadily decreasing deposits, the bank—under Nicholas Biddle's leadership—began to restrict credit and to call in loans. These policies restricted land speculation and business investments in 1833 and 1834. Part of this contraction was probably needed to counteract the withdrawal of government funds from the bank. However, Biddle, trying to embarrass Jackson, overdid the tight-money policies.

When groups of business leaders asked Jackson to intervene in the crisis, the President roared, "Go to Nicholas Biddle. . . . Biddle has all the money!" Business leaders then pressured Biddle to restore credit. In 1834 the BUS eased its restrictions on loans. Because Congress had not

renewed the charter of the BUS, however, the bank was lost. The BUS was rechartered as a Pennsylvania state bank when its charter ended in 1836. But the country did not have another central bank until the Federal Reserve System was set up in 1913.

■ Section Analysis

1. What was the spoils system?
2. How was the nullification crisis of 1832 resolved?
3. Why did Jackson want to destroy the Bank of the United States?

3 New Political Alliances After Jackson

Even though Andrew Jackson was very popular with many Americans, certain groups were against Jackson's strong leadership. During Jackson's presidency, these groups began to form a new political alliance. At first, the members of this alliance were united only by their anti-Jackson feel-

ings. As long as Jackson was President, his powerful personality made it almost impossible for his opponents to be successful. When Jackson decided not to seek a third term in 1836, however, a new two-party system began to grow in the young nation.

Andrew Jackson's opponents labeled him King Andrew I and portrayed him as a despot trampling on the U.S. Constitution.



Jackson and the Rise of the Whigs American political leaders were really not in favor of many of Jackson's policies. In general, earlier Presidents had taken less active parts in determining national policy. Jackson, however, felt it was a President's duty to be a strong leader. As a result, Jackson consistently stretched presidential power at the expense of state governments and of Congress.

The idea of a powerful chief executive frightened many congressional leaders. Men like Henry Clay, John Quincy Adams, and Daniel Webster believed that the authors of the Constitution had meant for the President to carry out laws and congressional policies rather than to be a leader. So, these congressional leaders united to go against Jackson and to build a new political alliance. John C. Calhoun professed to belong to no political alliance. However, the South Carolinian often sided with his congressional colleagues against Jackson.

Calling Jackson King Andrew I, these leaders began calling themselves Whigs to remind voters of the Whig party in Great Britain. This party traditionally had been against the despotism and tyranny of British monarchs. In 1834, Henry Clay



Campaign souvenirs such as enamel boxes were widely used in the 1800's. One of these souvenirs commemorates the 1836 presidential election in which Andrew Jackson gave invaluable aid to his handpicked successor, Martin Van Buren.

echoed the feelings of many members of the Whig party. In speaking about President Jackson's attempts to remove deposits from the BUS, Clay stated:

We behold the usual incidents of approaching tyranny. . . . People . . . no longer dare speak in the fearless tones of manly freedom, but in the cautious whispers of trembling slaves. The premonitory symptoms of despotism are upon us; and if Congress do not apply an instantaneous and effective remedy, the fatal collapse will soon come . . .

Today Clay's words may seem extreme. However, in the 1830's Clay's attitudes provided the rallying point for the different groups that made up the Whig party.

In fact, the early Whigs were united by little other than their opposition to Andrew Jackson. The different groups of Whigs included bankers, intellectuals, rich city people, successful southern planters, owners of small businesses, and non-immigrant workers. These groups could not agree on a national program. Also, the Whigs of the 1830's did not have an effective national political organization.

On the other hand, most members of the Democratic party—once known as the Democratic-Republican party—were united behind Jackson. They still had the efficient party organization that Martin Van Buren had helped to build. In general, the Democrats favored extension of the suffrage and *laissez-faire*—no government interference with business and manufacturing interests. The most important unifying force among the Democrats, of course, was Jackson himself. The Whigs, on the other hand, had many outstanding leaders, but they were not all behind one strong person.

The Election of 1836 In 1836, Jackson decided not to seek a third term. Instead, Jackson used his power to ensure that his handpicked successor, Martin Van Buren, received the Democratic nomination.

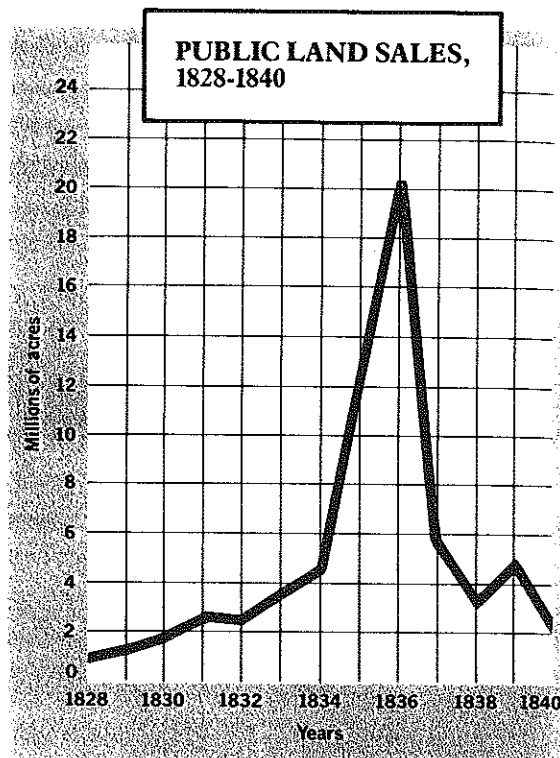
The Whigs were still united only by their dislike of Jackson. So they nominated three regional candidates. William Henry Harrison, a war hero, had strong western support. Daniel Webster had the support of New England. And Hugh Lawson White, a onetime friend of Jackson, had support

in the South. By running three candidates, the Whigs hoped to split the popular vote. Then the Democratic candidate, Van Buren, would not get over half of the electoral votes. According to the Whig plan, the House of Representatives would then choose a President. The Whigs were certain that they had enough support in the House to elect one of their candidates. However, in 1836 Martin Van Buren surprised the Whigs. He won not only a majority of the popular votes but also a majority of the electoral votes.

Though the final count of electoral votes was 170 for Van Buren to 120 for his three opponents, the victory was not an overwhelming one for the Democrats. Out of 1,505,290 popular votes, Van Buren won a narrow majority of 51 percent. As the vote showed, Whig and Democratic voters were fairly evenly divided throughout the country. The results also showed that the United States was entering an era in which two evenly balanced political parties would play important parts.

The Land Boom During the presidential campaign of 1836, the country was in the final stages of an inflationary time of land speculation. This land boom was due, in part, to a rapid increase of specie available in American banks. English investors believed in the future economic growth of the United States, and many invested in American enterprises. Also, English textile mills bought more and more cotton, which they paid for with specie. At the same time, more silver was being brought from Mexico to the United States. The growth of gold and silver reserves in American banks allowed banks to print more bank notes and lend more money. These loans were often used to buy land.

Another reason for the land boom of the mid-1830's was Jackson's successful war against the BUS. The BUS had effectively regulated state banks before the bank war. The danger of BUS intervention had made state banks slow to lend money or to print bank notes. Even before the BUS ceased to exist, however, pet banks, with their large federal deposits, had begun offering easy credit. Then, after the charter of the BUS ran out in 1836, there was no regulation of banking practices. At that time, many banks began to lend money without carefully assessing the borrower's ability to repay the loan. In addition, many



Source: *Historical Statistics of the United States*

With the issuance of the Specie Circular in 1836, land speculators lost faith in the economy, and land sales plummeted.

banks—known as wildcat banks—printed far more paper money than they could back with specie.

Easy credit and the large supply of money helped to fuel land speculation throughout the nation. The newly founded town of Chicago, for example, had a population of approximately 4,000 in 1837. By the middle of the 1830's, however, speculators had already sold and resold most of the land in the countryside around the city at ever-rising prices.

As land prices throughout the country continued to spiral, more people, assuming that they could make easy profits, rushed to buy land. Then they used the land they had just bought as security for more land. Throughout Jackson's second term, this land boom continued. In 1832, only a little more than 2,000,000 acres (800 000 hectares) of public lands were sold. In 1836, however, more than 20,000,000 acres (8 000 000 hectares) were sold as Americans from all parts of the country tried to make big profits.

The Panic of 1837 The rush to buy land at inflated prices alarmed Jackson, and in 1836 he tried to end the speculating by issuing the Specie Circular. This controversial paper stated that only specie could be used to buy public lands.

Because most speculators and farmers did not have gold or silver to pay for new land, the demand for land quickly fell. Lower demand naturally meant lower prices. The many Americans who had planned to pay off their loans by selling land at higher prices found it increasingly difficult to pay back their loans. Banks then foreclosed on the properties. Because of the lower land prices and the absence of cash buyers, the banks often could not sell this land for enough money to make up for the bad loans. Then, as Americans became more alarmed by the crisis, depositors tried to turn in their bank notes for specie. The many banks that had issued too many notes soon ran out of gold and silver. They had to suspend specie payments. By the middle of 1837, every bank in the country had stopped making specie payments, and many had been forced to close.

Soon after he took office, President Van Buren faced the grave economic conditions that have become known as the Panic of 1837. Even though

Van Buren did not cause the depression, many Americans blamed him for the country's economic problems.

Causes of the Panic The Panic of 1837, like most depressions, had many causes. Many historians believe that the land speculation was so intense it could not have continued for long. These scholars also point to the lack of banking regulations as a cause of the depression. Banks printed so much worthless paper money and gave so many unsecured loans that financial disaster was almost certain.

Jackson's Specie Circular was another cause. Though the circular was probably not the major cause of the depression, Jackson's edict made many speculators believe that the boom was almost over. These speculators were no longer optimistic. So they were not willing to buy more land or to borrow money from banks. It was this pessimism that helped to diminish the demand for land. Therefore, land prices fell sharply.

Other reasons helped to increase the effects of the panic. The end of the land boom came at the same time as a depression in England. This depression overseas lowered the demand for, and

This humorous bank note, circulated in New York after specie payments were suspended in 1837, satirized Jackson's economic policies, which many Americans blamed for the nation's financial crisis.



New York Historical Society (Bank Note)

thus the price of, southern cotton. Since the South depended almost completely on cotton, the fall in cotton prices was particularly harmful to the southern economy. In addition, the wheat crop failed in 1836. Naturally, western wheat farmers saw their incomes fall. Many farmers could not pay back their loans.

The depression was not confined to land sales and farming. Because many people had less money to spend, the demand for factory goods also fell. In addition, between February and May 1837, commodity prices fell 30 percent. And by the beginning of summer, every bank in the United States had suspended specie payments because the banks could not meet the angry demands of their depositors who wanted to redeem their bank notes for specie.

Economic conditions worsened throughout the summer of 1837, and many workers in all sections of the nation lost their jobs. These jobless workers had to depend upon charities for food, since there were no government programs to aid the poor or the jobless. Private organizations were often un-

able to help. Conditions became so bad that food riots broke out across the country.

Government Reaction to the Panic One of the major beliefs of the Democrats was that the government should not interfere in economic affairs. As a Democrat, Van Buren believed in laissez-faire. He stated: "The less government interferes with private pursuits the better for the general prosperity." Whig leaders like Daniel Webster criticized Van Buren for being so passive during the grave crisis and for "leaving the people to shift for themselves." Nevertheless, the Democrats refused to actively help the country through the crisis.

Van Buren, however, did have one economic goal during his administration. He believed with Jackson that the concentration of money in the hands of bankers was bad for the country. Van Buren wanted to keep federal money out of all banks. So he worked for the establishment of an independent treasury system that would store government money in specially built safes throughout the country. This system would keep federal funds out of banks. It would therefore stop bankers from backing bank notes or loans with government funds.

After long and often bitter debates, Congress passed the Independent Treasury bill in 1840. Even then, the system remained highly controversial. Whigs, as well as many business leaders and banks in Van Buren's own party, charged that the independent treasury took away specie needed to back loans and currency from American banks. However, the potentially negative effects of the independent treasury were limited for many reasons. Europeans, for example, still invested in American industries during the 1840's. This guaranteed American banks an adequate supply of gold and silver. Then, gold was discovered in California in 1848. So American bankers were assured of more specie.

As the election of 1848 approached, however, most Americans were concerned about the hardships of the depression. Unfortunately for the Democrats, many voters blamed Van Buren and the Democratic party for their troubles.

The Election of 1840 Up until 1840 the Whig party had been perceived by the American

In 1840, the Whigs presented William Henry Harrison as a man of humble origins in an effort to win more support from the expanded electorate.



voters as the party of the rich. The Democratic party was seen as the party of the common people. The Whig party worked hard to change this image in 1840. In 1840, the economy had not recovered from the Panic of 1837. So the Whigs benefited from general public discontent with Van Buren's administration. In late 1839, the national Whig convention nominated the hero of the Battle of Tippecanoe (1811), General William Henry Harrison, for President and chose John Tyler of Virginia as his running mate.

By nominating a war hero, the Whigs copied the plan the Democratic-Republicans had used when they chose Andrew Jackson in 1828. The Whigs also pictured Harrison as a man of the people who preferred frontier life in a log cabin to life in the White House. In reality, Harrison came from a well-to-do Virginia family, was well educated, and had never lived in a log cabin. The log cabin, however, became the symbol of Harrison's campaign.

Just as the Democratic-Republicans had called John Quincy Adams an aristocratic friend of the privileged in 1828, the Whigs of 1840 portrayed Van Buren as a fat aristocrat living a rich life in

the White House. This strategy was even more effective because so many Americans were struggling through the depression.

The Whigs held rallies, parades, and barbecues with barrels of hard cider. They used a catchy campaign slogan—"Tippecanoe and Tyler too"—to remind voters of Harrison's war record. Although the Democrats tried to match the lively Whig campaign, the voters were not convinced. In the election, a huge voter turnout—80 percent of the electorate—gave Harrison a victory of 234 electoral votes to 60. In the popular vote, however, Harrison received a popular majority of only 53 percent, showing that the country did indeed have a working two-party system.

As soon as the election results were known, many people seeking offices headed for Washington in search of rewards for supporting the Whigs. However, only a month after his inauguration, Harrison died of pneumonia; and Vice-President Tyler, an advocate of states' rights, became President. Tyler, who was called His Accidency by his opponents, became the first Vice-President to succeed to the presidency upon the death of a President.

■ Section Analysis

1. What united most members of the emerging Whig party?
2. How did the Specie Circular help to end land speculation?
3. Why did the Whigs nominate William Henry Harrison for President in 1840?

SUMMARY

By 1828, Andrew Jackson and his supporters had built a powerful political organization. Many Americans believed that Andrew Jackson represented the common people. So they supported him in his bitter fight against John Quincy Adams. In part because of changes that allowed more Americans to vote, Jackson easily won the election. Despite Jackson's reputation as a champion of the people and of democratic reforms, however, the Indians suffered during his presidency. In the 1830's, thousands of these native Americans were driven from their homes. They were forced to live on reservations west of the Mississippi River.

Jackson's belief in the supremacy of the federal government brought him into conflict with South Caro-

lina's theory of nullification. The nullification crisis of 1832 ended peacefully. But many southerners still believed in their right to nullify laws. In financial affairs, Jackson led a successful campaign to destroy the BUS. However, the bank war had grave consequences for the American economy.

When Jackson left office in 1836, his handpicked successor, Martin Van Buren, won the presidency despite opposition from the new Whig party. Almost as soon as Van Buren took office, the country was plunged into a depression that continued throughout Van Buren's administration. In 1840, many Americans blamed the Democrats for the panic. So they voted for the Whig's presidential candidate, William Henry Harrison.

support its government, should be a qualified voter.

Acknowledgment: from Niles Weekly Register, October 21, 1820.

14B *Cherokee Nation v. State of Georgia*

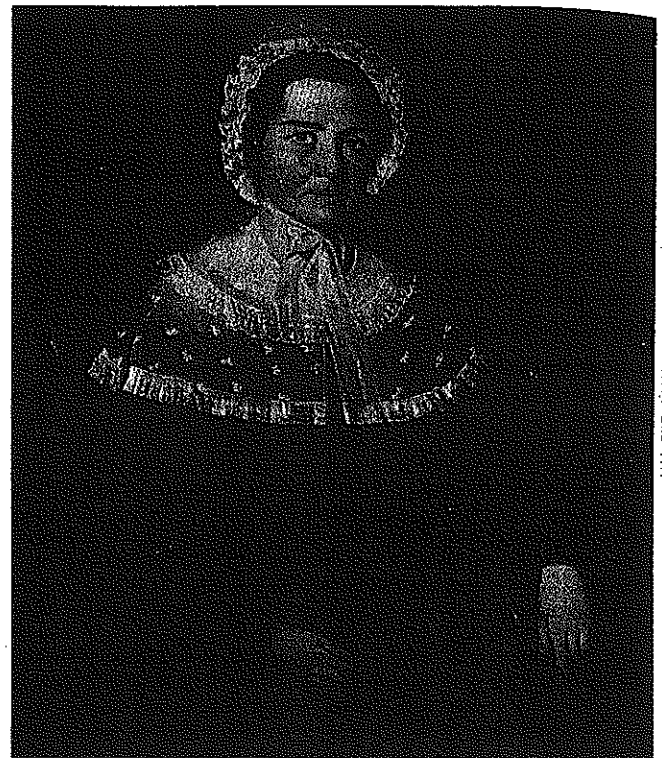
The Cherokees, probably the most advanced of the Indian tribes in the South, suffered much from the intrusion of white settlers. In desperation, they declared themselves an independent nation. When the state of Georgia then declared all the Cherokee laws null and void, the Cherokees appealed to the Supreme Court. John Marshall, Chief Justice from 1801 to 1835, wrote the opinion in this case. In which paragraph did Marshall show where his sympathies lay? How did he dispose of the Cherokees' claim to being an independent nation?

If courts were permitted to indulge their sympathies, a case better calculated to excite them can scarcely be imagined. A people once numerous, powerful, and truly independent, found by our ancestors in the quiet and uncontrolled possession of an ample domain, gradually sinking beneath our superior policy, our arts, and our arms, have yielded their lands by successive treaties, each of which contains a solemn guarantee of the residue, until they retain no more of their formerly extensive territory than is deemed necessary to their comfortable subsistence. . . . The acts of our government plainly recognize the Cherokee Nation as a state, and the courts are bound by those acts.

A question of much more difficulty remains. Do the Cherokees constitute a foreign state in the sense of the Constitution?

The counsel have shown conclusively that they are not a state of the Union, and have insisted that individually they are aliens, not owing allegiance to the United States. An aggregate of aliens composing a state must, they say, be a foreign state. Each individual being foreign, the whole must be foreign.

The Indian Territory is admitted to compose part of the United States. In all our maps, geographical treaties, histories, and laws, it is so con-



Thomas (Gibson) Institute of American History and Art

Elizabeth Ross, who was part Cherokee, survived the deplorable conditions on the Trail of Tears, but thousands of Cherokee were less fortunate and died on the route.

sidered. In all our intercourse with foreign nations, in our commercial regulations, in any attempt at intercourse between Indians and foreign nations, they are considered as within the jurisdictional limits of the United States, subject to many of those restraints which are imposed upon our own citizens.

Though the Indians are acknowledged to have an unquestionable and, heretofore, unquestioned right to the lands they occupy until that right shall be extinguished by a voluntary cession to our government, yet it may well be doubted whether those tribes which reside within the acknowledged boundaries of the United States can, with strict accuracy, be denominated foreign nations. They may more correctly, perhaps, be denominated domestic dependent nations. They occupy a territory to which we assert a title independent of their will, which must take effect in point of possession when their right of possession ceases. Meanwhile, they are in a state of pupilage.

Their relation to the United States resembles that of a ward to his guardian.

They look to our government for protection; rely upon its kindness and its power; appeal to it for relief to their wants; and address the President as their "great father." They and their country are considered by foreign nations, as well as by ourselves, as being so completely under the sovereignty and dominion of the United States that any attempt to acquire their lands or to form a political connection with them would be considered by all as an invasion of our territory and an act of hostility.

But we think that in construing them, considerable aid is furnished by that clause in the 8th section of the 3rd Article, which empowers Congress to "regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several states, and with the Indian tribes."

In this clause they are as clearly contradistinguished by a name appropriate to themselves from foreign nations as from the several states composing the Union.

Acknowledgment: from Reports of Cases Argued and Adjudged in the Supreme Court of the United States, Vol. 5, edited by Richard Peters. 1884.

