

Course outline for
HISTORY 2111, UNITED STATES TO 1865
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Note: This is not a comprehensive outline. It is merely a guide to the major subjects discussed in class, often omitting the details thereof. You are responsible for knowing all additional material presented/assigned in class and/or on the course website. YOU ARE STRONGLY ENCOURAGED TO PRINT A HARD COPY OF THIS OUTLINE, TO TAKE THOROUGH CLASS NOTES, AND TO INCORPORATE THEM INTO THIS OUTLINE.

You are responsible for knowing all information contained in this outline for quizzes and exams whether or not I cover it in class, unless I make express exceptions. **YOU ARE REQUIRED TO READ THE OUTLINE MATERIAL BEFORE WE COVER THAT MATERIAL IN CLASS. If I ask questions in class over the material you needed to read before class and you're unable to show that you read it, then you will receive a points penalty on the next exam.** Always being four or five pages ahead of our current location should normally suffice.

All possible essay and short answer/I.D. questions appear on this outline. The section in which a question appears is the section where most (but not necessarily all) of the information needed to answer it appears. If the same question appears in two or more sections, information from each section in which it appears will certainly need to be included in a complete answer. The answer to some short answer ID questions may be substantially the same as others, with two or more questions merely differing in their phrasing. **YOU ARE STRONGLY ENCOURAGED TO BEGIN REVIEWING AND WRITING PRACTICE ANSWERS TO EACH POSSIBLE ESSAY AND SHORT ANSWER QUESTION EARLY IN THE SEMESTER, AS WE COVER THE RELATED MATERIAL, RATHER THAN WAITING UNTIL JUST BEFORE THE EXAM TO DO SO. IF YOU WAIT UNTIL SHORTLY BEFORE THE MID-TERM OR THE FINAL TO DO THIS, YOU WILL LIKELY FIND IT AN IMPOSSIBLE TASK TO LEARN ALL THE MATERIAL IN SUCH A SHORT TIME.**

If you download the Microsoft Word version of this outline, view it in outline mode within Word.

PART I. Introductory Concepts

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Remember that you're required to check www.buckmilton.com every day this semester. This outline isn't enough! Take thorough notes in class!

A. Cause and Effect

- 1. History is not a study of random unconnected events but the relationship between and among events**
- 2. This course seeks to explain how, in 1865, there came to be a United States that was a single, united country, republican rather than monarchical, without slavery, that stood on the verge of becoming a great world power, when four hundred years earlier Europeans were not even aware that the American continents existed.**
- 3. In other words, how does the chain of causation stretch from the Age of Exploration to the United States of 1865?**
 - a. Don't ask when things happened; instead, ask why they happened when they did.**
- 4. To understand this chain of causation, consider the questions presented in the outline below at the beginning of each major section.**

B. The Reptile brain

- 1. Older parts of our brains (in evolutionary terms) are the stronger parts of our brains**
- 2. The oldest/strongest parts of our brains (shared with more primitive animals) are the seat of our survival behaviors (autonomic functions like breathing and heartbeat; food; reproduction/gene transmission)**
- 3. these survival behaviors are inherently selfish and extremely powerful**
- 4. the altruistic, selfless, and rational parts of our brains are far newer and weaker**
- 5. The result: history is not generally the story of people/groups/tribes being nice to each other**

6. Civilization is the story of how, and to what degree, we can keep these selfish instincts under control

C. The individual or the community?

1. Each person is an individual: Unique experiences, unique needs

2. But all individuals live in a community

3. the individual can affect the community

4. the community has the raw power to take everything from the individual

5. But since there is no community without individuals, shouldn't there be limits on what the community can do to the individual?

6. Can the community offload all of its burdens, all of its pain, all of its duties, onto the backs of just some individuals so that the rest of the community may benefit?

a. Examples

(i) Slavery

(ii) Denial of equal treatment

(iii) Denial of legal protection

(iv) Unfair tax burden

(v) denial of representation/voice in the community

7. How do we balance the individual's needs with the community's?

D. Westward movement

1. A constant theme in this course is westward migration of people

a. First from Europe/Africa to America

b. Then westward across the American continent

2. The United States today is populated largely by people of European and African descent (i.e., people who had come, or been brought, westward from Europe and Africa to North America.)

a. Prior to 1865, the population was overwhelmingly Western European (mainly English/Scottish, some Dutch and German, later also Irish) and partly African, with practically no other nationality or ethnicity except for the indigenous peoples (i.e. Native Americans/American Indians).