14C *Edward Everett in Opposition to Jackson's Indian Policy*

On February 14, 1831, Edward Everett, a Massachusetts congressman who later became governor of Massachusetts, president of Harvard, and secretary of state, delivered a speech to the House of Representatives in opposition to Jackson's Indian policy. Everett was a strong defender of the Indians' rights and opposed Jackson's policy of removing the Cherokee and other Indian tribes from lands granted to them by treaty. In his speech, excerpted below, Everett also speaks out against Jackson's use of presidential power. According to Everett, how had Georgia abused the rights of the Cherokee Indians? According to Everett, how had Jackson overstepped his presiden-

tial powers in dealing with the Indian question?

I cannot disguise my impression, that it [the annulment of the Indian treaties] is the greatest question which ever came before Congress, short of the question of peace and war. It concerns not an individual, but entire communities of men, whose fate is wholly in our hands, . . . As I regard it, it is a question of inflicting the pains of banishment from their native land on seventy or eighty thousand human beings, the greater part of whom are fixed and attached to their homes in the same way that we are. . . .

Georgia led the way. In 1828, she passed a summary law, to take effect prospectively [in the future], extending her jurisdiction, civil and criminal, over the Indian tribes within her limits. In 1829, this law, with more specific provisions, was re-enacted, to take effect on the 1st day of June, 1830. This example of Georgia was imitated by Alabama and Mississippi. By these State laws, the organization previously existing in the Indian tribes was declared unlawful, and was annulled. It was made criminal to exercise any function of Government under authority derived from the tribes. The political existence of these communities was accordingly dissolved, and their members declared citizens or subjects of the States. . . .

The Indians, as was natural, looked to the Government of the United States for protection. It was the quarter whence they had a right to expect it—where, as I think, they ought to have found it. They asked to be protected in the rights and possessions guaranteed to them by numerous treaties, and demanded the execution, in their favor, of the laws of the United States governing the intercourse of our citizens with the Indian tribes. They came first to the President, deeming, and rightly, that it was his duty to afford them this protection. They knew . . . he had but one constitutional duty to perform toward the treaties and laws—the duty of executing them. The President refused to afford the protection demanded. He informed them that he had no power, in his view of the rights of the States, to prevent their extending their laws over the Indians; and the Secretary of War, in one of his communications to them, adds the remark, that the President had as little inclination as power to do so. . . .

In my judgment, there was an error in the first step taken by the President. He decided a question which he had no constitutional competency to decide. When the first movement was made by the States, he should have interposed to maintain the treaties and enforce the laws, and have referred the subject to Congress. . . .

The President tells all concerned that he will not enforce the [1802 Indian] law, because he thinks it unconstitutional. Is not that nullification? The convention of the judges of Georgia decide all Indian treaties to be unconstitutional. Is not that nullification? . . .

The President acquiesces in this course, on the part of the States, although it is his sole duty, in reference to this matter, to enforce the law, of which these treaties are a part. Congress last winter made express provision against their violation. They are violated. Let us then either make provision to execute [the treaties], or let us abrogate [abolish] them.

Acknowledgment: from Congressional Debates, Edward Everett, February 14, 1831, in United States, 21st Congress, 2nd Session.

14D *A Humorist's View of the Bank Controversy*

The national bank that Alexander Hamilton favored was established in 1791. However, forty years later, people were still arguing about whether the bank was a good or a bad thing. Eventually a man who despised the idea of a national bank became President. When the charter of the bank expired in 1836, Andrew Jackson refused to renew it. He favored state banks around the country, and he won his point. Charles A. Davis used a character named Major Jack Downing to ridicule Jackson's ideas. In this sketch, the "Gineral" is President Jackson. How did the writer get his pronational bank point across?

"Why, Major," says the Gineral, "what's the matter? ain't 'the Government' economical?" says he: "do you expect to make reforms without costin somethin? Can you clear up swamps, and cut

ditches, and remove old stumps without expense?" "Yes," says I, "Gineral, that's all true. But, plague on't," says I, "it's ben goin on so now nigh upon 5 years; and," says I, "it keeps costin more and more, and we are nearer being swamp'd and stump'd than ever—here" says I, "now jest look and see what 'the Government' costs now, and what it cost when Mr. Adams was President; and that ain't the worst on't," says I, "our money is here, there, and everywhere; and I don't see how we shall find it when we want it." . . .

"Major, ain't you mistaken?" "No," says I, "thare's no mistake about me, Gineral." "Let me see them accounts," says he, and he begun to feel for his spectacles, first in one pocket, and then in another—for he had no less than 7 pockets besides his watch fob—and he couldn't find his spectacles—

The Gineral kept all the while feelin and turnin his pockets inside out, but no spectacles. Says he, "Major, I reckon them 'err spectacles are somewhere in one of these pockets, and I'll find 'em," says he, "if I have to take my shirt off"; and at it he went, and he off coat and jacket, and I don't know what all, and I all the while shakin 'em to find the spectacles—by and by I see a hole in his pantaloons pocket. "I'm on track now," says I, "Gineral; here a hole:" and, sure enuff, when he came to take off his boots, there was his best gold rim specs, and all broke to flinders—and if we hadn't been lookin for 'em, and if I hadn't seen that 'ere hole, you never would say they ever had been specs, for they were all jam'd to nothin.

There was a curious notion then just come into my head, and I stood stock and holdin the Gineral's pantaloons in one hand and his right boot upside down in the other and there lay the specs on the floor (or what there was left on 'em);

"Major, what are you thinkin on?" "Why," says I, "Gineral, I was thinkin," says I, "if you had kept your spectacles in your side breast-pocket, they would be on your nose now; but," says I, "that ain't the worst on't, I'm afeard," says I, "Gineral, we've got too many pockets for our money, and when we want it we shall all have to come to our shirts and boots before we find it."

Acknowledgment: from Letters of Downing, Major by Charles A. Davis. 1834.

1 The Land and People of the North

In the early 1800's, the northern states went through the early stages of industrialization. From 1830 to 1850, this process of industrialization continued. The factory system replaced household manufacturing in a number of industries. Also, the country's transportation systems underwent improvements. During this time, many immigrants came to the United States to live and work in the northern cities. The North was changing from a rural society to an urban-industrial society.

A Growing Population Between 1830 and 1850, the population of the United States grew by about 80 percent. This rapid rate of increase was a result of a higher birth rate, a lower death rate, and the arrival of thousands of immigrants from western Europe. The increase in immigrants was, perhaps, the most important factor in the growth of population during these years. In 1830, for example, only 23,322 immigrants entered the United States. In 1850, however, the United States

admitted nearly 370,000 immigrants. By that time, about 25 percent of the American population had been born outside the United States.

A major reason for the rapid growth of immigration was the economic problems in western Europe in the mid-1800's. For example, the Irish potato famine of the late 1840's left thousands of Irish people with the choice of starving or seeking a new life elsewhere. A number of crop failures in Germany in the 1840's left many thousands of Germans facing a similar choice. Many of these people chose to seek a new life in the United States. Between 1846 and 1850, of the 1,282,915 immigrants who entered the United States, 923,062 came from Ireland or Germany.

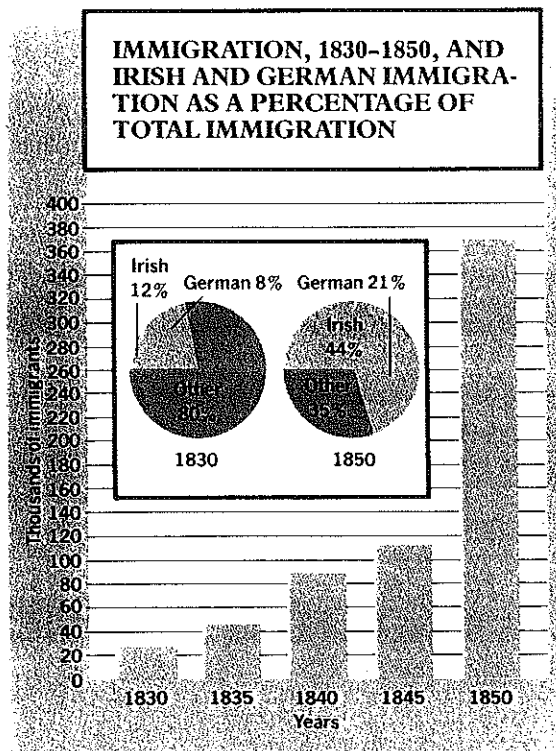
Many of the Irish immigrants had been farmers in Ireland. In the United States, however, they settled in the large cities of the Northeast, such as New York and Boston. Because they had few skills other than farming, many Irish immigrants worked as domestic servants or as unskilled laborers in factories. They also worked on building the canals and railroads that were under construction during the first half of the nineteenth century. In fact, railroad and canal companies, desperate for laborers, paid the passage for many Irish immigrants to come to the United States.

With the arrival of thousands of Irish immigrants, the cities of the Northeast began to grow rapidly. In 1830, only 14 percent of the people in the Northeast lived in cities. By 1850, however, the urban population of the Northeast had grown to nearly 27 percent. During the same time, the urban population of the whole country grew from 10 percent to 18 percent.

Many of the German immigrants had a skill, such as cabinetmaking or pianomaking, that could be put to use in the new land. The Germans tended to move inland and settle in such cities as Milwaukee, St. Louis, and Cincinnati. Some of them bought and worked their own farms in the Midwest. Between 1840 and 1850, the population of Wisconsin grew from 31,000 to 305,000. The arrival of many immigrant German farmers accounts for much of this increase in population.

Northern Agriculture In the early 1800's, most people in the North made a living by farm-

Between 1830 and 1850, yearly immigration to the United States grew from 23,000 to nearly 370,000. In 1850, about 65 percent of the immigrants were of Irish or German descent.



ing. For the most part, farms were small and farmers practiced subsistence farming. What large-scale farm production there was in the North was found in the northeastern states. But a number of technological innovations in the 1830's brought some major changes to farming in the North.

One major technological innovation was the introduction of the steel plow in 1837. John Deere, a blacksmith living in Illinois, had noticed that plows made of wood or iron did not work well on the heavy soil of the midwestern plains. In contrast, Deere discovered, a plow with a hard steel blade cut cleanly through the soil and left clear, deep furrows. Deere's discovery made plowing so much easier that many midwestern farmers were able to plant crops on land that had been left untouched. These farmers found that the large areas of newly plowed land were suitable for growing corn or wheat.

Another major innovation was the mechanical reaper. Throughout the early 1830's, Cyrus H. McCormick, a farmer from Virginia, had experimented with ways to harvest crops mechanically. In 1834, he received a patent for a mechanical reaper. McCormick's invention had a major impact on wheat production, since the operation of such a reaper could harvest six times more wheat than could a farm worker using a scythe. The introduction of the steel plow and the McCormick reaper made possible the planting and harvesting of wheat on a large scale. Also, the demand for food from the rapidly growing populations of the northeastern cities made wheat a profitable crop. Very soon, farmers began to grow more wheat to supply this demand. Between 1839 and 1859, yearly wheat production in the United States more than doubled, going from 85 million bushels (3 060 000 cubic meters) to 173 million bushels (6 230 000 cubic meters).

The demand for food from the populations of the major northeastern cities also resulted in the growth of livestock farming. With the development of an efficient canal transportation system and the beginnings of a railroad system, livestock no longer had to be raised close to the centers of population. In time, the open plains of the Midwest became the major center for livestock and wheat production.

Between 1830 and 1850, the elements of modern agriculture were introduced in the North. But this

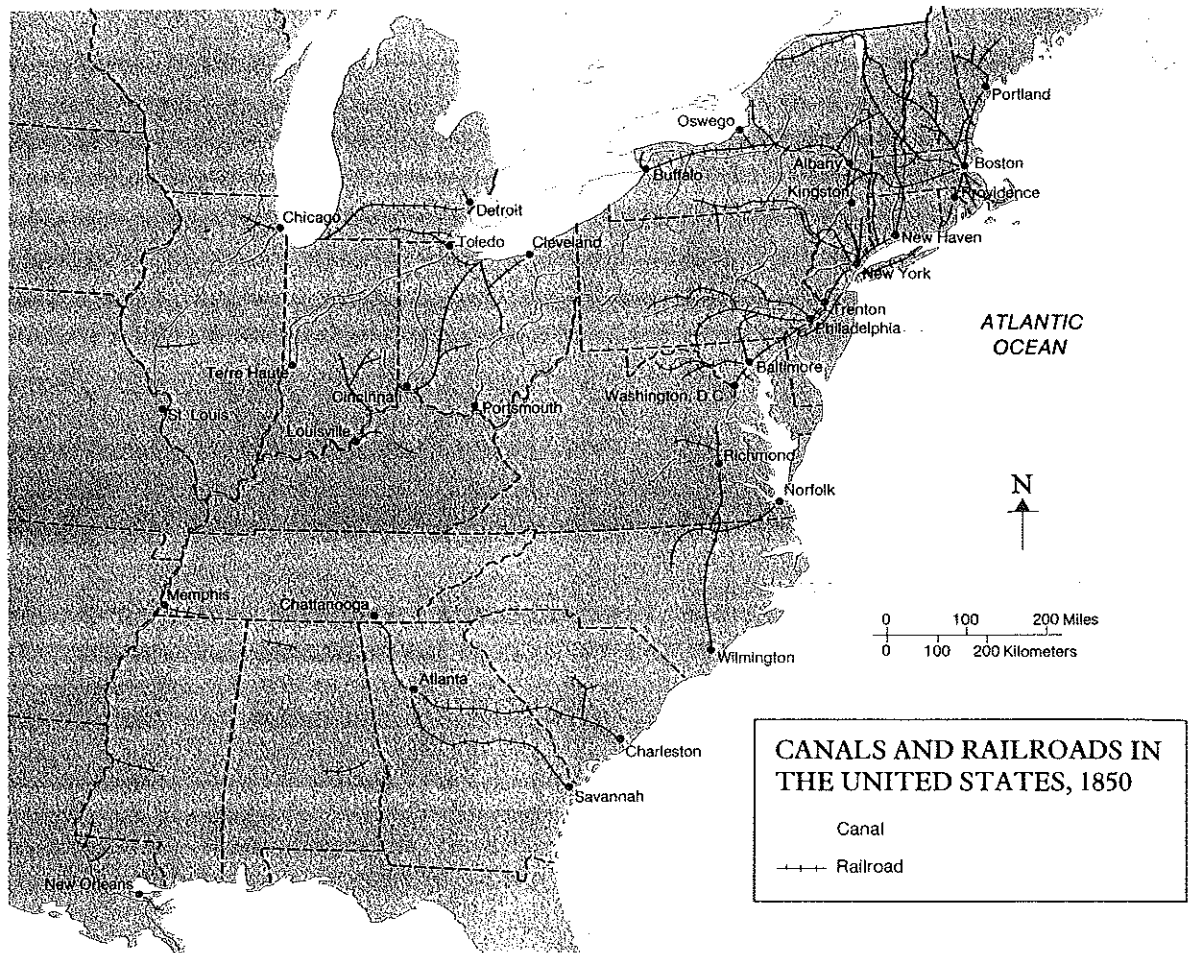


When Cyrus H. McCormick's patent on the mechanical reaper expired in the late 1840's, he had to contend with fierce competition from other farm-machinery producers.

modernization also brought problems. To purchase the most modern farm machinery, some farmers took out loans. These farmers often used next year's crop as security for the loans. If the crop failed, repaying the loans became a major problem. In such cases, farmers often mortgaged their farms to pay off their debts. The problems of debts and mortgages continued to plague American agriculture throughout the nineteenth century.

Improved Water Transportation Throughout the first half of the 1800's, Americans continued to cross the Appalachians and settle in the western lands. As these settlers pushed the frontier further westward, it became clear that a better system for east-west travel was needed. The federal government made the first effort to provide a satisfactory east-west route by building the National Road in the early 1800's. However, western farmers and eastern merchants soon found that transporting their products over long distances by road was very expensive.

A cheaper method of east-west transportation came in 1825 with the completion of the Erie Canal. This canal, which ran from Albany, New York, on the Hudson River to Buffalo, New York, on Lake Erie, established a water link between the Atlantic Ocean and the Great Lakes region. The east-west freight charges on the Erie Canal were \$5 per ton, as opposed to \$100 per ton by road. This rate made it far less expensive for



Railroads began to challenge canals as the major means of transportation during the 1850's, when railroad systems linking the Northeast with the Midwest were built.

western farmers to ship their produce to the northeastern cities and for eastern merchants to ship manufactured goods to settlers in the West. The Erie Canal was an immediate success and New York City, at the east end of the canal, became the major business center of the United States.

The success of the Erie Canal caused a boom in canal construction, especially in the northeastern states. Between 1831 and 1840, about \$74 million were invested in the building of canals, with about 64 percent of that money going to projects in the Northeast. Much of this money came from state governments. For example, between 1816 and 1840 about 3,326 miles (5 322 kilometers) of canal were constructed at a cost of about \$125 million. State governments provided about \$73 million of this total. The state governments were willing to make this kind of investment because they saw that the Erie Canal had paid

for itself very quickly. The state of New York, which had financed the Erie Canal, received enough in tolls to get back its initial outlay of \$7 million within 9 years.

During the 1840's, canals became the major means of freight transportation. They provided a cheap and efficient method to move raw materials and farm produce from the plains of the Midwest to the eastern states, and to move manufactures and imported goods from the eastern ports to the West. In this way, canals were a major stimulus to the growth of the northern economy.

The development of the steamboat in the early 1800's revolutionized inland water travel and further stimulated the building of canals. The steamboat cut the traveling time from New Orleans to Pittsburgh from 100 days to 30 days and cut the cost of shipping goods over this distance in half. In addition, the steamboat provided an important

link between the West and the South. Crops and livestock raised in the West were transported down the Mississippi River for sale in New Orleans and other southern cities. Even after the Erie Canal was built, the Mississippi River and its tributaries remained the most traveled route for steamboats.

The Railroads During the 1840's and the 1850's, the beginnings of another revolution in American transportation—the railroads—were being established. As was the case with canal construction, the state governments played a major role in the development of the railroads. The state charters that established the various railroad construction companies gave those companies many privileges. Most of the charters allowed the companies the right of *eminent domain*—the power to take over private property for public use. The charters also freed the companies from paying taxes. In addition, many states gave land and low-interest loans to the companies to encourage them to build railroads. In 1850, the federal government also began to give land to the railroad companies.

Funding for the railroads came from private sources as well. Merchants saw this new form of transportation as a less expensive way to move their goods to distant markets. Therefore, they helped to raise money by buying stock in the railroads. Farmers also saw the possible value of the railroads for transporting their crops. Many

of them donated land or money to the new venture. As a result of these efforts, investment in railroad construction amounted to more than \$1.25 billion between 1830 and 1860.

The growth of the railroads was dramatic. In 1830, only 23 miles (37 kilometers) of railroad track were in operation in the United States. By 1850, there were about 9,000 miles (14 400 kilometers) of track, 3,300 miles (5 280 kilometers) of which were built between 1848 and 1850. In the next 5 years, another 11,600 miles (18 560 kilometers) of track were laid. Most of this construction took place in the northern states.

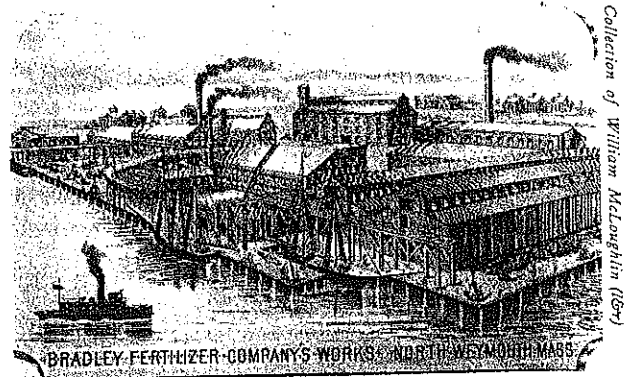
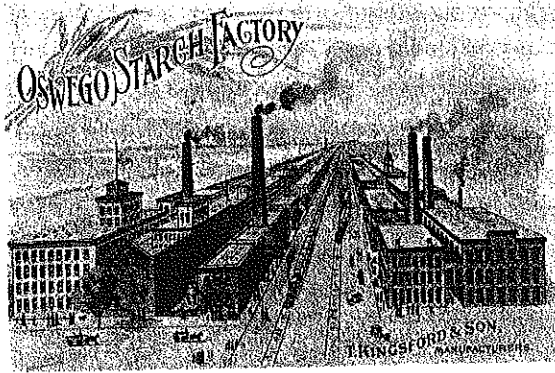
Some opposition to the railroads sprang up among the canal companies. Afraid of the competition from the railroads, the canal companies tried to have laws passed that would restrict the railroads' activities. In 1833, the New York legislature passed a law that prohibited railroads from carrying freight in New York. In Pennsylvania, railroads had to pay a tax on the freight that they transported. Despite these obstacles, by the mid-1850's the railroads had replaced canals as the major means of freight transportation in the North.

Industry in the North Industrialization in the North had begun in the early 1800's with the introduction of the factory system in the textile industry. Other industries soon followed the textile industry's lead. The boot and shoe industry

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During the early 1800's, canals were an important part of the transportation system in the northern states. However, with the development of railroads in the mid-1800's, canal traffic declined. By 1860, the railroads were carrying most of the freight traffic in the North.



America's rapid industrialization in the 1800's is reflected in these advertising trade cards illustrating a starch plant (left) and a fertilizer factory (right).

quickly began to use many aspects of the factory system. By the mid-1840's, the Pennsylvania iron industry was largely a factory operation. The factory system was well established in the agricultural processing industry by 1850. This was especially true in the areas of flour milling and meat packing.

Industrialization took place at this time for a number of reasons. First, the influx of immigrants during this period provided the cheap and plentiful labor that was needed for the factories. Second, the growing populations of the northern cities needed housing and food. To meet these increasing demands, the iron, lumber, and agricultural processing industries had to become more efficient. Third, western settlers were finding new sources of the raw materials of industry such as coal, iron, and lumber. Fourth, the advances in agriculture increased the supply of raw materials—grain and livestock—for the flour mills and the meat-packing factories. Fifth, the improvements in transportation meant that the movement of raw materials and finished goods was easier and cheaper.

But perhaps the most important reasons for industrialization were the inventions and the technological innovations of this period. Between 1820 and 1835, the United States Patent Office issued more than 6,250 patents. In the next 15 years, more than 9,600 patents were issued. Most of these patents were for inventions or new designs that could be used in industry.

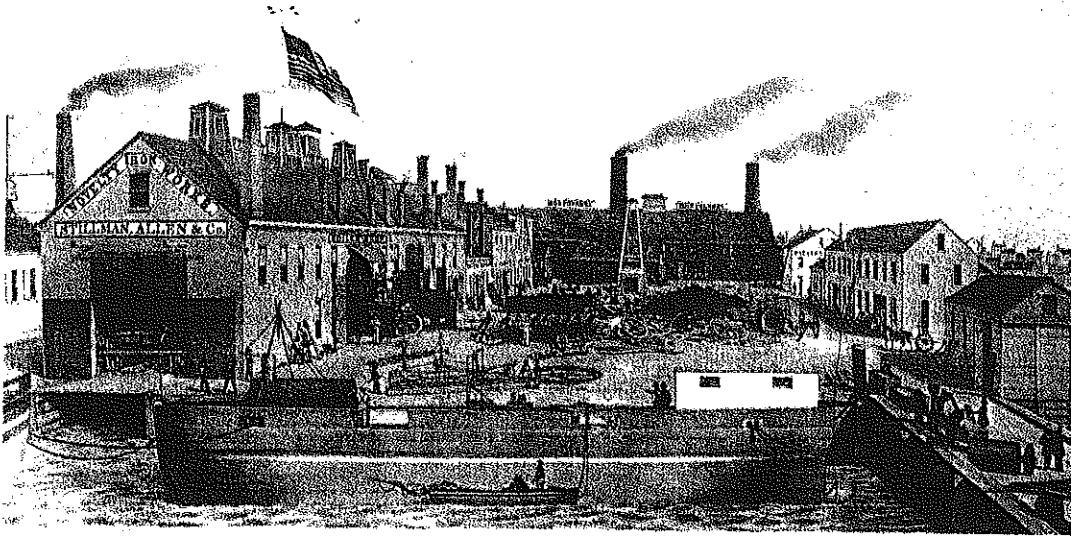
Such inventions and designs were put into use quickly. Once an invention had proved useful in

one industry, other industries began to use it. For example, after the sewing machine proved successful in the textile industry, it was also used in making boots and shoes.

American inventors excelled in the development of precision tools, which were used for fine cutting and measuring. These tools helped to establish the United States as a leading producer of clocks, locks, and guns. These products were of such high quality that British industrialists came to America to study precision manufacturing procedures.

The building of the railroads created an enormous demand for iron for rails and locomotives. To fill this need, the iron industry had to change its production methods. Until 1830, most iron was bought by blacksmiths, who preferred iron made with charcoal. But the high cost of transporting wood for charcoal made it too expensive to produce large amounts of iron. As a result, so little iron was produced that in 1828 the owners of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad had to import iron from England. Then, in the 1830's, a method was developed for extracting iron by melting it with coal instead of charcoal. This coal-smelted iron worked well in the manufacture of locomotives and rails. Also, the ready supply of coal in western Pennsylvania made it possible to produce large amounts of iron.

For the most part, industrialization was limited to the North. Of the \$2 billion worth of manufactured goods produced in the United States in 1859, the northeastern states produced \$1.27 billion worth. The only industry in which the



Iron works such as this one in New York City supplied steam engines, boilers, and other equipment to factories throughout the country as industries expanded in the mid-1800's.

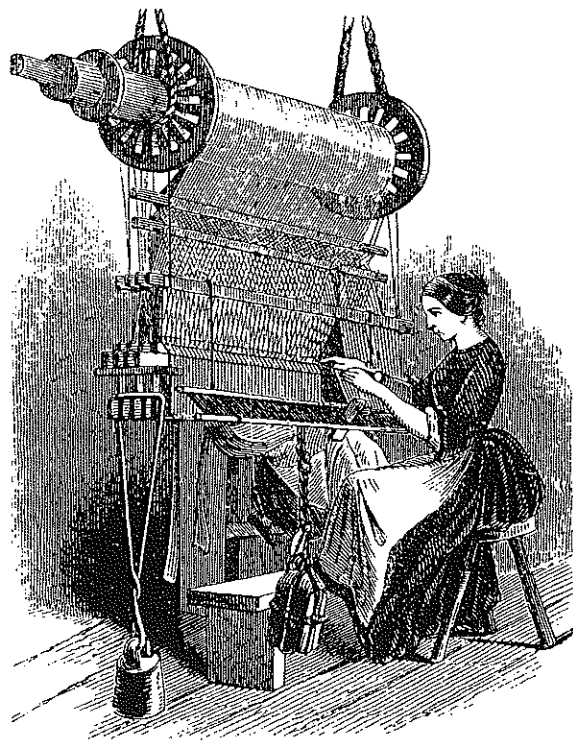
South played a major role was flour milling. However, even with the rapid industrialization of the North, the United States remained very much an agricultural nation. Most of the leading American industries depended on farming for their raw materials. As late as 1850, almost 64 percent of the American work force was employed in agriculture. In 1859, however, the value of manufactured goods for the first time exceeded the value of agricultural products.

Workers in the North In the early years of industrialization, there were few factories and most of these were in small towns. The factories were small, which allowed factory owners to know their workers personally. For the most part, owners showed some concern for the welfare of their workers. In some cases, workers lived in dormitories or boarding houses maintained by the factory owners. Working conditions in the factories, although not perfect, were not too harsh. Although wages were low, most workers could grow vegetables and raise chickens and thus enjoy a reasonable standard of living.

The textile mills in Lowell, Massachusetts, provide one example of unusually good working con-

ditions. Between 1820 and 1840, most of the workers at Lowell were young women who had left their homes to earn money for their families. The Lowell girls, as they were called, did not plan to spend their lives working in the mills. Most of them returned home after three or four years. The Lowell girls received fairly high wages. They lived in the mill boarding house, where their welfare was carefully watched over. Books were readily available at Lowell. Some of the girls from the farms came to Lowell for the educational and social opportunities.

When the rate and scope of industrialization increased, however, living and working conditions deteriorated. As factories were opened in the larger towns and cities, the quality of housing for workers declined. Workers frequently were forced to live in crowded, unsanitary dwellings, for which they were charged very high rents. In the work place, most factory owners made little effort to provide for the safety of their workers. Also, to increase profits, factory owners required their employees to work longer hours. A normal working day lasted from 12 to 16 hours. Wages were low, with unskilled workers receiving less than \$6 per week and skilled workers rarely making more than



With the expansion of industry in the 1800's, women became an important part of America's work force. Many women were employed in the textile mills of the Northeast.

\$10 per week. In some cases, whole families—father, mother, and all the children—took jobs in order to make a living wage. With the arrival of large numbers of immigrants, wage levels fell even lower. Many of these immigrants needed work so badly that they would take any wage they were offered, no matter how low. American workers had to accept the same low wages if they wanted to keep their jobs.

Some efforts were made to get state legislatures to pass laws limiting the working day, but these efforts met with little success. Some states, however, did pass laws that limited the working hours of women and children. For example, in 1846 New

Hampshire passed a law that limited the working day for 12-year-old children to 10 hours. Pennsylvania passed a similar law in the same year. But these laws did not apply if a special contract allowing a longer working day had been signed. Also, the states did little to enforce these laws. Thus, these attempts to protect women and children in the work place were largely ineffective.

Labor Organization During the 1830's, many workers came to believe that the only way they could protect themselves was to organize unions. In the mid-1830's, skilled craft workers organized about 150 local trade unions in the industrial cities of the Northeast. The union leaders tried to bargain with employers for better working conditions and wages. When these bargaining attempts broke down, union leaders often called for strikes to back up their claims. But strikes were considered illegal at this time, and the strike leaders often were taken to court by employers. The legality of strikes was established in 1842 by the Massachusetts Supreme Court case of *Commonwealth v. Hunt*. In this case, the Massachusetts Supreme Court said that the legality of an organization rested on the legality of the methods it used. Therefore, the court said, a labor union that refused to work in order to reach its goals was legal.

The Massachusetts Supreme Court decision in *Commonwealth v. Hunt* was not well received by most employers. But it was accepted by most state courts as legal precedent. This was a major step forward for organized labor. Throughout the 1840's, skilled workers continued to organize unions and made important gains. For example, by the 1850's the average working day for skilled workers had been cut from 12.5 hours to just over 10 hours. However, there were few unions for unskilled workers. Most of these workers had to put up with long hours, low wages, and unsafe working conditions.

■ Section Analysis

1. What caused the increase in the American population between 1830 and 1850?
2. How did the state governments help the development of the railroads in the 1840's?
3. Why was the Massachusetts Supreme Court decision in the case of *Commonwealth v. Hunt* important for organized labor?

2 The Land and People of the South

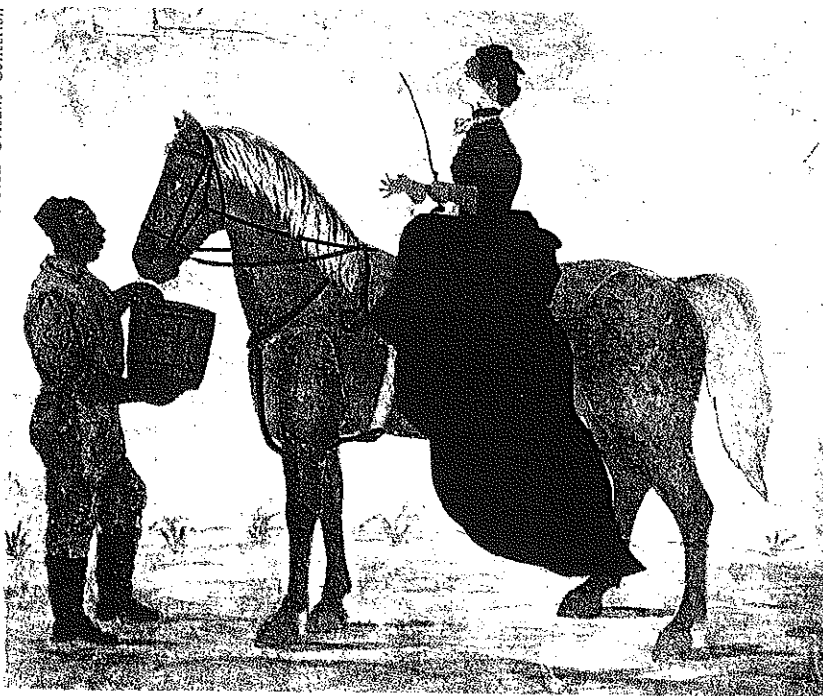
During the first half of the 1800's, the South remained a traditional agricultural society. Agriculture in the South, for the most part, was based on a few staple crops, such as cotton, tobacco, rice, and indigo. The farming of cotton, which was the most important crop, depended heavily upon slave labor. By the 1850's, slavery had become the major cause of sectional conflict between the North and the South.

Southern Society Southern society of the 1800's was made up of several distinct social groups. The most important group in terms of wealth and power was the planter class. The members of this group owned the large cotton plantations of the lower South. By the 1850's, there were about 2,000 planters who owned more than 100 slaves each and had large landholdings. A further 8,000 planters owned smaller, but still considerable, amounts of land and about 50 slaves each. Although small in numbers, the members of the planter class wielded great power. Many planters took an active part in all levels of politics. Those

who entered politics were often able to influence political decisions because of their wealth or social standing. In many ways, this *plantation aristocracy*—as the planter class often was called—dominated social, political, and economic life in the South.

Below the plantation aristocracy on the social scale was the southern middle class. This class was made up of merchants and skilled workers from the cities and small planters from the rural areas. The middle-class planters usually owned a few hundred acres of land and fewer than 20 slaves each. Like the wealthier planters, the middle-class planters usually raised cotton. Since most middle-class planters aspired to become part of the plantation aristocracy, they copied the life-style and attitudes of the wealthy.

The largest group in southern society was made up of small farmers who did not own slaves. Even though they owned no slaves, most of these small farmers supported slavery. Many of them hoped to be wealthy enough to own slaves one day. In addition, they considered themselves racially



The plantation aristocracy was the most influential social class in the South. In this watercolor and paper collage by William H. Brown from the early 1840's, Sara Pierce Vick, the mistress of a plantation near Vicksburg, Mississippi, stops to speak with one of her slaves.

superior to blacks and, for the most part, believed that slavery was the only condition for which blacks were fit.

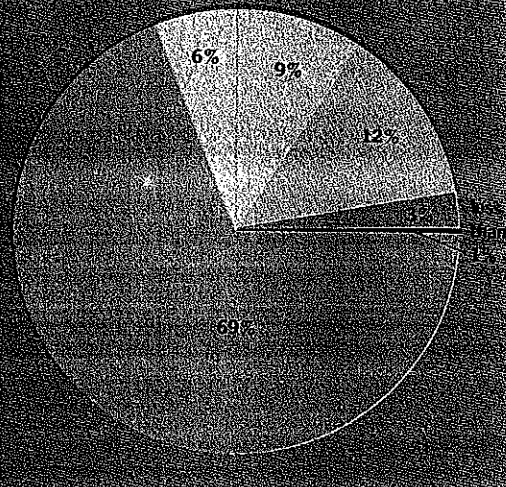
Below the small farmers on the social scale were the "poor whites." This group was small in number, accounting for less than 10 percent of the total population of the South. Some poor whites lived on the poorest, least fertile lands. These people supported themselves by growing a few vegetables and by hunting birds and small animals. Other poor whites lived by hunting and fishing in the backcountry of the Appalachian Mountains.

At the very bottom of the social scale were southern blacks. By the 1850's, there were about 250,000 free blacks living in the South. In the cities, free blacks worked as domestic servants or as unskilled laborers, and in the country they took jobs as farmhands. The rights of free blacks were severely restricted. In most states, they could not vote, move freely from place to place, or testify in court. Their educational and job opportunities were also greatly restricted. In addition, the segregation of public places, such as hotels, restaurants, and theaters, was a common practice.

By far the greatest number of southern blacks—more than 3 million in 1850—were held in slavery. In many ways, southern society rested on the institution of slavery. Southerners frequently measured their wealth by the number of slaves they owned rather than by the amount of land they had. Also, the cotton plantation, the basic element of the southern economy, would have been impossible to run without slave labor. By the 1850's, nearly 35 percent of the population of the South was enslaved.

The Peculiar Institution Slavery had been established in the South because the basic element of southern agriculture—the plantation—required much cheap labor. At first, plantation owners agreed that using slave labor was the most economical method of raising crops. By the end of the 1700's, however, some planters questioned whether keeping large numbers of slaves year-round for what was essentially seasonal work really was economical. Many of these planters thought it would be more profitable to free their slaves and hire farmhands when needed. The introduction of Eli Whitney's cotton gin, however, made

SOUTHERN WHITE FAMILIES OWNING SLAVES, 1850



More than two thirds of the white families in the South did not own slaves.

possible the large-scale production of cotton. The cultivation of cotton was almost a year-round operation. Cotton was planted in April and required almost daily attention during its growing period. The harvesting of cotton often lasted from September to December. The doubts about the profitability of slave labor soon faded. By the 1830's, slavery was the most prominent feature of southern society. In contrast, most northern states, by this time, had passed some form of abolition legislation that made slavery illegal. Because slavery existed almost exclusively in the South, southerners began to call it their *peculiar institution*.

Although slavery had become an important part of southern society by the 1850's, most people in the South did not own slaves. In fact, in 1850 nearly 70 percent of southern white families owned no slaves. Fifteen percent owned less than 5 slaves each. Less than 4 percent of white families owned more than 20 slaves each. However, more than half the slaves in the South in 1850 lived on large plantations—those with 20 or more slaves.



This 1842 painting entitled "Hauling the Whole Week's Picking" reflects the conditions under which southern blacks worked, as a slave family returns from the fields of a cotton plantation.

Southern slaves did all types of work. Some were in domestic service, employed as maids, kitchen workers, or servants. Others did heavy labor on construction gangs or in factories. But by far the greatest number of slaves were farm workers.

Life on the Plantation On the large plantations, the lives and work of the slaves were organized around the crops that were grown. On cotton plantations, slaves worked in a *gang system*. In this system, a group, or gang, of 20 to 40 slaves worked together doing all the tasks involved in growing cotton. Under the watchful eye of an overseer, the gang plowed and seeded the ground during April. They tended the cotton daily during the summer and harvested it during the last months of the year. Under the gang system, slaves usually worked from dawn to dusk, with a two-hour rest period in the middle of the day. On tobacco, rice, and sugar plantations, the *task system* was used. Under this system, slaves were given certain tasks to perform in the planting, care, and harvesting of crops. When the slaves had

completed their tasks, the rest of the day was their own.

For the most part, the relationship between owners and slaves rested on one fact—slaves were regarded as property by their owners. They could be bought, used, and sold as the owners saw fit. How the slaves were treated varied greatly from plantation to plantation. Treatment tended to be more impersonal and severe on the larger plantations. Regardless of the size of the plantation, house slaves and slaves with a skill, such as carpentry or blacksmithing, were treated better than field hands. A number of owners viewed their slaves as valuable property and, therefore, took good care of them. In cases where slaves were treated well, bonds of affection and friendship sometimes developed between master and slave. In the majority of cases, however, the provisions made for slaves were barely enough to keep them alive. Most slaves lived in windowless wooden huts with dirt floors. Their clothing and shoes were made of cheap, rough material and were barely adequate for the winter months. The slaves'



The quarters of plantation slaves were usually nothing more than crude, one-room log cabins with dirt floors and uncovered openings in the walls for windows. These meager shelters provided only minimum protection for the slaves in cold and rainy weather.

weekly food allowance normally was a piece of pork or fatback bacon, corn, and molasses. Some slaves were able to supplement this diet with vegetables from their own gardens. On special occasions, such as Christmas Day, the slaves might receive extra meat and vegetables.

Slave Codes The lives of the slaves were strictly governed by rules established by their owners. Also, slaves had to obey the *slave codes* enacted by the various southern state legislatures. Under these codes, slaves were not allowed to leave the property of their owners except when accompanied by a white person or when carrying a travel permit. In addition, large gatherings of slaves, except those supervised by an overseer, were forbidden. Also, slaves were forbidden to learn to read and write. Slaves who broke any of the rules could be severely punished. The overseers frequently beat slaves who were not willing to work or who did not work quickly enough. Slaves who tried to escape often received 100 or more lashes of the whip. A slave who struck a slave owner or an overseer usually was put to death.

Slave codes also restricted the rights of free blacks. For example, the Alabama slave code prohibited free blacks from buying alcohol, selling any goods to slaves, or attending a slave gathering. Punishment for these offenses ranged from 10 to 39 lashes.