- 3. Question: Why did people move west, and what impact did their reasons have on the development of American society?**
 - a. Religious reasons?
 - b. Economic reasons?
 - c. Political reasons?
 - d. Other reasons?
- 4. Question: When people move west, what moves with them? What doesn't move with them? What moves first, and what takes longer to move? What tensions does this cause in American politics and society?**
 - a. Political representation?
 - b. The political system in general?
 - c. Legal institutions?
 - d. Social institutions?

E. E Pluribus Unum—or not?

- 1. The thirteen colonies were founded at different times, in different places (coastline is 1000 miles) for different reasons, by different groups (i.e., diversity). Yet later these former colonies claimed to be united in some sense.**
 - a. This question of unity was hotly debated almost from the beginning, and ultimately contributed to the bloodiest war in American history.
- 2. In what ways were the former colonies united? In what ways weren't they united? What was the main mechanism that kept them united until they divided? Ultimately, which did they believe was the fundamental value: unity or diversity? Can the unity be undone or not? If it can be, should it be?**
 - a. To put this another way: properly understood, should the emphasis be
 - (i) UNITED States, or
 - (ii) United STATES?
- 3. Compare this with individual versus community above**
 - a. One approach: If the state is the “individual,” what is it's relation to the nation, i.e., the community?
 - b. Another approach: which is the true community for any American; the state, or the nation?

PART II. The Age of Exploration, ca. 1453-1492 (Textbook Chapters 1 and 2)

Central idea: Economic, political, technological, and religious developments in 1400s Europe gave some European states the capability and desire to systematically venture into the deep ocean for the first time in history, leading them to discover the American continents and ultimately transfer their cultures there.

Legacy for modern America: Native American culture has today been almost entirely subsumed by Eurasian/African culture. In terms of ethnicity, political and legal systems, language, culture, and religion, the United States is predominately an outgrowth of Europe.

A. Questions to think about:

- 1. Why did Europeans sail across the Atlantic, thus discovering the Americas?**
- 2. Why did they do this at the time they did, and not hundreds of years earlier or later?**

B. Possible essay questions:

- 1. Write a history of Europe from the fall of the Roman Empire to the beginning of the Age of Exploration.**
- 2. Write a history of the four transformations in Europe that led to the Age of Exploration.**
- 3. Write a history of Portuguese and Spanish explorations in the 1400s.**

C. Possible short answer/ID questions

- 1. The fall of Constantinople**
- 2. The lateen rig**
- 3. The caravel**
- 4. Prince Henry the Navigator**
- 5. Vasco de Gama**
- 6. The fall of Granada**

7. Christopher Columbus

D. Section outline

1. The Age of Exploration

- a. aka the Age of Discovery
- b. Began in 1400s at the end of the Middle Ages
- c. Most famous moments were in 1400, especially Columbus/Americas 1492
- d. But continued into 1800s
- e. Why did it begin when it did?

2. Overview of European History prior to the Age of Exploration

- a. Decline of the Roman Empire, 400s AD, and the beginning of the Middle Ages, ca. 500-1500

(i) The Western Empire

- (A) That part of the Roman Empire that existed in Western Europe
- (B) In the 400s, it was over-run by Germanic tribes and disintegrated
 1. Political unity shattered
 2. Disruption of communications
 3. Population decline
 4. Deurbanization
 5. Result of all of this was a decline in economic activity/trade/wealth

(C) Feudalism

1. A military/social/landholding system that replaced the Western Empire for nearly 1000 years
2. Was a means of providing land ownership and directing agricultural production to support military defense
3. Was based on the idea of personal loyalty to one's lord and to one's vassals, NOT a system of public officials who worked for the government and administered government affairs
 - a. A feudal lord (e.g., a king) would convey land to vassals for the vassals' upkeep
 - b. in exchange, the vassals had to provide military service/protection to the lord
 - c. The vassals themselves could subinfeudate (i.e., convey some of their land to vassals of their own
 - d. Feudalism was in a sense private and compartmentalized
 - i. Was based on interlocking personal agreements and relationships between lord and vassal: there was no "law" or "government" as we understand the term
 - ii. borders were fluid
 - iii. There was less notion of ethnic unity: your loyalty was to your lord, not to your "people"