Because slaves were considered to be *chattel*—personal private property—they had no legal rights. Slaves did not even have the right to get married. However, many slaves went through a form of marriage that was recognized by most owners. Married slaves lived together and raised families. The satisfactions of family life helped many slaves handle the harsh reality of their lives. A number of historical studies have shown that slave families were remarkably strong and vital, considering the stresses that were placed upon them. Perhaps the greatest stress that slave families had to live with was the fear that a family member would be sold. Some slave owners found that threatening to break up a family by selling one of its members was a more successful form of discipline than physical threats.

Slaves in the Cities Not all slaves lived on plantations or farms. Some slaves—less than 10 percent of the total slave population—lived in the cities of the South. These slaves were employed as domestic servants; factory workers; manual laborers; and, in some cases, skilled workers. Slavery never became fully established in the southern cities, however. To perform their duties, many slaves needed to move freely throughout the city. Thus, their owners found it difficult to supervise them. Also, in their travels about the city, slaves often came into contact with whites from

the North and with free blacks. Slave owners worried that such experiences might encourage their slaves to seek their own freedom.

Certain developments in the 1850's caused the owners of city slaves to worry further. These owners heard many stories of northern abolitionists helping slaves to escape. Southern city dwellers, whether they owned slaves or not, feared that such stories might drive the city slaves to rebellion. Very quickly, skilled slaves who had been hired from plantations were returned to their owners. In addition, many city slaves were sold to plantation owners. These owners, many city people felt, were far more experienced in controlling slave conspiracies and rebellions.

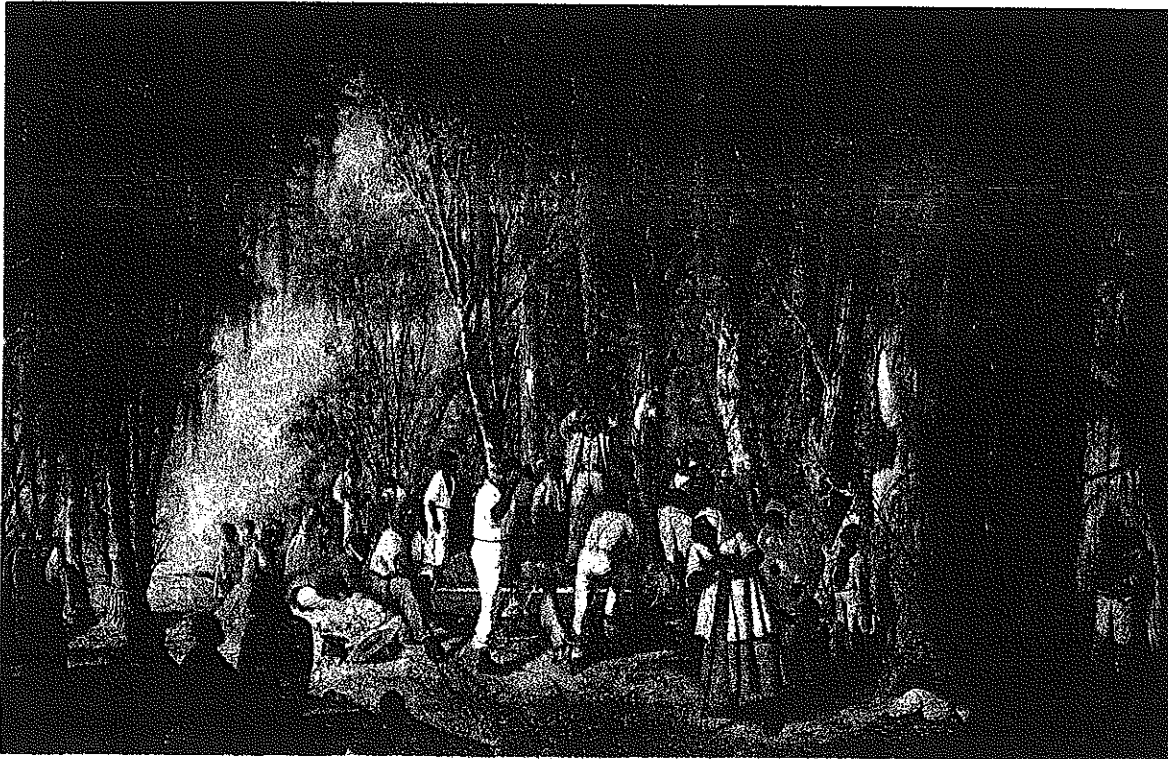
Throughout the 1850's, the slave population in the southern cities declined. Even so, considerable numbers of slaves remained in the larger cities. For these slaves, the cities became hostile places to live. This was because white anger at slave rebellions and at the activities of northern abolitionists grew.

The Slaves' Response to Slavery The slaves were able to develop a number of ways to handle the conditions under which they lived and worked. During their time in captivity, the slaves had developed their own distinctive religion. This religion combined certain elements of Christianity with a number of African traditions. Many slaves drew great comfort from their religion. It offered them hope that they would not be slaves forever. Christianity, for example, offered the prospect of freedom in the afterlife. The African traditions linked the slaves to a time when their people had been free. This religion also brought forth a body of distinctively black music—the spirituals—that has greatly influenced American music.

Some slaves were more active in their opposition to slavery. Many slaves, while outwardly appearing to be obedient and happy, found ways to be uncooperative at work. Some slaves slowed down their work. Others broke their work tools and took many hours to repair them. Still other slaves found

(Text continues on page 337.)

This painting of a funeral for a plantation slave reflects the harsh and hopeless conditions of slave life. Friends and relatives gather in mourning for the deceased.



The Historic New Orleans Collection

Two Northerners View Slavery

In the first half of the nineteenth century, there was a strong abolition movement in the North. However, not all northerners were strongly opposed to slavery. Below are two northerners' views of slavery. The first was written by Joseph Holt Ingraham, who grew up in Maine but later moved to Mississippi. The second was written by Theodore Dwight Weld of Ohio. Weld's wife, Angelina Grimke of South Carolina, often did the research for his writings on slavery. As you read these excerpts, try to analyze why the writers held opposing views.

Joseph Ingraham

"Planters . . . have a kind of affection for their Negroes, incredible to those who have not observed its effects. If rebellious they punish them—if well behaved, they not infrequently reward them. In health they treat them with uniform kindness, in sickness with attention and sympathy. I once called on a . . . planter . . . [and] found him by the bedside of a

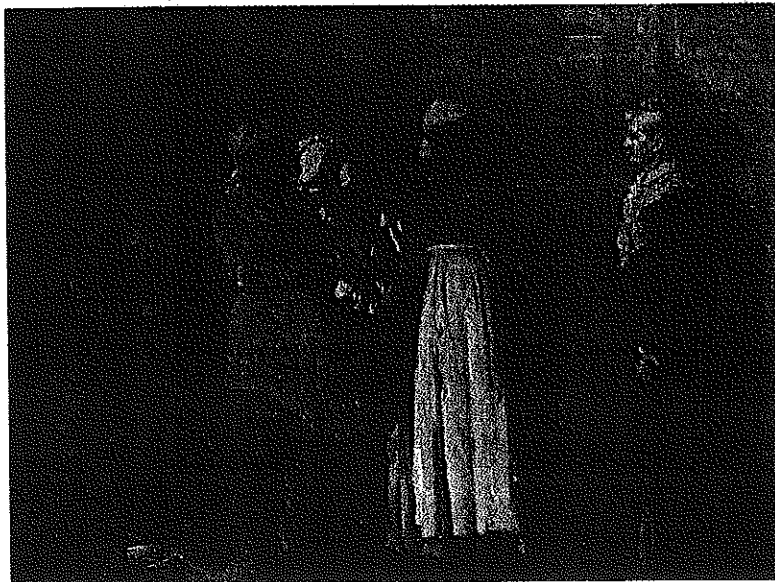
dying slave, nursing him with a kindness of voice and manner, and displaying a manly sympathy with his sufferings. . . . On large plantations hospitals are erected for the reception of the sick, and the best medical attendance is provided for them. . . . Every plantation is supplied with suitable medicines. . . . Hence, the health of the slaves . . . is well provided for. They are well fed and warmly clothed for the winter, in warm jackets and trousers, and blanket coats enveloping the whole person, with hats or woolen caps and brogans [boots]. In summer, they have clothing suitable to the season, and a ragged Negro is less frequently to be met with than in Northern cities."

Theodore Weld

"Reader, what have you to say of such treatment? Is it right, just, benevolent? Suppose I should seize you, rob you of your liberty, drive you into the field, and make you work without pay as long as you

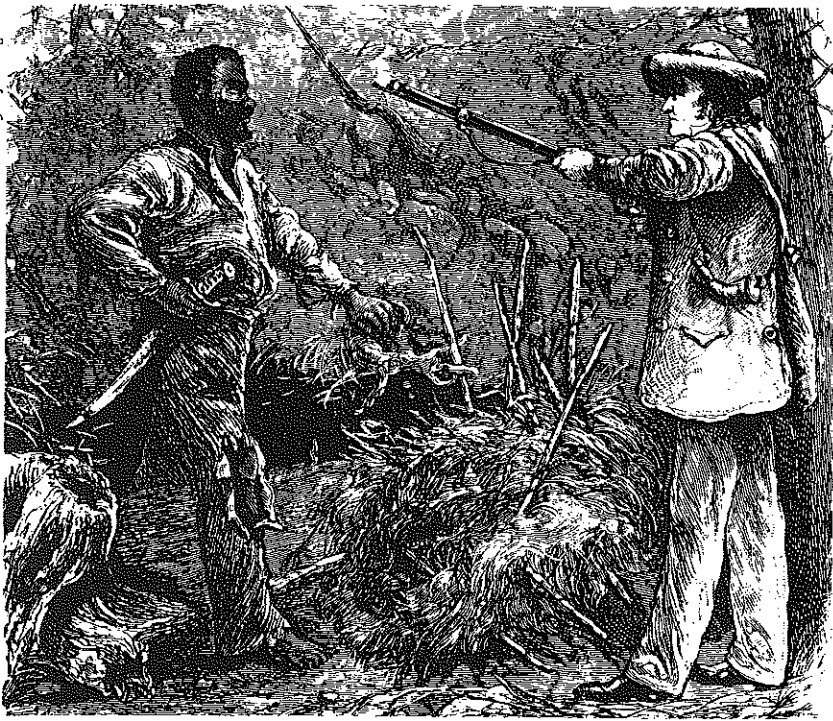
live. Would that be justice and kindness, or monstrous injustice and cruelty? Now, every body knows that the slaveholders do these things to the slaves every day and yet it is stoutly affirmed that they treat them well and kindly. . . . [The slaveholder] can make you work a life time without pay, but loves you too well to let you go hungry. He fleeces you of your *rights* with a relish, but is shocked if you work bareheaded in summer, or in winter without warm stockings. He can make you go without your *liberty*, but never without a shirt. He can crush, in you, all hope of bettering your condition, by vowing that you shall die his slave, but though he can coolly torture your feelings, he is too compassionate to lacerate your back—he can break your heart, but he is very tender of your skin. . . . What! slaveholders talk of treating men well, and yet not only rob them of all they get . . . but rob them of *themselves*, also; their very hands and feet, all their muscles, and limbs, and senses, their bodies and minds, their time and liberty and earnings, their free speech and rights of conscience, their right to acquire knowledge, and property, and reputation;—and yet they, who plunder them of all these, would fain make us believe that their soft hearts ooze out so lovingly toward their slaves . . ."

National Museum of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Gift of William T. Evans



In Winslow Homer's painting entitled "A Visit From the Old Mistress," the wife of a plantation owner talks to several slaves in their dark and crude quarters.

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Following Nat Turner's attempt to lead a slave rebellion in 1831, the forceful black preacher sought to escape Virginia authorities by living in the wilderness. For about two months, he successfully evaded the pursuing militia. In this wood engraving, Turner's hiding place is revealed and the black leader is captured.

ways to waste or destroy the crops they had harvested. All these things greatly decreased the productivity of the plantations.

Some slaves found life so intolerable that they attempted to escape. With luck, and the assistance of sympathetic southerners and northern abolitionists, a number of slaves were able to escape to Canada. However, the success rate for escape was very low. Even so, during the 1850's about 1,000 slaves attempted to escape each year.

In a very few cases, slaves sought their freedom through violent means. Almost all of these planned uprisings were discovered and put down before the slaves took any action. For example, in 1800 a conspiracy to create a black republic in Virginia was discovered. The leader of the conspiracy was Gabriel Prosser. He was accused of planning to attack the city of Richmond, capture the armories, and kill all the whites living in the city. Prosser and about 30 of his followers were seized, tried, and executed. In 1822, Denmark Vesey, a free black living in Charleston, South Carolina, planned to take over the state's major cities with a force of 9,000 free blacks and slaves. However, one of Vesey's followers informed the slave owners of the conspiracy, and the leaders were arrested. Of these leaders, Vesey and about 30 others were executed. Another 30 were sold to plantation owners in the West Indies.

One revolt that did take place was Nat Turner's Rebellion of 1831. Turner was a slave preacher from Virginia. He believed that God had told him to take up arms against the whites. In August of 1831, Turner led 70 followers on an attack across Southampton County, Virginia, that left more than 50 white people dead. In their efforts to put down the rebellion, the Virginia militia may have killed as many as 100 blacks, most of whom were innocent. After eluding the militia for 2 months, Turner was finally captured. In the trial that followed, Turner and 12 of his followers were found guilty and sentenced to death.

Reaction in the South Nat Turner's Rebellion served to underscore the constant fear of slave uprisings under which most southern whites lived. As a result, during the 1830's southern states passed harsh slave codes. These codes placed even greater restrictions on slaves than there had been before. During this same period, the institution of slavery was strongly criticized by northern abolitionists. This challenge caused many prominent southern citizens to defend their peculiar institution.

The defense of slavery that was most often used was first put forward by George Fitzhugh, a Virginia lawyer and plantation owner. In his writings, Fitzhugh compared northern and southern

society. Northern society, he noted, was an industrial society in which the factory owners took advantage of their workers. In order to make the greatest profits, factory owners paid their workers low wages. Also, the owners took few measures to protect the workers' health and safety. The slave system in the South, however, resulted in bonds of affection between slave and master, Fitzhugh argued. In addition, on the southern plantation there was an accepted agreement between slave and master. The slave agreed to work for the economic good of the owner, while the owner agreed to take care of the slave's day-to-day needs. According to Fitzhugh, all members of the plantation worked for the greatest good of the community. Thus, he concluded, the southern plantation with its system of slavery was the highest form of socialism.

Thomas Roderick Dew, a professor at William and Mary College in Williamsburg, Virginia, noted that slavery existed in the great civilizations of classical history, such as Greece and Rome.

■ Section Analysis

1. What was the most powerful group in southern society?
2. How did the gang system and the task system of plantation work differ?
3. Why was religion so important to most slaves?

SUMMARY

During the years from 1800 to 1850, the North and the South followed very different paths of development. The North became an industrial region with an extensive factory system. Immigrants from western Europe, especially from Ireland and Germany, flocked to the United States to flee poverty in their countries. Many of them settled in the Northeast, where cities grew rapidly in the mid-1800's. The building of new transportation systems also changed the way of life in the North. Canals and railroads linked the manufacturing cities of the Northeast with the farms of the Midwest, providing a fairly inexpensive way to move manufactured goods and crops. Problems developed in the northern factories when working conditions began to worsen. Workers started to organize into labor unions and go on strike for higher wages and better working conditions.

Dew further said that slavery was good for both blacks and whites. Slavery had brought blacks out of the uncivilized continent of Africa and made them members of civilized American society. Also, southern white democracy was possible only because of slavery. There were fewer class differences among whites because slavery had put blacks on the lowest rungs of society.

John C. Calhoun, the most important southern politician of the first half of the 1800's, agreed with Dew. Calhoun argued that slavery was necessary if the southern economy was to grow. He even suggested that the North could help its economy by enslaving its white working classes.

This strong defense of slavery was an indication of the growing conflict between the North and the South. As the abolitionists became more and more critical of slavery, the southerners began to defend their peculiar institution more strongly. Many people in both the North and the South began to fear that a peaceful solution to this conflict might be difficult to find.

While the North was becoming more industrial, the South chose to remain a traditional agricultural society. The invention of the cotton gin made growing cotton more profitable. This resulted in the development of huge cotton plantations that depended on slave labor. Although many southerners owned no slaves, most of them felt that slavery was essential to the success of the southern economy.

Harsh laws were passed to restrict the rights of slaves. The slaves responded to the conditions of slavery in various ways. Some looked to their religion for strength. Others became uncooperative on the job. Still others openly rebelled. Abolitionists opposed slavery and worked to outlaw it in the United States. The abolitionists also helped many slaves escape to the North. By 1850, the question of slavery had become the major sectional difference between the North and the South.

We were to have had an execution yesterday; but the wretched prisoner avoided it by suicide. The gallows had been erected for several hours, and with a cool refinement of cruelty was hoisted before the window of the condemned. . . .

To me, human life seems so sacred a thing that its violent termination always fills me with horror, whether perpetrated by an individual or a crowd; whether done contrary to law and custom, or according to law and custom.

Worse than all this was the horrible amount of diabolical passion excited. The hearts of men were filled with murder. . . . "for every criminal you execute, you make a hundred murderers *outside* the prison, each as dangerous as would be the one inside." He said perhaps it was so, and went his way. . . .

A tacit acknowledgment of the demoralizing influence of executions is generally made in the fact that they are forbidden to be public, as formerly. The scene is now in a prison yard instead of open fields, and no spectators are admitted but officers of the law and those especially invited. Yet a favorite argument in favor of capital punishment has been the terror that the spectacle inspires in the breast of evildoers. I trust the 200 or 300 singled out from the mass of New York population by particular invitation, especially the judges and civil officers, will feel the full weight of the compliment.

The testimony from all parts of the world is invariable and conclusive: that crime diminishes in proportion to the mildness of the laws. The *real* danger is in having laws on the statute book at variance with universal instincts of the human heart, and thus tempting men to continual evasion. The *evasion*, even of a bad law, is attended with many mischievous results; its *abolition* is always safe.

In looking at capital punishment in its practical bearings on the operation of justice, an observing mind is at once struck with the extreme uncertainty attending it. The balance swings hither and thither, and settles, as it were, by chance. The strong instincts of the heart teach juries extreme reluctance to convict for capital offenses. They will avail themselves of every loophole in the evidence to avoid the bloody responsibility imposed upon them. In this way, undoubted criminals escape all punishment, until society becomes

alarmed for its own safety and insists that the next victim *shall* be sacrificed. . . .

The scale now turns the other way; and the next offender will probably receive very lenient treatment, though he should not have half so many extenuating circumstances in his favor.

Another thought which forces itself upon the mind in consideration of this subject is the danger of convicting the innocent. Murder is a crime which must of course be committed in secret, and therefore the proof must be mainly circumstantial. This kind of evidence is in its nature so precarious that men have learned great timidity in trusting to it. . . .

Few know how numerous are the cases where it has subsequently been discovered that the innocent suffered instead of the guilty. Yet one such case in an age is surely enough to make legislators pause before they cast a vote against the abolition of capital punishment.

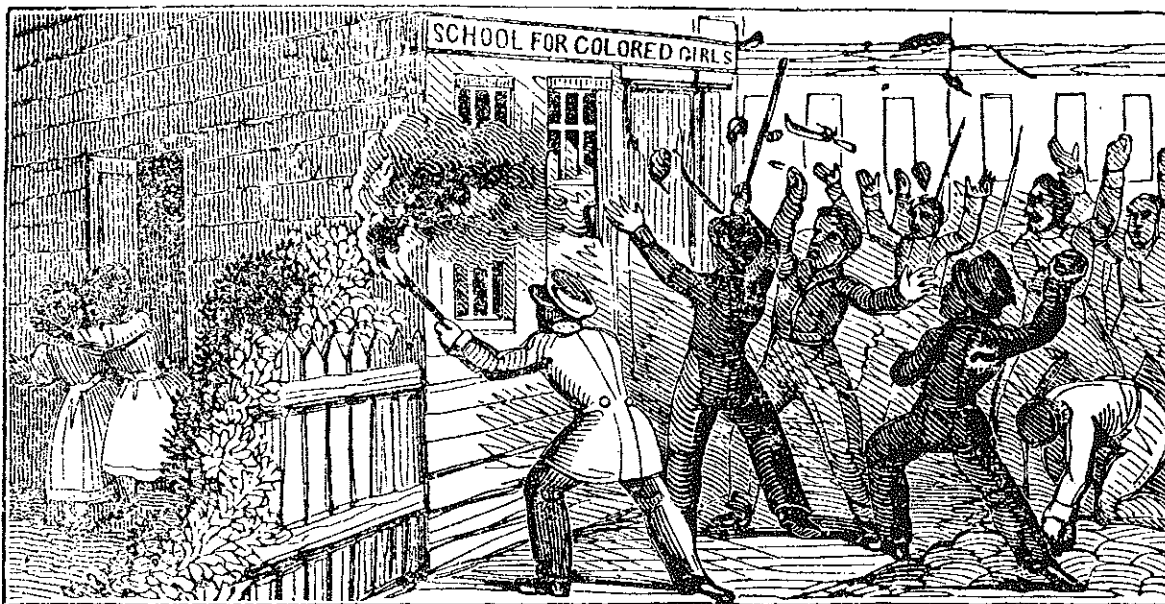
But many say, "The Old Testament requires blood for blood." So it requires that a woman should be put to death for adultery; and men for doing work on the Sabbath; and children for cursing their parents; and "If an ox were to push with his horn, in time past, and it hath been testified to his owner and he hath not kept him in; but that he hath killed a man or a woman, the ox shall be stoned, and his owner also shall be put to death. . . .

They who feel bound to advocate capital punishment for murder on account of the law given to Moses ought, for the same reason, to insist that children should be executed for striking or cursing their parents.

Acknowledgment: from Letters from New York by Lydia Child. 1846.

17B *Slavery As It Is*

One of the leading abolitionists, Theodore Dwight Weld, published an important book in 1839. Weld had married Angelina Grimké who, with her sister Sarah, was an outstanding figure in the antislavery movement. By searching through thousands of southern newspapers for advertisements of runaway slaves, the Grimké sisters assisted



Library of Congress

Although blacks were not enslaved in the North, they often faced discrimination. For example, it was difficult for blacks to find good jobs, and few hotels or restaurants would serve blacks. Sometimes this discrimination took a more violent form, such as when mobs attacked a school for black girls.

Weld in compiling Slavery As It Is: Testimony of a Thousand Witnesses. These advertisements made up the main force of this compelling book. How would you account for the impact of such advertisements on the public? What does Weld mean by the "unfeeling barbarity" of the slave owners?

As slaveholders and their apologists are volunteer witnesses in their own cause, and are flooding the world with testimony that their slaves are kindly treated; that they are well fed, well clothed, well housed, well lodged, moderately worked, and bountifully provided with all things needful for their comfort, we propose—first, to disprove their assertions by the testimony of a multitude of impartial witnesses, and then to put slaveholders themselves through a course of cross-questioning which shall draw their condemnation out of their own mouths. We will prove that the slaves in the United States are treated with barbarous inhumanity; that they are overworked, underfed, wretchedly clad and lodged, and have insufficient sleep; that they are often made to wear around their necks iron collars armed with prongs, to drag heavy chains and weights at their feet while

working in the field, and to wear yokes, and bells, and iron horns; that they are often kept confined in the stocks day and night for weeks together, made to wear gags in their mouths for hours or days, have some of their front teeth torn out or broken off, that they may be easily detected when they run away; . . .

The barbarous indifference with which slaveholders regard the forcible sundering of husbands and wives, parents and children, brothers and sisters, and the unfeeling brutality indicated by the language in which they describe the efforts made by the slaves, in their yearnings after those from whom they have been torn away, reveals a "public opinion" towards them as dead to their agony as if they were cattle. . . .

From the "Southern Argus," Oct. 31, 1837:

Runaway—my negro man, Frederick, about 20 years of age. He is no doubt near the plantation of G. W. Corprew, Esq. of Noxubbee county, Mississippi, as *his wife belongs to that gentleman, and he followed her from my residence.* The above reward will be paid to any one who will confine him in jail and inform me of it at Athens, Ala.

KERKMAN LEWIS.

From the "Savannah (Ga.) Republican," Sept. 3, 1838:

\$20 Reward for my negro man Jim.—Jim is about 50 or 55 years of age. It is probable that he will aim for Savannah, as he said *he had children* in that vicinity.

J. G. OWENS.

From the "Richmond (Va.) Enquirer," Feb. 20, 1838:

Stop the Runaway!!!—\$25 Reward. Ranaway from the Eagle Tavern, a negro fellow, named Nat. He is no doubt attempting to *follow his wife, who was lately sold to a speculator named Redmond.* The above reward will be paid by Mrs. Lucy M. Downman, of Sussex county, Va.

Multitudes of advertisements like the above appear annually in the southern papers. Reader, look at the preceding list—mark the unfeeling barbarity with which their masters and *mistresses* describe the struggles and perils of sundered husbands and wives, parents and children, in their weary midnight travels through forests and rivers, with torn limbs and breaking hearts, seeking the embraces of each other's love. In one instance, a mother torn from all her children and taken to a remote part of another state, presses her way back through the wilderness, hundreds of miles, to clasp once more her children to her heart; but, when she has arrived within a few miles of them, in the same county, is discovered, seized, dragged to jail, and her purchaser told, through an advertisement, that she awaits his order.

Acknowledgment: from Slavery As It Is: Testimony of a Thousand Witnesses by Theodore Dwight Weld. 1839.

17C Women Declare Their Independence

One of the symbols of the pioneering woman suffrage advocates and feminists in general was the "Declaration of Sentiments and Resolutions" presented at a woman's rights convention at Seneca Falls, New York, in 1848. The first part echoed the Declaration of Independence with a feminist twist. This was followed by a series of resolutions—some of which follow. The

Declaration was concerned equally with suffrage and economic and social grievances. What was the basic rationale upon which the feminists built their arguments for woman's rights? Why, do you think, was legislation providing suffrage and other rights for women so long in coming?

Whereas, the great precept of nature is conceded to be, "that man shall pursue his own true and substantial happiness." Blackstone, in his Commentaries, remarks, that this law of Nature being coeval with mankind, and dictated by God Himself, is of course superior in obligation to any other. It is binding over all the globe, in all countries, and at all times; no human laws are of any validity if contrary to this, and such of them as are valid, derive all their force, and all their validity, and all their authority, mediately and immediately, from this original; Therefore,

Resolved, That such laws as conflict, in any way, with the true and substantial happiness of woman, are contrary to the great precept of nature, and of no validity; for this is "superior in obligation to any other."

Resolved, That all laws which prevent woman from occupying such a station in society as her conscience shall dictate, or which place her in a position inferior to that of man, are contrary to the great precept of nature, and therefore of no force or authority.

Resolved, That the women of this country ought to be enlightened in regard to the laws under which they live, that they may no longer publish their degradation, by declaring themselves satisfied with their present position, nor their ignorance, by asserting that they have all the rights they want.

Resolved, That inasmuch as man, while claiming for himself intellectual superiority, does accord to woman moral superiority, it is preeminently his duty to encourage her to speak, and teach, as she has an opportunity, in all religious assemblies. . . .

Resolved, That it is the duty of the women of this country to secure to themselves their sacred right to the elective franchise.

Resolved, therefore, That, being invested by the Creator with the same capabilities, and the same consciousness of responsibility for their exercise, it is demonstrably the right and duty of woman,

1 The Movement Toward Reform

The first half of the nineteenth century brought several changes that affected the way people lived in the United States. As the spirit of democracy grew, the factory system developed. There was an increase in the country's population, and large numbers of people moved either to western lands or to northern cities. Since some of these changes caused social problems, many American reformers began working to correct the effects of these problems. Some reformers wanted to improve American schools, prisons, and hospitals. Others tried to abolish slavery and to gain equal rights for women.

Reforms in Education In the areas of the United States where there were schools, many reformers sought to improve the quality of the education being given. The reformers found that the schools they visited generally were in run-down buildings that were not kept clean. More often, they discovered teachers with little training who were paid low salaries.

One of the major goals of educational reformers was to set up free, tax-supported public schools that would allow all children in America to receive a good education. During the early 1800's there were parts of the country where only the children of wealthy parents could get an education. Reformers believed that public education would make a good citizen of each American child. They also thought that such a system would allow children of immigrants to be integrated into American society more easily.

Horace Mann was one of the best known leaders of the educational reform movement. As secretary of the Massachusetts Board of Education from 1837 to 1848, he improved the Massachusetts public schools in several ways. Mann administered the building of many tax-supported elementary schools and high schools. In addition, he founded a teacher-training college and was responsible for raising teachers' salaries.

Mann also introduced new ideas about the way children should be taught. Under his direction children were grouped by age and ability level. The same textbooks were used at the same grade level throughout the school system. New courses were also added to the school curriculum. The

public school system that Mann founded in Massachusetts soon became a model for school systems in other states, such as Connecticut and Ohio.

By the 1850's, the idea of public schools was fairly well accepted in the northern United States. In the southern United States the number of white children who attended school had increased, but most black children still could not get an education. By the end of the 1850's, however, many Americans had come to believe in a more democratic system of education.

Prison and Hospital Reform Another important reform movement during the first half of the 1800's pushed to improve conditions for prisoners and the mentally ill. The state prison systems of that time often crowded criminals, *debtors*—people who owed money to others—and mentally ill people together in the same cell. Prison buildings were old, dirty, unhealthy, and poorly maintained. Reformers wanted to improve the living conditions within the prisons. They also wanted the system to prepare prisoners for a better life after leaving prison.

Prison systems in many states implemented some of the reformers' ideas. Most states stopped sending debtors to prison. Most states also began to house young prisoners and older, hardened criminals in different prison buildings. New prisons were built with cells for individual prisoners. New forms of discipline were used. The Pennsylvania prison system still kept prisoners in solitary confinement both day and night. The New York prison system kept prisoners in solitary confinement at night but allowed them to work in groups during the day if they worked in complete silence. Today, Americans view such practices as cruel punishment, but European visitors to the United States in the 1850's thought America had the most modern prisons in the world. And to the reformers of that time, these methods seemed the best way to combat crime.

Mentally ill people were often kept in prison with criminals. For that reason, reformers also worked to improve the ways the mentally ill were treated. Dorothea Dix, a Boston teacher, brought about many changes in the housing and in the treatment of the mentally ill. Dix visited prisons



The well-documented studies of Dorothea Dix persuaded state legislators to establish 32 new mental institutions.

and mental hospitals and recorded examples of those with mental problems being chained to walls, locked in cages, and beaten with rods and whips. She reported these cruel conditions to the Massachusetts legislature. Dix hoped to replace such conditions with new, clean, and quiet hospitals where the mentally ill could be treated and cured. Dorothea Dix also traveled to other states to help legislators find better ways to care for mentally ill citizens in their states. By the end of the 1850's many states had improved their treatment of the mentally ill.

Temperance The reform movement that involved the largest number of Americans was the movement for *temperance*—the limiting of the amount of alcohol that people drank. Temperance reformers believed that drinking led to crime, poverty, the break-up of families, and mental illness. These reformers wanted to free people from what they viewed as the evils of alcohol.

In the 1820's many temperance societies were organized to stop people from drinking. These groups wrote papers and held meetings to tell their side of the story. Their goal was to get people to sign pledges that they would not drink. Because

many of the temperance leaders were ministers, this movement had close ties with American churches.

By the 1840's the temperance movement was divided by different ideas of temperance. One group believed that drinking small amounts of alcohol was all right as long as it did not lead to drunkenness. Another group thought that people should not drink at all. Some temperance leaders wanted their state legislatures to pass laws to stop the sale and drinking of alcohol. Between 1846 and 1851, 13 states outlawed alcohol.

Many people argued that those laws banning alcohol attacked the freedom and the liberty of Americans. In fact, some of those laws were found *unconstitutional*—against the United States Constitution. By the 1860's the temperance movement had lost much of its power. As other issues gained public support, many temperance leaders became more interested in other kinds of reform.

The Crusade Against Slavery The reform movement that perhaps had the most long-lasting effects on American society was the one to end slavery. Although most of the northern states had laws that called for gradually ending slavery, the institution of slavery was allowed in some northern states until the middle of the 1800's. In the South the number of slaves continued to increase because the economy of the southern states was based on slavery.

People known as *abolitionists*—reformers who worked to end slavery—believed that it was wrong for one person to own another person. But abolitionists had many different ideas about the best way to end slavery. One group founded the American Colonization Society in 1817. Their goal was to send free-born blacks and freed slaves back to Africa. One of the group's successes was the formation of the country of Liberia in West Africa, which was settled by free black Americans in 1847. Many abolitionists attacked the work of this society, however, because it did not work to end slavery in the United States.

Another group of abolitionists worked for *gradual emancipation*—freeing the slaves one step at a time. A great leader of this group was Theodore Dwight Weld from Ohio. He organized groups of college students in Ohio to support the gradual freeing of slaves. Weld's most important

FAIR....FAIR !!!

The LADIES' ANTI-SLAVERY COMMITTEE are most happy to announce to the citizens of Syracuse and vicinity, that they have received very elegant additions to what has been prepared in this place, from the ladies of Rochester, Waterloo, Cazenovia, Utica, Albany, and many other places, making up in all a most desirable and splendid assortment of

USEFUL AND FANCY ARTICLES, which will be sold at reasonable market prices. The Committee most confidently invite the patronage of the humane and philanthropic to come and buy; remembering that it is for the poorest of the poor—even the POOR SLAVE.

The doors will be open at 10 o'clock on Tuesday morning, August 1st, and the sales will continue two days. Admittance 12 1-2 cents.

SOIREE.

A Soiree will be given at the Fair on the evening of August 1st, in commemoration of the WEST INDIA EMANCIPATION.

Doors open at 7 o'clock—Collation at 8.—Speeches from the most accomplished orators of Boston and other places.

ELIZABETH RUSSELL, Syracuse;
P. S. WRIGHT, Utica;
MARY SPRINGSTEAD, Cazenovia;
SARAH VAN EPS, Verona;
ABBY MOYTT, Albany.



accomplishment was getting Congress to pass a law in 1850 that ended the slave trade in Washington, D.C. Weld's wife and sister-in-law, Angelina and Sarah Grimké, also worked to end slavery.

William Lloyd Garrison was a Massachusetts abolitionist who started a newspaper in 1831 called *The Liberator*. In his newspaper, Garrison demanded the immediate freeing of all slaves. Although Garrison's ideas won much support in New England, many southerners hated him. They even blamed him for a slave revolt. The hatred that mounted against abolitionists like Garrison often led to mob violence and occasionally to death in both the North and the South.

Other abolitionists formed political parties such as the Liberty party and the Free-Soil party. These Americans tried to gain political power so they would be able to end slavery.

Many black Americans, both free and slave, wrote and spoke out for freeing all slaves. Sojourner Truth attracted crowds wherever she gave her first-hand accounts about the evils of slavery. Frederick Douglass, an escaped slave who bought his freedom, wrote a story about his life, founded a newspaper, and made speeches against slavery. The work of these and many other black leaders

helped convince white Americans of the need to end slavery.

The abolitionists by themselves did not end slavery. Their work, however, helped the cause of freedom for black Americans. Support for the movement to end slavery also brought many women into the American reform movement.

Women's Rights Throughout much of America's history, women have had fewer rights than men. In the first half of the 1800's, state laws and the thinking of many Americans—both men and women—kept women in an inferior position in American society. Although single women could own property, a married woman's property and income from work belonged totally to her husband. Generally, women who worked had the lowest paying jobs. Women could not vote or hold public office. In most states women had few rights in the courts because they could not serve on a jury, appear as a witness, or even bring suit in court. A good education was out of reach for most women because most high schools and colleges would not admit them as students. During the early part of the nineteenth century, most Americans believed a woman's place was in the home, as a wife and a mother.

Nevertheless, women joined the reform movements that were working to better American society. Improving education for women became part of the general move to reform education. In 1821 Emma Willard opened a school for older girls in Troy, New York. Later, when Oberlin College in Ohio opened in 1833, it was the first college to admit both men and women. Mount Holyoke, the first women's college in the United States, opened in 1837 and became a model for many other American women's colleges. Special medical schools for women were also established during the 1840's and 1850's. After receiving a better education, some women were able to become teachers and doctors.

Women worked for prison and hospital reform and spoke out for temperance and against slavery. Many women learned how to organize groups of people, to speak in public, and to solve problems through participation in these movements. By the 1840's some of these women began to turn their attention toward women's rights.

Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Lucretia Coffin Mott, who first met at an abolitionist conference, held a women's rights convention in Seneca Falls, New York, in 1848. The people who attended the Seneca Falls convention signed a declaration of

Elizabeth Cady Stanton was actively involved in the fight for women's rights for more than 50 years.

National Portrait Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.



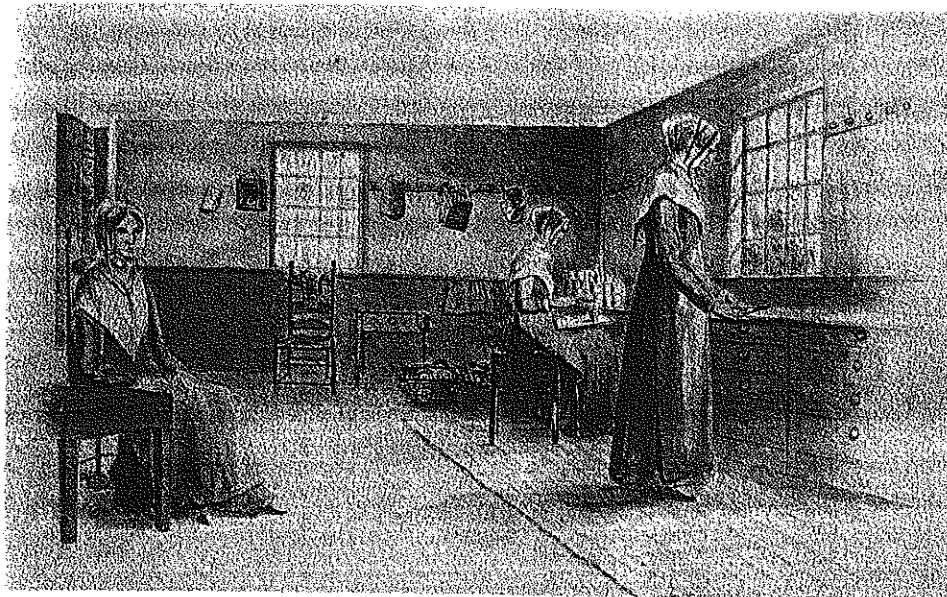
rights for women. One of the rights said that both men *and* women were equal. Women came away from that convention ready to fight for their equal rights in American society. In 1854 Susan B. Anthony began her battle for women's *suffrage*—right to vote.

Although women's suffrage was not won until 1920, women had gained other rights by the end of the 1850's. Many states revised their laws to allow women to own property and to control their income. However, most American reformers still did not think the cause of women's rights was as important as some other causes.

Utopian Societies and Religious Communities Most reformers in the first half of the 1800's addressed themselves to specific problems in American life such as ways to improve schools, prisons, and hospitals. Others attempted to limit drinking, free slaves, and gain equal rights for women. In addition, there were reformers who tried to set up *utopian societies*—communities where people could live an ideal life. Many of the people who founded and joined these communities thought they could become better people by living and working in such communities.

Robert Owen, a British reformer, founded the utopian community of New Harmony, Indiana, in 1825. Owen believed in political and economic equality and he developed New Harmony from this idea. Since all members of New Harmony were regarded as equals, property was held in common. Marriage, religion, and private property were not allowed. Because many residents found Owen's rules too hard to live by, they left New Harmony. By 1827 the New Harmony group had failed.

Another utopian community was Brook Farm, founded in Massachusetts in 1841 by George Ripley. Brook Farm was based on the ideas of the French philosopher Charles Fourier, who believed that people should live and work together in small groups and that any profits made by the group should be equally shared among all members. American writers such as Ralph Waldo Emerson, Margaret Fuller, and Nathaniel Hawthorne were members of Brook Farm. They tried to build an ideal community in which mental work and physical work went hand in hand. They, too, failed in their attempt to found an ideal society. By 1847 the Brook Farm group had disbanded.



Henry E. Huntington Library

The Shakers helped to support their religious community by manufacturing and marketing herbal medicines, most of which were extracts of dandelion and butternut.

Several other utopian communities were established in the first part of the 1800's. Some of these were based on Christian ideals as well as on common ownership of property. John Humphrey Noyes founded such a community at Oneida, New York, in 1848. Marriage practices within Noyes's community, however, antagonized people outside the group and in 1879 the Oneida experiment ended.