- iv. social mobility (“the chance to get ahead”) was severely limited—your role in life was determined by your status, not by your abilities
- (ii) The Eastern Empire/Byzantine Empire endured
 - (A) Capital of the Byzantine Empire was Constantinople (present-day Istanbul)
 - (B) Became one of the major borders between Christian Europe and the Muslim world to the east and south
- b. Norse/Viking expansion, ca. 800-1000’s**
 - (i) Norse were Scandinavian seafarers/raiders
 - (ii) Raided western Europe by sea
 - (A) These raids led to the Norse venturing farther afield, e.g., to Iceland
 - (iii) This seafaring eventually led to discovery of Greenland
 - (iv) Ultimately the Norse reached the extreme northern part of North America (present-day Newfoundland/Nova Scotia) reached ca. 1000 by Leif Erikson
 - (A) Norse colonies there were sporadic and short-lived; perhaps used for timber
 - (B) No large impact on either Europe or the Americas
 - 1. Not enough wealth or support from Europe to help maintain colony
 - (C) Stories of the discovery may have circulated in a legendary/semi-mythical fashion in European seaports thereafter, perhaps influencing Christopher Columbus
- c. The revival of Europe in the Late Middle Ages**
 - (i) High Middle Ages, ca. 1000-1300
 - (ii) Late Middle Ages, ca. 1300-1500
 - (A) Increasing population
 - 1. Means greater production, greater surpluses, and thus greater wealth/investment
 - 2. These forces were actually accelerated because of the Black Death of the mid-1300s
 - a. The Black Death killed as much as 50% of Europe’s population in a few years
 - b. This led to surpluses of land, food, and money for the survivors (same resources, fewer people to share them)—i.e., greater wealth per capita
 - i. This meant more money available for luxuries and thus an increase in trade
 - c. Scarce labor gave peasants more bargaining power with their lords and began to lead to the social mobility that the feudal world had lacked
 - 3. Revival of learning: the formation of the first universities
 - a. Learning requires that a society be wealthy enough for some of its members not to have to be using their labor to produce food in the short term

- b. This enables them to use education to increase their productivity and money-making potential in the long-term through the acquisition and use of advanced and specialized knowledge
- (B) The Renaissance; 1450-1650
 1. A cultural movement of the Late Middle Ages/early modern period
 2. Rediscovery of ancient writings such as Aristotle
 - a. Largely through Muslim world
 - b. led to rebirth of science and interest in geography, experimentation, and the natural world

3. Setting the Stage: The four transformations in Europe that led to the Age of Exploration

a. The religious motivations for oceanic exploration by western Europe

- (i) [The Fall of Constantinople](#) (in Byzantine Empire) to the Turks, 1453
- (ii) End of the Eastern Empire
- (iii) Major setback of Christianity/victory of Islam

(A) Brings about a felt need to expand Christendom in the west

b. The economic motivations for oceanic exploration by western Europe

- (i) Capitalism/ revival of trade
- (ii) Incentive for Exploration: Trade with the Orient
 - (A) Asian/African goods in high demand in Europe
 - (B) The Fall of Constantinople, 1453

1. Cuts off Christian access to the Silk Road and other means of overland trade with the East

(C) Western Europe, bordering on the Atlantic, have two incentives for exploration

1. Being farthest from the East via land, the prices they pay are the highest

2. Being on the Atlantic, they have the easiest water access to the East if they can discover a water route

c. The technological advances that permitted oceanic exploration by western Europe

- (i) Maritime travel and exploration
 - (A) Travel by sea tends to be easier and cheaper than travel by land
 - (B) This is especially true when transporting bulk goods
 - (C) This was also especially true before the development of railroads and steam power
- (ii) Maritime technologies
 - (A) Instruments that allowed more precise navigation
 1. Compass (useful for determining heading/direction)
 2. Astrolabe (useful for measuring latitude, the navigational computer of the Middle Ages)