In the 1840's German immigrants, called Amana, founded villages in New York based on Christian ways of living. During the 1850's these people moved to Iowa and started several villages there. The Amana villages were very successful. The people lived simple lives and shared the profits from the sale of their farm goods, hand-made textiles, and fine furniture. This experiment in Christian community life was one of the few to survive into the next century.

The Shakers started the first *communistic*—group ownership of all land and labor—society in America. Their leader, Ann Lee, started the first Shaker community in Watervliet, New York. The community grew slowly, and it wasn't until the religious revivals of the 1840's that the membership increased dramatically. Members of the society were called Shakers because their intense emotion during religious services often caused them to shake violently.

Since the Shakers did not believe in marriage—they were a monastic community—they did not prosper for long. Like many of the other utopian communities, their membership dwindled quickly. But their contributions continued to influence American life. The Shakers invented the circular saw, a metal pen point, an early washing machine, and the commercial sale of seeds. The fine furniture made by the Shakers is still prized today.

■ Section Analysis

1. What were the successes of the educational reformers?
2. How did reforms in prisons, hospitals, and women's rights help improve life for some people in the United States?
3. Why did abolitionists want to change life in the United States?

1 Moving West

The lands west of the Great Plains were unknown to most people in the United States in the 1820's and the 1830's. Scattered foreign settlements and many established Indian cultures flourished throughout the large area that stretched to the Pacific Ocean. Gradually, these lands attracted the interest of American settlers. Trappers and traders went west to tap the natural wealth. They were followed by missionaries who wanted to convert Indians to Christianity. Spurred on by reports of these first adventurers, thousands of Americans headed west. Few knew how dangerous and difficult the journey would be. Probably fewer still were aware of the traditions of the Indians whose lands and cultures would be disrupted, or of the political questions involved in settling foreign lands.

Far Western Lands In 1820 there were two significant areas west of the Louisiana Purchase that were not part of the present-day mid-continental United States. One was the *Oregon Country*—the great expanse of land west of the Rocky Mountains, bordered on the south by the 42nd parallel and on the north by 54°40' N. The second area consisted of three Spanish provinces north of Mexico—Texas, New Mexico, and Upper California. These lands include the present-day states of Arizona, California, Nevada, New Mexico, Texas, and Utah, along with parts of Colorado, Kansas, Oklahoma, and Wyoming.

Together, the two areas comprised more than one million square miles (2 500 000 square kilometers) of diverse topography. The Oregon Country was densely forested and notable for its fertile valleys and fisheries. The Spanish lands were drier on the whole but still quite fertile, particularly in Texas and Upper California. The Oregon Country and the Spanish holdings, together with the western reaches of the Louisiana Purchase, were known collectively as the *Far West*. Many Americans saw economic opportunity in the lands of the Far West, opportunity that mountains, deserts, native settlers, and foreign governments could not fully discourage.

Opposing Claims Prior to 1820 four nations claimed the Oregon Country—Spain, Russia,

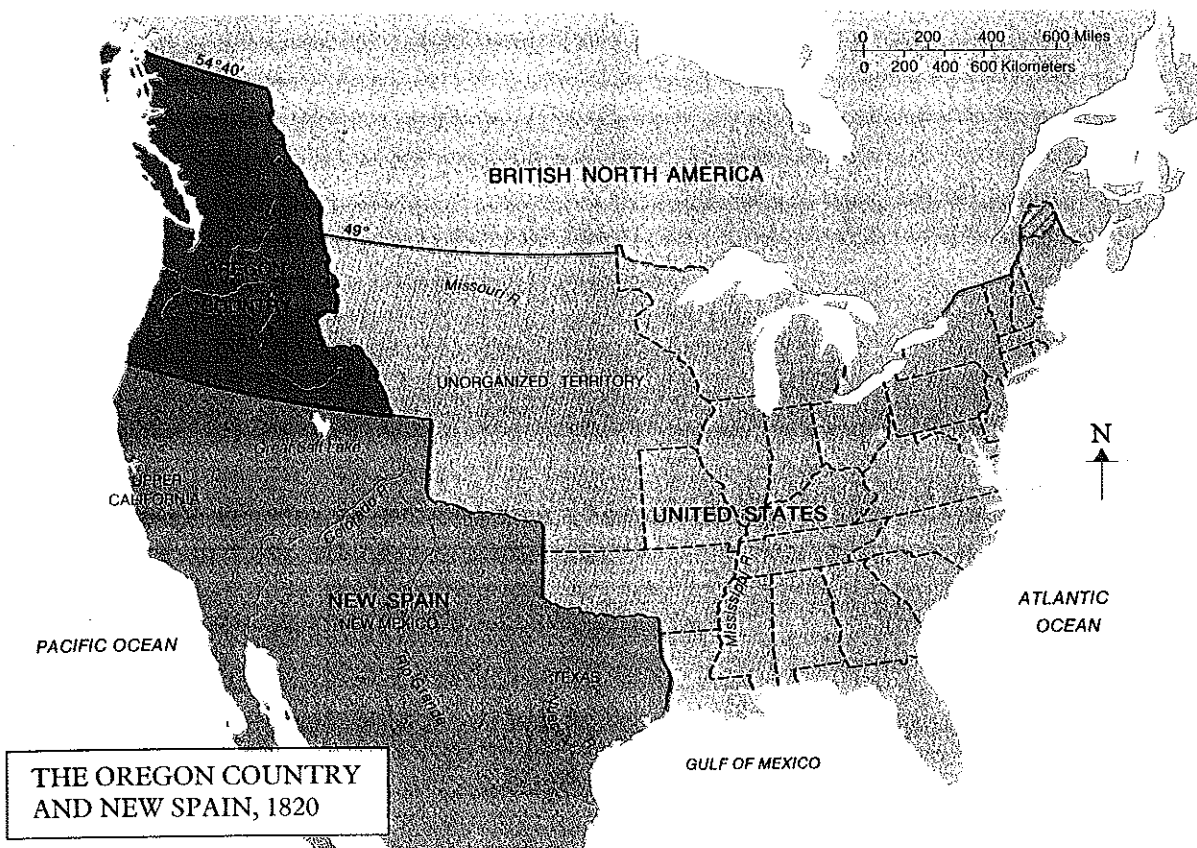
Great Britain, and the United States. Spain surrendered its Oregon claim when it ceded Florida to the United States in 1819. Spain was willing to do so because, by the terms of the Adams-Onís Treaty, the United States recognized Texas as Spanish territory and not part of the Louisiana Territory. In addition, the United States assumed \$5 million worth of American settlers' claims against the Spanish government.

In 1824 Russia dropped its claim to any North American land south of Alaska. The Russian czar, Alexander I, may have been cooperating with the spirit of the Monroe Doctrine, but historians also believe that the czar may have had too many concerns with his own vast European and Asian territory to be pressing for rights in the Oregon Country.

The treaty with Russia left the United States and Great Britain as the two serious contenders for the Oregon Country. The fur trade made the Oregon Country attractive to both nations. British explorer Francis Drake had sailed to the Pacific Northwest during a world voyage that began in 1577, and a second British explorer, James Cook, reached the Oregon Country in 1778. The British government based its claims to the Oregon Country on these voyages. The Hudson's Bay Company, a powerful British enterprise, controlled the fur trade in Oregon during the first few decades of the nineteenth century.

Still, Americans believed that they had a valid claim to the Oregon Country. American explorer Robert Gray had stopped there on a voyage from Boston to China in 1792. Gray discovered the Columbia River and traded for furs with the local Indians. Also, Lewis and Clark traveled to Oregon during their great journey of 1804–1806 and wrote of the abundant natural resources there. At first the United States and Great Britain could not agree on a division of the Oregon Country. In 1818, however, both nations signed a ten-year joint occupation treaty, which they renewed in 1827.

The United States became involved in another land dispute over the Spanish provinces of Texas, New Mexico, and Upper California. These provinces were part of Spain's colonial empire of New Spain until 1821, when Mexico became independent from Spain and the provinces came under



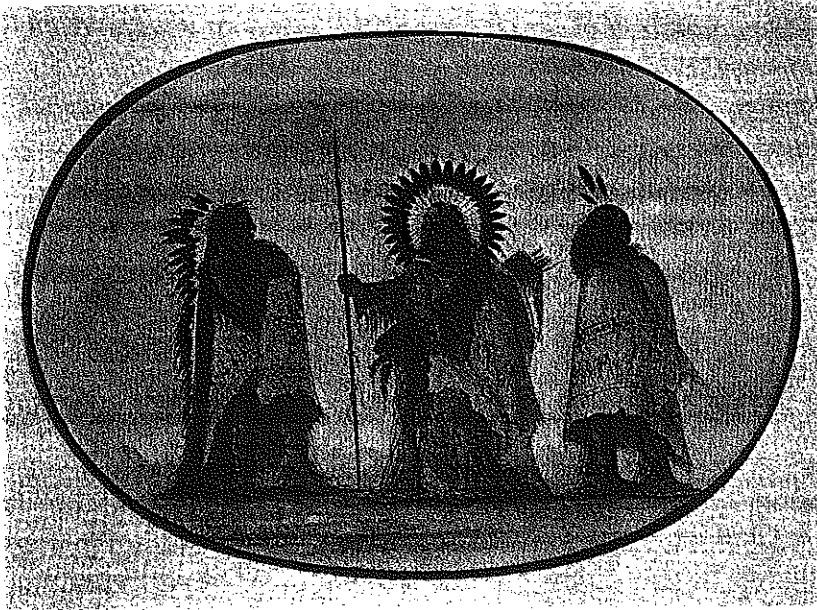
In 1820 nearly one third of the present-day United States consisted of land held in joint claim with Great Britain and land belonging to the Spanish Empire in North America.

Mexican rule. The United States attempted to purchase Texas from Mexico during the 1820's, but Mexico refused to sell. As American interest in the provinces grew, Mexico and the United States became locked into an increasingly bitter struggle for control of the land.

First Inhabitants Far Western Indian cultures date back to prehistoric times. By the early 1800's, some of the Indians along the Pacific Coast included the Chinook, the Nootka, the Yurok, and the Chumash. Farther inland lived groups such as the Yakima, the Nez Percé, and the Klamath in the Oregon Country. The Modoc, Shoshoni, and Paiute lived to the south. The groups along the coast were skilled at fishing. Some coastal Indians hunted sea animals, including whales. The inland groups farmed, hunted, or fished, depending upon where they lived. The Paiute irrigated

their desert land in order to farm. All of the far western Indians had developed distinctive cultures and patterns of living. They had their own languages, religions, and social organizations.

Except for the Indians, there were few permanent settlements in the Oregon Country before 1835. Most non-Indians who lived in the Oregon Country were connected with the fur trade. The provinces of Texas, New Mexico, and Upper California had more settlers. While these lands were under Spanish rule they were colonized as *missions*—religious communities set up to convert Indians to Christianity. Run by Spanish clergy, the missions were almost like feudal manors. Each mission had a church, town buildings and shops, homes for the Indians and the priests, and large farm holdings. The priests taught European-style farming and crafts. The purpose of the missions was to turn the Indians into Spanish-Christian



The Crow were one of several North American Indian tribes living in the Oregon Country in the early nineteenth century. American artist George Catlin painted scenes of the Crow and several other tribes in the 1850's. Catlin spent several years living among the Indians he painted, not just in the Far West but on the Great Plains and in South America as well.

subjects. Though not cruelly treated as slaves, the mission Indians had very little freedom.

There were other forms of settlement in these Spanish lands, too. Spanish soldiers lived on the frontier in their *presidios*—or forts where small military communities lived. The presidios guarded the frontier against foreign attacks and established Spanish presence in the area. Many presidios grew into towns. Independent farmers set up huge ranches in the frontier lands also. Like the missions, many ranches were communities in themselves and used Indian workers. The owners were usually rich Spaniards who did not live on the ranches year-round.

After Mexico became independent, the frontier policy changed. The Mexican government *secularized* the missions—removed them from church control—and opened them to more settlement. The government encouraged further settlement with generous land grants.

American Interest The Santa Fe trade between Mexico and the United States developed shortly after Mexican independence in 1821. Santa Fe was the capital of the New Mexico province, about 800 miles (1,280 kilometers) across rough terrain from western Missouri. American merchant William Becknell set out from Missouri in 1821.

When Becknell and his party reached Santa Fe after several weeks, they found that the townspeople in the remote Mexican province were eager for American manufactured goods. News of the profitable Santa Fe trade grew and other merchants soon followed in Becknell's steps. The early traders established the Santa Fe trail as a route to the West. They proved that wagon travel was possible even for long journeys under rough conditions. The Santa Fe trade flourished until the late 1830's, when political problems within Mexico and between the United States and Mexico forced the ending of the trade. In the early 1840's, the Mexican government passed tariffs and other measures that, in effect, closed down the Santa Fe trade. The trade was not forgotten, however. The successful venture increased American awareness of the commercial possibilities that lay in the Far West.

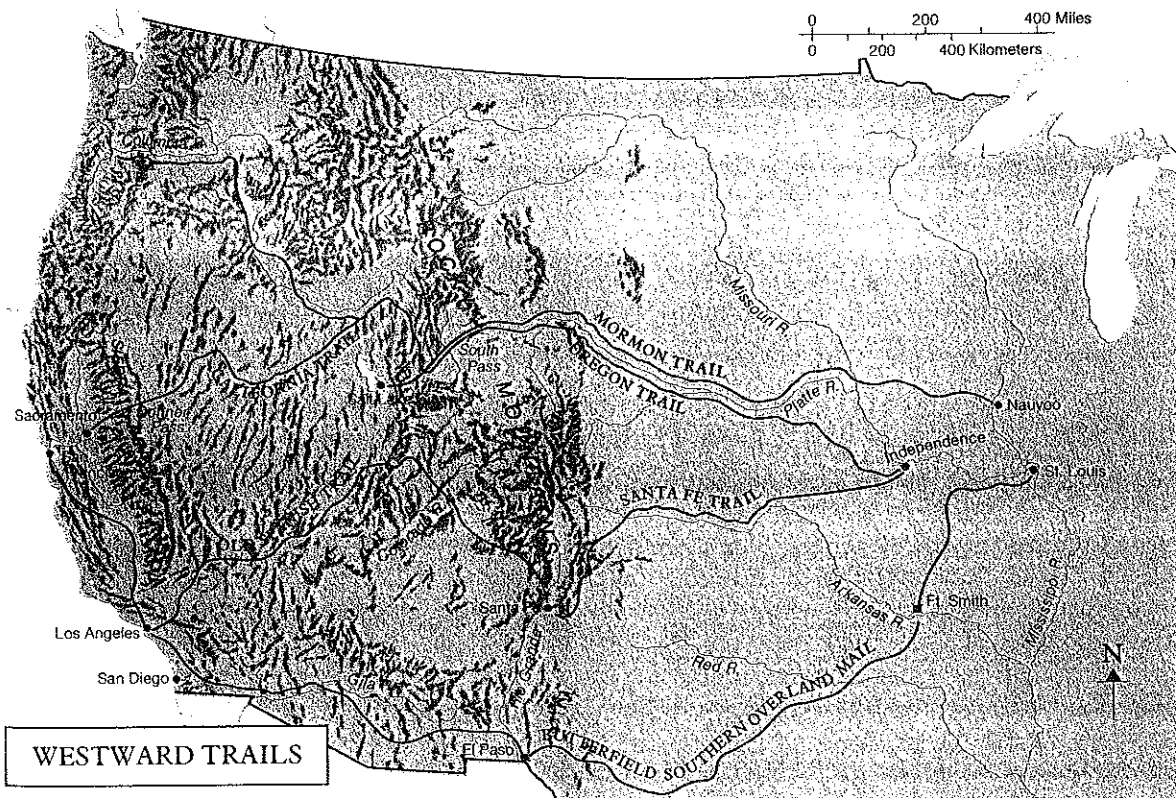
At the time that the Santa Fe trade was active, fur trappers known as mountain men were trekking through the western lands. The trappers were sent by American fur companies, which were beginning to make great profits—companies such as the Rocky Mountain Fur Company and the American Fur Company. The trappers blazed two main trails west—from northern New Mexico to southern California and from St. Louis through

the Rocky Mountains. One band of mountain men, led by Jedediah Smith, discovered the South Pass through the Rockies, a discovery that helped later pioneers. The trappers' job was dangerous and adventurous. Tales of daring exploits, perhaps a blend of fact and fiction, circulated. They told of trappers' escapades with hostile Indians, fierce grizzly bears, and the harsh wilderness environment, where trappers were never sure of their next meal. Jim Bridger, James Pattie, Joseph Walker, and Thomas Fitzpatrick were a few of the well-known adventurers. Many mountain men married into Indian tribes. One famous black trapper, James Beckwourth, married a Crow Indian woman and eventually became a Crow chief. Another trapper, Louis Vasquez, started a trading post where the city of Denver is today. Many historians believe that the mountain men played a major role in opening the Far West to American settlement. Not only did the trappers blaze trails west, but

they spread the word about the natural wealth that lay there.

Further Exploration Another contribution to the opening of the Far West was the work done by John Frémont for the Topographical Corps, a government agency that surveyed and mapped the land in the early nineteenth century. Frémont set out to the Oregon Country with an exploring party in the early 1840's. The travelers carefully mapped the land and noted the wildlife, plants, and natural resources found there. With his wife Jessie, Frémont prepared a widely read report about the region. The Frémonts' report did much to discredit the earlier notion of Zebulon Pike that the Great Plains were a "Great American Desert." Frémont was encouraged by his father-in-law, Thomas Hart Benton, a powerful senator from Missouri with a deep concern for western interests.

Following the lead of trappers and traders, most pioneers traveled one of several known routes to the Far West in the 1830's and the 1840's. Note that several trails followed rivers for part of the way.



Settling Western Lands—Texas Eventually, pioneers set forth to live in the Far West, just as earlier generations had set out to Tennessee, Ohio, Indiana, and other territories of an earlier American West. In 1840, though, the United States did not have title to the Far West, regardless of what claims it made. Settling the lands would prove to be a powerful tool in backing the claims.

One early settlement was organized for Texas by Moses Austin, a St. Louis business leader, in 1821. Austin saw Texas as a land of opportunity, particularly after he suffered business losses in the Panic of 1819. He asked the officials of New Spain for permission to start a colony of 300 American settlers in Texas. Austin pledged that the settlers would become Mexican citizens. Since the Mexican government was eager to populate its remote districts, permission was granted. Austin died before his plans could be realized, but his son Stephen carried out the arrangement. The new government of independent Mexico confirmed the colonization plan, making generous land grants for farming at very low cost. The colony prospered and had nearly 2,000 settlers and their slaves by 1825. Although the Mexican government did not allow slavery, the Americans—most of whom were from slave states—brought their slaves with them anyway, calling them “contract laborers.” Other colonies soon followed the Austin model, and the American population in Texas multiplied rapidly, reaching about 35,000 by 1835.

Oregon Oregon settlement developed somewhat slowly at first. A few promoters traveled to the Oregon Country in the early 1830’s, hoping to arrange for future colonies. The Hudson’s Bay Company discouraged such ventures, however. Missionaries followed next, starting in 1834, and did much to attract future American settlement to the Oregon Country. Jason Lee, Marcus and Narcissa Whitman, and Henry and Eliza Spalding were a few of the devoted church representatives who went to live among the Indians and show them the ways of Christianity.

It is difficult to say how successful the missionaries were in achieving their purpose, but word of Oregon traveled back east quickly. By 1843, “Oregon Fever” had set in. Perhaps 10,000 Americans had started west to the Oregon Country

by 1846, spurred on by publicists such as Whitman and Frémont. Traveling in long wagon trains with all their worldly goods aboard, the pioneers tested their endurance on the long trail. Unfriendly Indians and treacherous weather could threaten the journey at any moment.

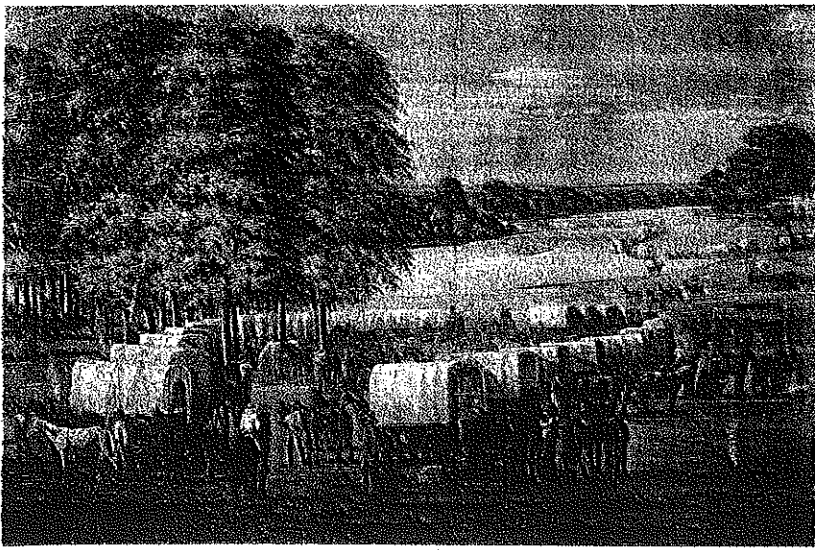
One traveler was Francis Parkman, a young historian who journeyed on the Oregon Trail in 1846 and wrote a book about the adventure. Parkman recorded many vivid descriptions along the way:

We ascended a hill, and looked about us for a spot for our encampment. The prairie was like a turbulent ocean, suddenly congealed when its waves were at the highest, and it lay half in light and half in shadow, as the rich sunshine, yellow as gold, was pouring over it. . . . Towards night we became involved among ravines; and being unable to find water, our journey was protracted to a very late hour. On the next morning we had to pass a long line of bluffs. . . . As we ascended a gap in these hills, the way was marked by huge footprints, like those of a human giant. They were the tracks of the grizzly bear, of which we had also seen abundance on the day before.

Despite these and other hazards, thousands of pioneers survived and staked their land claims in the fertile Willamette Valley in the Oregon Country.

California California, too, was marked for settlement. A profitable trade between the north-eastern United States and Mexican California flourished in the 1820’s. This was the so-called hide-and-tallow trade. Yankee sea captains loaded their ships with nearly every sort of manufactured product and sailed around South America to reach California. Once there, they traded the goods for cattle hides and tallow, a valuable animal fat used in making soap and candles.

Several American merchants and traders eventually stayed in California to seek their fortunes. Many went on to become important spokespeople for American settlement of California. They included Abel Stearns, John Marsh, and Thomas Larkin, among others. In the early 1840’s, the wagon trains began moving west to California. The California Trail split off from the Oregon Trail just west of the Rockies, and the trip was no less dangerous than that to Oregon. In one



Church of Jesus Christ of the Latter-Day Saints

A contemporary Mormon artist captures the spirit of orderliness and organization that characterized the Mormon way of life. Here, the Mormons cross the Platte River in Nebraska on their long journey to the Great Salt Lake.

tragic incident the weather dealt a ruthless blow. When the Donner party reached the High Sierras in late October 1847, a snowstorm had already closed the mountain pass. The settlers tried to survive the winter by building crude shelters and foraging for food, but nearly half of the 87-member party died. California had many fewer American settlers than Texas or Oregon in the 1840's—about 700 in 1845. Nevertheless, California would figure significantly in the unfolding drama of American expansion.

Utah In the late 1840's a remarkable religious community, the Mormons, began yet another settlement of Americans in foreign territory. Joseph Smith founded the Church of Jesus Christ of the Latter Day Saints, or Mormonism, in upstate New York in 1830. The Mormons believed in community property. They thought of themselves as members of the one, true religion. So they often shunned outsiders. They were met with hatred and suspicion by others. One Mormon practice in particular angered the outside community. This was polygamy—marriage between a man and more than one wife at the same time.

Despite problems with acceptance by others, the

Mormon community grew quickly. By 1844 there were more than 15,000 members of the church. The Mormons fled to new places several times in order to escape persecution. In Nauvoo, Illinois, Joseph Smith was murdered by an angry mob in 1844. Brigham Young, the new Mormon leader, believed that the church needed to find a far-distant home, a place to which other settlers would not be drawn. Young chose the shores of the Great Salt Lake in what is now Utah, desert land controlled by Mexico. In 1846 the migration of Mormons began. Well organized and well prepared for the rough journey, wave after wave of Mormons arrived in Utah. By the late 1840's they had begun to make the desert bloom with irrigated farming and to establish a prosperous community.

The Mormons were unique American emigrants in that they wanted isolation and deliberately fled to a foreign land to escape American society. Nonetheless, because of their numbers and determination, the Mormons were still an important part of the great westward movement of the American settlers. As the movement of settlers was taking place, forces that would incorporate the Far West into the United States were also taking shape.

■ Section Analysis

1. What two major areas made up the Far West in 1820 and what countries claimed these areas?
2. How were the Spanish missions of the Far West organized?
3. Why were the journeys of early travelers—traders, trappers, and missionaries—important to American pioneer settlement of the Far West?

Annexing New Territories

... six months between December 1845 and 1846 approximately 500,000 square miles (1,300,000 square kilometers) were added to the United States. Not since the Louisiana Purchase of 1803 had the United States seen such a dramatic gain in territory. Many of the political speeches of the 1840s resounded with the call for expansion. Many non-pioneers and Texas settlers wanted American law to protect them. Our government responded by enlarging the United States' domain, not only after extensive negotiation and compromise.

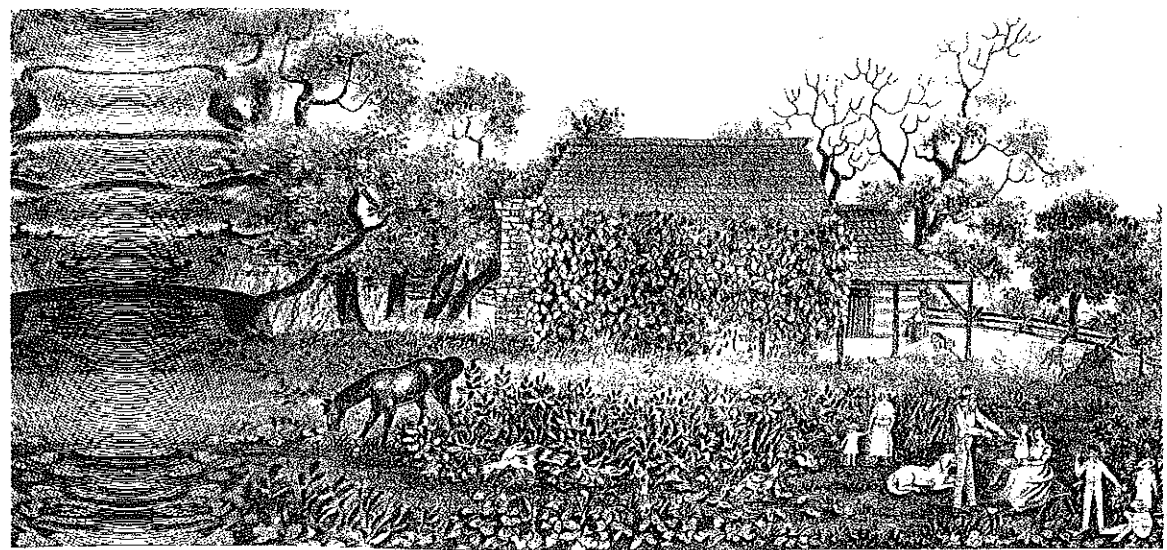
Manifest Destiny As Americans moved westward, ever-growing numbers, many people in our country began to feel that the United States had a natural right to all the land stretching westward to the Pacific Ocean. There also existed a belief that the government of the United States had a duty to spread democracy from coast to coast. In 1845 New York newspaper editor John L. Sullivan captured the spirit of this attitude. He wrote of "our manifest destiny to overspread and possess the whole of the continent which Providence has given us for the . . . great experiment

of liberty and federated self-government entrusted to us."

Belief in *Manifest Destiny*—the idea that the United States had a divine mission to extend its borders, spreading its culture and institutions at the same time—became popular in the 1840's. Many Americans shared O'Sullivan's feelings when he wrote: "The privileges and advantages granted unto us impose an . . . obligation . . . to extend their bountiful blessings to the whole human race." Manifest destiny became a political force in the country as the United States government looked for ways to lay claim to western lands, primarily the lands of Texas and the Oregon Country.

Texas and Mexico As Americans flocked to Texas, the Mexican government grew increasingly wary. Although it had first encouraged settlement by Americans, the Mexican government eventually found itself confronted with a growing number of American Texans who were different in language, religion, and way of life. By 1836 about two-thirds of the Texas population was from the United States, and this population included slaves. Indians

But by no means all, Texas settlers in the 1830's were from the United States. This family of German immigrants near La Grange, Texas, poses proudly in front of their newly established farm.





During the Texas revolution of 1836, Mexican troops stormed the walls of the Alamo and overwhelmed the Texans, who were barricaded in the mission building at the right.

and a small percentage of Mexican citizens made up the rest of the population.

Several factors caused friction between the Mexican government and the settlers from the United States. In language, religion, and way of life, Mexico mirrored its many years as part of the Spanish Empire. The Americans who settled in Texas—the Mexican state of Coahuila y Texas—shared a far different culture, and they lived in relative isolation from their Mexican neighbors and the Mexican government. For example, Mexico was a country of Roman Catholics. By law, new citizens were required to become Roman Catholics as well. Although the government did not enforce the law, the Protestant settlers from the United States resented what they felt was an interference with their religious beliefs. Another point of contention grew out of Mexico's antislavery laws, even though these laws were not enforced in Texas either. Increasingly, the Texans from the United States felt at odds with the Mexican government. Tensions began to mount quickly when the Mexican government tightened its control over the Texans.

Texas Independence In 1834 General Antonio Lopez de Santa Anna, Mexico's president,

declared himself dictator of Mexico and did away with the powers of the state governments. Santa Anna sent troops throughout the country to enforce his rule and to put down any potential rebellions. Several times Texans fought with Mexican troops, and in 1835 a band of Texans led by Stephen Austin routed Mexican troops in San Antonio. After that battle, representatives of Texas met to decide their future course. In March 1836 a group of Texas delegates declared Texas independent from Mexico and set up a provisional government.

Mexico did not recognize the independence and considered Texas to be in a state of rebellion. More fighting followed. At an abandoned mission church in San Antonio known as the Alamo a whole garrison of 187 Texans died while fighting off Mexican soldiers during a bitter two-week siege. This famous battle originated the rallying cry "Remember the Alamo," and lent additional fury to the Texans' cause. Shortly after the Alamo defeat, about 350 Texan soldiers were surprised by the Mexican army at Goliad and quickly surrendered—only to be murdered later. Texan military leader Sam Houston promptly avenged the defeat, however, by leading a surprise attack on Santa Anna's army at San Jacinto in April 1836.

The Mexican army was quickly defeated. Santa Anna was taken prisoner. While in custody the Mexican dictator was forced to sign treaties that ended the conflict and gave recognition to an independent Texas, with the Rio Grande as its southern border. Though Santa Anna later denied the power of the treaties, the *Lone Star Republic*, as Texas was called, became the newest country in North America.

The Lone Star Republic In September 1836 Texas voters chose Sam Houston as their first president. The voters overwhelmingly favored *annexation* to—incorporation into—the United States. The protection and benefits of American law were attractive to the Texans. Also, Texas-grown cotton would not be subject to import duties if Texas became part of the United States. Annexation became one of the first tasks of Houston and the fledgling government. The American government had tried to buy Texas from Mexico during the 1820's, so the idea of annexation was not a new one in 1836. Still, Mexico refused to recognize Texas's independence and this presented a problem for the United States. In 1836 President Jackson feared that annexation of Texas would lead to war with Mexico.

Also on Jackson's mind was the controversial slavery matter, which had become a growing problem in American politics since the 1820's. Those people who were against slavery feared that several slave states would be carved out of Texas if it were annexed to the Union. Northern political interests feared the growing power of the South in Congress if Texas were annexed. Neither Jackson nor his successor, Martin Van Buren, wanted to inflame this issue. The best that Texan diplomats could get from the United States at first was official recognition early in 1837. Left to pursue its own future, Texas began to seek recognition from other countries and began to develop its trade.

Texas Joins the Union Eventually, however, the United States did annex Texas, partly to discourage other nations' interest in the Lone Star Republic. Texas received recognition in Europe from Great Britain, France, the Netherlands, and Belgium. Great Britain, especially, was eager that Texas not join the United States. An independent Texas was an economic advantage for the British.

Texas was an important source of cotton, and favorable trading policies could be worked out between the two nations. Also, Great Britain wanted to limit the westward expansion of the United States, which had already grown rapidly since the Revolutionary War. Hostility to the British was a fairly well established tradition in American foreign policy by this time. Any interest that Great Britain showed toward Texas was likely to cause suspicion in the United States and prompt reconsideration of the Texas annexation.

Presidential politics played a part in the annexation of Texas also. Vice-President John Tyler became President in 1840, upon the sudden death of William Henry Harrison only a few weeks after Harrison's inauguration. Harrison was the popular military-hero candidate of the Whigs, who had been elected after a lively and aggressive campaign by the Whigs to take the White House from the Democrat Martin Van Buren. Tyler, a southern Whig and one-time Democrat, had been chosen for the ticket largely because of his appeal to southern voters.

Upon becoming President, Tyler pursued an independent course of action. This greatly dismayed party Whigs such as Henry Clay. The President would not support a new national bank, for example, and angered the Whigs, who had strong support from rich northeastern business interests. Tyler favored annexation of Texas. "It is the will of both the people and the States that Texas shall be annexed to the Union promptly and immediately," the President told Congress in 1844.

Fears of European interest in Texas surfaced again in 1845. Meanwhile, Manifest Destiny was an ever-growing force in American politics. It was further encouraged by the successful campaign of Democrat James K. Polk for President in 1844. Accordingly, Congress passed a joint resolution to annex Texas in 1845. Tyler signed this resolution shortly before leaving office.

The Election of 1844 Because of the precarious balance of slave and nonslave states, expansion was a very delicate matter—one that the Whigs wanted to avoid in 1844. Tyler was not seen by the Whigs as a fitting candidate for re-nomination. He had not followed the party line in the White House and he was known as a southern, proslavery expansionist. Henry Clay was

chosen as the Whig candidate instead. Clay, the distinguished political veteran, carefully avoided the Texas issue.

Democratic candidate James Polk was a *dark horse*—an unexpected candidate—chosen because the Democrats were not certain of Martin Van Buren's chances for election. The Panic of 1837, his less-than-enthusiastic stand on Texas annexation, and his defeat by Harrison in 1840 made Van Buren too risky for most Democrats. They passed him over in favor of Polk, a United States representative from Tennessee and a former Speaker of the House. During his years in Congress, Polk had been a strong ally of Andrew Jackson. In time he gained a reputation for firmness and independence in political decision making. Polk's views on expansion were strong. He called for the annexation of California and for a settlement of the Oregon question.

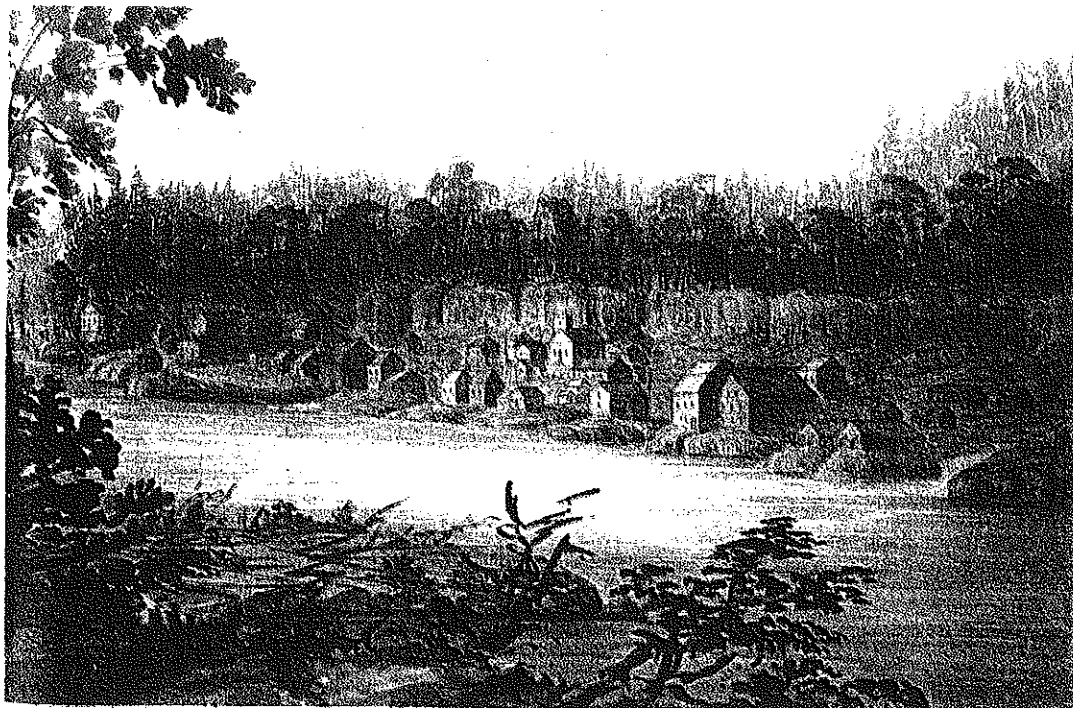
In their campaign of 1844, the Democrats called for "re-annexation" of Texas and the Oregon Country and boldly implied that those lands already belonged to the United States and that our government was only claiming its just due by insisting on legal title. By calling for both northern and southern territories, the Democrats hoped to offset the inevitable disagreements over slavery ex-

pansion. "All of Oregon or none" became a popular campaign slogan, as did "Fifty-four forty or fight." This referred to the northern-latitude boundary of the Oregon Country. Both cries rang out with a new determination to settle the expansion controversies swiftly and decisively. Although the election was close, the Democrats—with their bold platform fully endorsing expansion—were winners. At 49, Polk became the youngest candidate to have won the presidency up to that date and, in the views of many historians, the one with the most definite goals with regard to expansion.

Congress approved Texas's annexation just after Polk was elected but before he actually took office. The new President officially welcomed Texas to the Union as a state in December 1845. To balance this gain in southern territory, the President set to work on finalizing the Oregon claim.

Settling the Oregon Dispute As campaign oratory died down, it turned out that the President was quite willing to work out a compromise with Great Britain on the Oregon question. Polk offered to set the 49th parallel as the boundary between American and British lands in the Oregon Country. All land between 49° N and 54°40' N would belong to Great Britain. The area south of the

Oregon City, on the Willamette River, was a thriving pioneer settlement in 1846. Note how different from the land in the Texas scene on page 312 the land in this sketch looks.



American Antiquarian Society

49th parallel, to the 42nd parallel, would be annexed to the United States. Such a division reflected general settlement patterns since most American pioneers in the Northwest lived south of the 49th parallel. The Hudson's Bay Company had always been mostly interested in the land north of the Columbia River.

When Great Britain rejected this plan in 1845, the American response became more militant. The President announced that our government planned to end the joint-occupation policy and that foreign settlement would no longer be allowed in the region. Firmly holding ground, Polk stated that it was necessary to look John Bull, as Great Britain was nicknamed, "straight in the eye."

Within a short time, however, the two nations did reach a compromise. Many historians believe that neither country truly wanted a confrontation over Oregon. As the years passed, the fur trade became less valuable to Great Britain and the Hudson's Bay Company agreed to shift its operation farther north and abandon its hold on the land between the Columbia River and the 49th parallel. Furthermore, American pioneers in the region greatly outnumbered British subjects. Thus, the

British were willing to compromise, and in 1846 both nations agreed to a treaty, dividing the Oregon Country along the 49th parallel—the present-day border between the United States and Canada.

The Oregon Territory In 1848 the American part of the Oregon Country became the Oregon Territory and a new territorial government was established. Slavery had already been outlawed in Oregon, but free blacks were not allowed to enter the region either. The new territorial government continued these policies. In spite of the ban, courageous blacks such as George Washington Bush became settlers. Bush prospered in Oregon and was noted for his community service and business skills. The population of the Oregon Territory continued to increase rapidly and in the 1850's the territory was divided. A new Oregon Territory was organized. Its borders were the same as those of the present-day state of Oregon. The rest of the land became the Washington Territory and included the present-day states of Washington and Idaho as well as parts of Montana and Wyoming.

■ *Section Analysis*

1. What were the causes of friction between the Texas settlers from the United States and the Mexican government before the Texans won independence?
2. How was the Oregon issue settled in 1846?
3. Why was territorial expansion a delicate political issue in the 1840's?