- 3. accurate clocks (useful for measuring longitude)
- (B) Lateen sail/lateen rig
 - 1. Adopted by Atlantic world by late Middle Ages
 - 2. A fore-and-aft rig as opposed to a square rig or square sail
 - 3. allowed better control and maneuverability (sailing/beating to windward)
- (C) [The caravel](#)
 - 1. Developed in the mid 1400s
 - 2. Often [lateen-rigged](#)
 - 3. One of the first deep ocean vessels
 - a. Light, maneuverable, able to sail close to the wind and thus make voyages far into the North Atlantic and back
- d. The political changes that permitted oceanic exploration by western Europe**
 - (i) The rise of nation-states
 - (A) The state: a political entity that possesses
 - 1. A sovereign
 - 2. Government over
 - 3. Land/territory and
 - 4. Population/people
 - (B) Begins to replace feudalism by the 1300s
 - (C) Has a public administrative and legal system for the
 - 1. Making and enforcing of laws
 - 2. Collecting of taxes
 - 3. Spending for purposes that benefit the population at large
 - (D) Modern states provide (via taxation) a means of raising large amounts of capital, which can then be used for investment and exploration
 - (E) Modern states are in competition with each other for trade and political advantage
 - (F) A state that is based on people's ethnic identity (i.e. their national identity) is known as a nation-state

4. The Age of Exploration, 1400s

a. Portugal

- (i) One of the first modern nation-states
 - (A) Consolidated as nation-state ca. 1300
- (ii) The First European Sea Power
 - (A) Geographically had strong motivations and opportunities for oceanic trade with Asia
- (iii) Prince Henry the Navigator, 1394-1460
 - (A) Considered the first main figure in the Age of Exploration •
 - (B) Highly interested in Portuguese expansion and exploration
 - (C) Wanted to find source of West African gold trade

- (D) Wanted to prevent the Barbary pirates from raiding Portuguese coast and selling Christians into slavery
- (E) Wanted to discover new trade routes
- (F) Encouraged studies in navigation and cartography
- (G) Sponsored voyages of exploration
- (iv) Major Explorers
 - (A) Bartholomew Diaz - Cape of Good Hope (1487/88)
 1. Showed that Africa could be gotten around in attempt to reach the Far East
 - (B) Vasco de Gama
 1. Reached India in 1499

b. Spain

- (i) The Fall of Granada, 1492
 - (A) The last Moorish stronghold in the Iberian Peninsula
 - (B) The end of the Reconquista
 - (C) Brings about the political unification of Spain
 1. States that are united and lack internal political problems are in the best position to expand/explore/colonize
 - (D) After the fall of Granada, Spain, like Portugal, shows an interest in exploration
- (ii) Columbian Voyages
 - (A) Christopher Columbus
 1. Genoese Navigator, backed by Ferdinand of Aragon and Isabella of Castile
 2. Posited direct route to Asia by sailing west
 3. Miscalculates size of globe and believes that Asia can be reached by a 3000 mile voyage west (Eratosthenes had accurately calculated circumference of earth in the third century BC)
 4. Arrives in Caribbean, October 1492 and believes himself to be off the coast of India/Asia
 5. Hence the name “West Indies”
 6. Made three more voyages to Caribbean and Central/South America, 1493-1502
 7. Never stopped believing he’d reached the coast of Asia
 - (B) Amerigo Vespucci
 1. Made at least two voyages for Spain and Portugal, 1499-1502 along the coast of South America
 2. One of the first to suspect that this wasn’t Asia but, as he called it, a “New World”
 3. Letters ostensibly written by Vespucci acquainted Europe with the discovery of these new lands
 4. Based on these letters, early maps named the new land America

PART III. Spain in the New World, 1492- ca. 1550 (Textbook Chapter 3)

Central idea: Spain's explorations of and focus upon Central America, largely due to its precious metals, left the door open in North America for later colonization by other European powers.

Legacy for modern America: Today, the American continents south of the Rio Grande are dominated by Hispanic culture, creating ethnic, economic, and political tensions between the United states and regions to its south that remain controversial today. How will this play out? What ends to this dynamic should we seek?