3 *More Land From Mexico*

Texas and the Oregon Territory represented only about half of the land that was to be added to the United States during the 1840's. In 1848 another huge tract of land, about 525,000 square miles (1 360 000 square kilometers), became part of the nation. This land was acquired from Mexico after nearly two years of bitter warfare. It comprised lands that became the present-day states of California, Nevada, and Utah, and parts of Arizona, Colorado, Kansas, New Mexico, Oklahoma, and Wyoming. The new addition represented the final stage of President Polk's expansion plan. By forcing the Mexicans to agree to his terms after

the hostilities began, Polk set out to, in his own words, "conquer a peace."

A Growing Conflict The Mexican-American conflict had deep roots in Texas. Mexico did not recognize the independence of Texas in 1836 and broke diplomatic relations with the United States when Texas was annexed in 1845. Furthermore, according to the Mexican government, the southern boundary of Texas was not the Rio Grande, but the Nueces River to the north. When Texas was under Spanish and then Mexican rule, the Nueces River had been its southern boundary.

As if these issues were not enough to embitter relations between the two nations, there was a matter of financial claims against the Mexican government. Many American citizens in Mexico had suffered property damage during times of political violence in the country and some Americans had even lost their lives. As a result, an international commission ordered the Mexican government to pay American citizens about \$2 million in damages. Mexico began to pay the claims, but quickly fell behind in its installments.

Meanwhile, President Polk was determined to acquire the Mexican provinces of Upper California and New Mexico for the United States, either by negotiation or force. California was of particular interest because of its rich valleys and the harbor at San Francisco. Also, many Americans feared that the British had designs on California, much as they feared such designs in the case of Texas. As early as 1835 President Jackson had attempted to buy northern California from Mexico, but Mexico rejected the offer.

The Americans persisted in their interest. One day in 1842 United States Navy Commodore Thomas Jones, stationed in the Pacific, acted upon a false report that war had broken out with Mexico and seized Monterey, Upper California's capital. Jones quickly realized his mistake and surrendered Monterey to Mexico the next day. The incident further strained relations between the two countries. It showed the degree of United States eagerness for Mexican land. In 1844 California merchant Thomas Larkin became the United States consul in Monterey. The following year Polk made Larkin a secret agent of sorts with orders to stir up separatist feelings among the American settlers in California.

The Outbreak of War In the summer of 1845 Polk ordered General Zachary Taylor to lead a small military force of 4,000 troops to the Nueces River. The official reason for the order was to protect Texas against any possible Mexican aggression. That winter the President sent John Slidell, a United States Representative from Louisiana, to Mexico with instructions to try to buy the desired lands. Slidell was authorized to pay \$5 million for New Mexico and up to \$25 million for California. In addition, the United States offered to forgo the damage claims if Mex-



The United States launched a triple attack against Mexico to secure the lands it desired. Still, the war lasted longer than planned because of strong Mexican resistance.

ico would recognize the Rio Grande as the border of Texas. Much to Polk's indignation, Mexican officials refused to see Slidell. Just as the President began to draft a war message, news arrived that American and Mexican soldiers had been fighting in the disputed territory between the Rio Grande and the Nueces River. Declaring that Mexico had "shed American blood upon the American soil," Polk asked Congress for a declaration of war, saying that Mexico had already begun the war. On May 13, 1846, Congress complied by a large majority—174 to 14 in the House and 40 to 2 in the Senate.

The Mexican War The Mexican War was fought on three fronts—in New Mexico, in California, and in Mexico itself. New Mexico and California were relatively easy campaigns for the Americans. Stephen Kearny, commander of the Army of the West, led his troops to Santa Fe, New Mexico, in the summer of 1846. Without one shot being fired, the Americans took control of the sparsely populated province. Next, Kearny headed west to California.

Even before the war, efforts had been made to arouse feelings against the Mexican government. As a result, shortly after war was declared in the spring of 1846, a group of Americans in California rebelled and proclaimed California to be independent. The emblem on California's new flag was a bear, and California was proclaimed to be the *Bear Flag Republic*. The United States quickly responded in support of the new republic through a series of attacks against Mexican strongholds in California. American forces had captured Los Angeles by the end of the summer. However, when Kearny arrived in California in September 1846, his forces encountered strong Mexican resistance. Not until early 1847 were the Americans able to subdue the Mexican troops and force the final surrender of California. Militarily, at least, the United States now ruled the lands it wanted.

During the summer of 1846, while Kearny was fighting in California, General Zachary Taylor led his forces south into Mexico. Even after an important American victory at Buena Vista that winter, the Mexicans would not surrender. So the war dragged on. President Polk directed General Winfield Scott to lead another army into Mexico, this time to seize and occupy the capital, Mexico City. Scott's army sailed down the Mexican coast to Veracruz, a town east of Mexico City. After capturing Veracruz, the army moved inland toward the capital, fighting along the way. In September 1847, Scott reached Mexico City. After a final battle for the capital, the American forces defeated the Mexicans and resistance ended.

Growing Opposition and a Peace Treaty

President Polk had planned for a swift, decisive war with Mexico—to take by force what could not be bought. But as the war dragged on, criticism over mounting casualties and costs began to grow. Shortly after the declaration of war, a first-term Whig representative from Illinois named Abraham Lincoln challenged Polk's war message and questioned whether the spot on which blood had first been shed was really American soil. Several other Whigs in Congress angrily denounced the conflict as "Mr. Polk's war." Antislavery interests were particularly outraged. They saw the war as a pro-slavery conspiracy. When the President requested \$2 million from Congress in 1846 to buy the desired land from Mexico, Representative David

Wilmot of Pennsylvania introduced an amendment to the appropriation forbidding slavery in any territory gained from the war. Although the amendment did not pass the Senate, it did reflect the antislavery feelings in Congress. The amendment also reflected the determination of Congress to have a voice in the fate of slavery in the territories.

In the middle of these protests there was growing support for the all-Mexico movement—an extreme version of the spirit of Manifest Destiny. This movement called for the United States to conquer and control all of Mexico. The President did not want to become involved with such a dangerous undertaking, which might prolong the war. Instead, Polk sought ways to end the war.

In April 1847, as the fighting continued, Polk sent Nicholas Trist, a State Department official, to negotiate a peace settlement with the Mexican government. When Trist had not been successful after several months, the President ordered him to return to Washington. Trist, however, disobeyed the orders. He stayed in Mexico and continued his attempts to negotiate. Finally, following the fall of Mexico City, Trist successfully negotiated a settlement with Mexico early in 1848. The *Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo* ended the Mexican War. Under the terms of the treaty the United States agreed to pay Mexico \$15 million for the Mexican provinces of Upper California and New Mexico. It was also agreed that the people living in these lands would become American citizens and that their property rights would be respected. Also, the United States agreed to take over the damage claims of American citizens against the Mexican government. In return, Mexico acknowledged the Rio Grande as the border of Texas.

The acquisition of territory in the Southwest did not end with the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. A few years later, through the *Gadsden Purchase* of 1853, the United States secured its last tract of Mexican land. For \$10 million a strip of land in what is now southern Arizona and New Mexico became United States territory. With the spirit of Manifest Destiny largely fulfilled, the national government had to decide what to do with the lands it now owned.

The California Gold Rush. Just days before the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo was signed in 1848, an interesting discovery was made. Gold was

found in California on the settlement of a Swiss immigrant named John Sutter. A carpenter in Sutter's settlement, James Marshall, discovered gold particles in a channel on the site of a sawmill he was building. Word of the discovery leaked out. By the summer of 1848 the California gold rush had begun. "All were off to the mines," noted one observer, "some on carts, some on horses, and some on crutches, and one . . . in a litter."

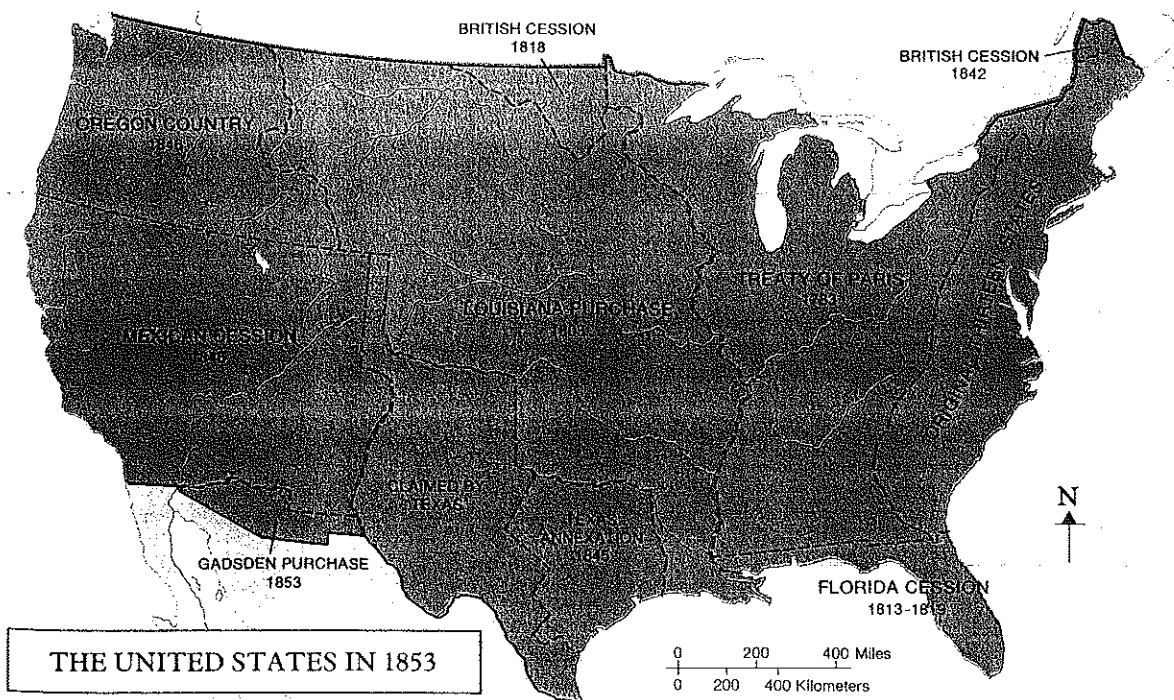
By 1849 news of the gold had spread well beyond California to the east coast of the United States. Many forty-niners, as the gold rushers were called, traveled overland across the United States from the eastern states. Others sailed south to Central America, traveled overland across the Isthmus of Panama, and then sailed again, north to California. Still others sailed all the way around Cape Horn at the southern tip of South America and north to California. In addition, eager fortune seekers came from as far away as Asia, South America, and Europe. By ship or by wagon, more than 50 thousand gold rushers crowded into California in 1849.

Gold Rush Realities The United States had not organized a territorial government for California before the gold rush began. As a result most miners settled in hastily organized communities called mining camps. Here they established rules to govern gold claims and review disputed claims. Most miners were men, often trying to claim wealth before returning home to their families. A few prospectors became rich but most, by far, found only disappointment and frustration.

Some gold seekers, particularly blacks, American Indians, and Chinese, were often victims of discrimination and violence. Nevertheless, by 1850 members of such groups made up a growing part of California's population. And many overcame odds not only to achieve prosperity but to contribute to the community as well. Ex-slave Bidly Mason, for example, became a rich real-estate investor and donated part of her profits for schools and churches in Los Angeles. Another black settler, J.B. Sanderson, established schools for minority children in California.

(Text continues on page 321.)

By 1853, the present-day borders of the midcontinental United States had been established. Seventy years after winning independence and concluding the Treaty of Paris, the United States found itself in control of a land area of nearly 3 million square miles (nearly 8 million square kilometers).



Mining Camp School Days

During the gold rush days living conditions were crowded and rough in the mining camps, but the miners tried to develop a sense of order and justice and to promote education and culture. People's courts were established to settle miners' claims on gold. Theater groups toured the camps and schools were established for the miners' children. The results were not always successful and there are many colorful stories of frontier justice and frontier "literary societies." Prentice Mufford worked as a teacher in a California mining camp. Here is an account of his experience:

"I was shut up in that little church six hours a day with sixty children and youths, ranging from four to eighteen years of age. In summer it

was a fiercely hot little church. The mercury was always near 90 by noon, and sometimes over 100, and you could at times hear shingles split and crack on the roof of the cathedral. . . .

"The majority of my pupils' parents being from New England and North America, they brought and carried into effect all their North American ideas of education. The California summer heat is, I think, unfit for educational purposes. It is too hot to herd sixty restless children together six hours a day. They proved this in several cases. Some fell sick suddenly. Some fainted. But this made no difference. The school went on in all its misery. . . . This was in California's early days. My scholars were

the children of the Argonauts [gold rushers], and in some cases had come out with them. There was then no regular system of textbooks. . . .

"My scholars came bringing a great variety of school-books. They brought *Pike's Arithmetic*, which had come over the plains, and *Smith's Geography*, which had sailed around Cape Horn. Seldom were two alike. But the greatest variety lay in grammars. There was a regular museum of English grammars, whose authors fought each other with different rules and called the various parts of speech by different names. . . .

"Besides bringing grammars, most of the boys brought dogs. Dogs of many breeds and sizes hovered around the school-house. They wanted frequently to come in, and did often come in, to sneak under the seats and lay themselves at their masters' feet. I had frequently to kick or order them out, and I noticed that whenever a dog was chased he would take the longest road to get out and under as many seats as possible, in order to receive as many kicks as possible from the youthful owners of the other dogs. . . .

"I worked hard with that grammar class, and was very proud of their proficiency until I found that after months of this drilling they neither spoke nor wrote any better English than before. However, I lost nothing by this experience, for it helped me to the conviction I have held to ever since . . . that a taste for reading and constant association with correct English-speaking people does a great deal [to teach grammar]."

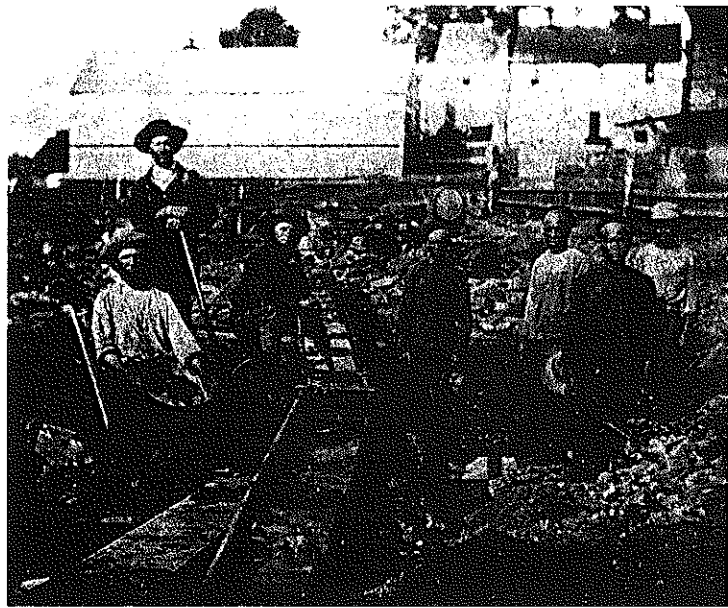
Forbestown, California, was one of many hastily constructed mining towns that became ghost towns when the gold was exhausted. Yet there were other towns, such as San Francisco and Sacramento, that flourished as a result of the gold rush.



The Oakland Museum/Gemini Smith, Inc., La Jolla, Bradley Smith

Many Chinese miners, often excluded from gold sites because of taxes that had to be paid by foreign miners, settled in cities such as Sacramento and San Francisco. They found jobs, established businesses, and contributed to California's prosperity. Those Chinese who did work at mining often worked abandoned mines and recovered gold where others had given up the hope of finding any.

All the new settlers in California had one thing in common: By their very numbers they made the question of California statehood a pressing matter. Local leaders called a constitutional convention in 1849. The convention delegates drew up a state constitution, notable for excluding slavery from California. The constitution also gave married women control over their own property—an unusual provision for the times. California's admission to the Union was quite another matter, however. The admission of another nonslave state threatened to upset the delicate balance of slave and nonslave states that had lasted so far and that Congress had worked hard to protect.



Hopeful gold miners flocked from all over the world to participate in California's gold rush. Chinese immigrants alone numbered 25,000 in California by 1851.

■ Section Analysis

1. What were the grievances between Mexico and the United States that led to war in 1846?
2. How did President Polk plan to acquire New Mexico and California from Mexico in the mid-1840's?
3. Why was there opposition to the Mexican War in the United States?

SUMMARY

American interest in the Far West grew steadily from the 1820's through the 1840's. The presence of long-established Indian cultures and the claims of foreign governments did not weaken American enthusiasm for the vast land that was found beyond the Great Plains. Traders, trappers, and missionaries spread the word about the land and opportunities west of the Louisiana Purchase territory. On hearing the reports of these people, thousands of American settlers began to move west. Pioneers journeyed first to Texas beginning in the 1820's. Then more pioneers came to the Oregon Country in the 1830's and 1840's. California settlement followed at a somewhat slower pace until the gold rush years of the late 1840's.

As Americans moved to the Far West, the United

States government began to look for ways to control the lands being settled by its citizens. In 1845—nine years after Texas settlers had revolted against Mexican rule and established an independent republic—Texas became the first of the sought-after lands to join the United States. Then in the spring of 1846 our government reached a compromise with Great Britain and divided the Oregon Country at the 49th parallel, with the southern part becoming United States territory. No compromise with Mexico was in the offing, however. So the United States fought a bitter, costly war to gain the rest of the lands it wanted—the Mexican provinces of Upper California and New Mexico and the disputed territory in Texas between the Nueces River and the Rio Grande.

1 *The Growing Conflict Over Slavery*

Sectional differences plagued American politics in the late 1840's and the 1850's. The major sectional issue was the spread of slavery into the territories. In the late 1840's, the two major political parties tried not to deal with this issue. However, the question of the spread of slavery played a part in almost every other political question of the time. Henry Clay tried to reach a compromise. But Clay's Compromise of 1850 was not a resolution. It only held up the outcome of the issue for a short time.

The 1840's As the boundaries of the United States moved west, the issue of slavery continued to cause problems. As you have read, many people from the North were against adding Texas to the Union since it would lead to the spread of slavery. However, most people in the South believed differently. They thought the addition of Texas was needed to keep the political balance in the Union.

The successful waging of the Mexican War secured huge new territories for the United States. A rivalry soon grew up between the North and the South over slavery in these new territories. The old sectional questions of the tariff, banks, and internal improvements so long debated by the Whig and Democratic parties began to give way to the overriding question of slavery in the territories. Most people from the South wanted no bars on the spread of slavery, even if most territories were not suited to slavery. However, many people from the North were *free-soilers* who were not willing to allow slavery into the new areas nor to allow the admittance of new slave states to the Union. Even so, many people in the North were willing to leave slavery where it presently existed.

The Wilmot Proviso The question of slavery's place in the new territories needed to be fully debated in Congress before the new territories could be admitted to the Union. The first effort to debate the question was made by David Wilmot, a Democratic representative from Pennsylvania. In the summer of 1846, he introduced an amendment to a bill that proposed an additional \$2 million to buy land from Mexico. The amendment read, "No territory which might be acquired by treaty

from Mexico should ever be slave holding country."

The Wilmot Proviso, as the amendment was called, passed the House several times but was always defeated in the Senate. It did, however, clearly show the deep differences that had developed over the question of slavery in the territories. For the most part, people in the North argued that Congress had responsibility for the territories. So Congress could decide whether or not slavery was to be allowed in the territories. People in the South, however, stated that the territories belonged to all the states and that slavery should be protected as a domestic institution. Neither the North nor the South denied the right of states to decide slavery within their own boundaries. However, the North and the South did not agree over slavery in the territories. These stands allowed little room for compromise. Clearly the need was to find some middle ground that would please both sides.

The Election of 1848 For the next few years, the question of slavery in the territories remained a constant challenge to both the Whigs and the Democrats. For a time, however, both parties tried to ignore the issue. The Whig candidate for President in 1848, Zachary Taylor, a hero of the Mexican War, refused to talk about the issue during the campaign. In fact, there was no Whig party platform drawn up in 1848. Also, the Democratic candidate, Lewis Cass, a senator from Michigan, ran on a platform that made no mention of slavery in the territories. Only the newly created Free-Soil party—made up of antislavery Whigs and New York Democrats who strongly opposed the spread of slavery into the new territories—made any mention of the subject.

In the election, Zachary Taylor defeated Lewis Cass by a narrow margin. The Free-Soil candidate, Martin Van Buren, received nearly 300,000 votes, about 10 percent of the total vote. This was a surprising number of votes for a 1-issue candidate. Van Buren divided the Democratic vote, making it possible for Taylor to carry a number of states that might have been won by Cass. The question of slavery was becoming an important part of the political struggle.