A. Questions to think about:

- 1. What effects did communication between the Old and New Worlds have on the Americas?**
- 2. Upon Spain's discovery of the Americas, what goals did it adopt with regard to the New World?**
- 3. Why was Spanish involvement in the New World limited mainly to Central and South America, thus leaving North America open for other European countries?**

B. Possible essay questions:

- 1. Write a history of Spain's conquest of the New World in the 1500s.**

C. Possible short answer/ID questions

- 1. The Columbian exchange**
- 2. The Conquistadors**
- 3. Vasco Núñez de Balboa**
- 4. Hernando de Soto**

D. Section outline

1. The Columbian exchange

- a. An exchange of animals, plants, culture, human populations, communicable diseases, technology and ideas between the American and Afro-Eurasian hemispheres in the wake of Columbus**

(i) Plants:

(A) To New World:

1. Coffee
 2. Rice
 3. Wheat
 4. Oats
 5. Sugarcane
- (B) To Europe:
1. Potatoes
 2. Beans
 3. Corn
 4. Tomatoes
 5. Cocoa
 6. Caffeine/sugar/rum
 - a. Although sugarcane came from Europe, The New World became a prime source for it, greatly increasing European sugar consumption by the 1700s
 - b. Likewise coffee: By late 1700s more than half the world's coffee was grown in the Caribbean and Latin America
- (ii) Animals to New World:
- (A) Sheep
 - (B) Cows
 - (C) Pigs
 - (D) Goats
 - (E) Chickens
 - (F) horses
- (iii) Disease:
- (A) Eurasian immunity developed as a result of animal husbandry, which was practiced to a much lesser extent in the New World before Columbus
 - (B) Thus, New World Populations had no immunity to European diseases, which devastated Indian populations
 1. Typhus
 2. Cholera
 3. Bubonic Plague
 4. Diphtheria
 5. Malaria
 6. Yellow Fever
 7. Smallpox
 - (C) Europeans neither understood nor (for the most part) intended the spread of these diseases among the native population
 - (D) Some estimates hold that by the mid-1600s, as many as 95% of the Native American population had died in epidemics

1. This meant that Native American ability to resist European incursion was severely weakened and thus allowed the transplantation of European populations and culture to the New World

2. Spain in America

a. Precious metal injection

b. The Conquistadors

- (i) Spanish adventurers who were motivated by

- (A) Gold
- (B) Glory
- (C) God

- (ii) Hernán Cortés 1519

- (A) Aztecs

- (iii) Francisco Pizarro 1531

- (A) Inca

c. Continued search for a western water route to Asia

- (i) [Vasco Núñez de Balboa, Isthmus/Pacific 1513](#)

- (ii) [Ferdinand Magellan 1519-22](#)

- (A) Shows maritime travel from Europe westward to Asia is possible but not practical with 1500s technology

- (iii) [Hernando de Soto 1539](#)

- (A) The first major exploration of North America

- (B) Reveals little in the way of advanced civilizations or precious metals

d. Spain's long decline

- (i) Huge supply of silver and gold from new World ultimately led to massive inflation in Spain

- (ii) This contributed to Spain's weakening and decline weakened economically, militarily, and politically after the late 1500s

PART IV. England, the New World, and Failed Colonization Attempts, 1485-1604 (Textbook Chapter 4 through page 126)

Central idea: Torn by internal political and religious upheavals and threatened by foreign enemies, England was almost a century behind Spain in its serious colonization efforts, but the developments of the 1500s laid the groundwork and provided the motivations for later English colonization.

Legacy for modern America: The United States today, while increasingly multicultural, remains heavily English in its language, culture, political and legal systems, and strategic outlook. This grew out of England's interest in North America in the 1500s. Yet some of the same problems continue: religious and ideological differences still produce conflicts today? How should we deal with them? How far should free exercise of religion extend?

A. Questions to think about:

- 1. Why did England lag behind Spain in its explorations in the Atlantic and the New World?**
- 2. Why did early English efforts at colonization fail?**

B. Possible essay questions:

- 1. Discuss the Protestant "Reformation" during the 1500s, both generally and with special reference to England. What effects did it have on English colonization efforts of the 1500s?**
- 2. Write a history of English colonization attempts down to 1600. Why did they take place? Why did they fail?**

C. Possible short answer/ID questions

- 1. The Protestant "Reformation"**
- 2. Martin Luther**
- 3. The printing press**
- 4. Henry VIII**
- 5. Francis Drake**
- 6. Roanoke**

7. The Spanish Armada

D. Section outline

1. England in the 1400s

a. Poorer than Spain

b. Smaller population than Spain

c. Torn by internal troubles, i.e., the [Wars of the Roses](#)

- (i) Dynastic battles for the English throne. 1455-87
- (ii) Eventually won by the Tudor family
- (iii) The Tudors ruled England from 1485 to 1603
- (iv) In general, very capable monarchs who consolidated royal power

2. England's first explorations: [The Voyages of John Cabot, 1497-98](#)

3. England's explorations derailed: The Protestant "Reformation" (beginning in 1517)

a. Actually a change of essence/substance, not of mere form

b. Better referred to as the Protestant Revolution

c. Catholicism:

- (i) The pope and the bishops are the legal successors of the Apostles, who had been chosen by Christ
- (ii) The pope and the bishops thus are the ultimate authority in the Church on earth
- (iii) The role of the Bible
 - (A) The Bible was seen as only the written portion of a larger source of authority called Sacred Tradition (*traditio*, what has been handed down)
 - (B) The Bible was thus subject to official interpretation by the pope and bishops
 - (C) Writing was not nearly as important in passing on any kind of knowledge until the 1500s as it was afterwards
 - 1. Bibles were extremely expensive since they had to be copied by hand, so the great majority of people couldn't afford one
 - 2. The great majority of people couldn't read, so owning a Bible would have done them no good

d. European politics before the Reformation

- (i) While Europe was divided into many different feudal/political entities, the Church argued that Europe, almost completely Christian, was united under the authority of the pope

e. Reasons for the Reformation

- (i) Corruption among the clergy
- (ii) Sale of indulgences

- (iii) Martin Luther's OCD
 - (A) Luther: A Catholic monk and priest
 - (B) Had ongoing sense of impending doom
 - (C) Resented sale of indulgences
 - (D) Beginning in 1517, he challenged the authority of the Church
 - (E) Ultimately argued that all a Christian needed in order to understand Christianity was a Bible, not popes, bishops, and priests
 - 1. This coincided with the appearance of the printing press a few decades earlier

f. Reason's for the Reformation's success

- (i) Unlike earlier heretical movements, Protestantism appeared after the rise of the modern state
- (ii) Many kings and princes wished to be free of Rome's political and economic control
- (iii) They therefore backed Luther's movement and established or supported their own national Protestant churches, often for political rather than religious reasons

g. Effects of the Reformation

- (i) [Protestantism sweeps through many sections of Europe](#)
- (ii) Many people agree with Luther that the Catholic Church is teaching error, but they disagree that Luther's teaching is correct
- (iii) Thus not one, but many different Protestant denominations/sects arise
 - (A) The only thing that all Protestants had in common was the belief that the Catholic Church was wrong
- (iv) Leads to religious dissent and a century of religious warfare
 - (A) Warfare between Catholics and Protestants
 - (B) Warfare among different Protestant sects
- (v) Freedom of religion did not exist
 - (A) As a subject of your king, you had to practice the religion of your king; otherwise you were a national security risk and risked death
 - (B) But if you believed your king's religion to be heresy, you were risking eternal damnation
 - (C) A third possibility: leave and find a new place to live—a place such as the New World
 - (D) The Reformation thus provided dissenters with an incentive to move to America

h. Effects of the Reformation on England

- (i) England becomes Protestant
 - (A) Henry VIII's wife, Katherine of Aragon, has no sons, only a daughter
 - (B) Henry VIII wishes to divorce and marry someone new (Anne Boleyn) who will produce a male heir

- (C) Upon the Pope's refusal to annul his marriage to Katherine, Henry oversees the establishment of the Church of England and grants himself a divorce
- (D) No dissent from the Church of England is allowed
- (ii) This leads to decades of on-again, off-again war between Protestant England and Catholic Spain
 - (A) England is ruled by Queen Elizabeth as of 1558
 - (B) England, being weaker than Spain, adopts a policy of what we would today call "plausible deniability"
 - (C) Use of pirates ("Sea Dogs") to disrupt the flow of precious metals from the New World to Spain
 1. E.g., Francis Drake
 2. E.g., John Hawkins

4. Raleigh, Virginia, the Armada, and the Lost Colony

- a. **Establishment of English colonies in North America might lead to discoveries of gold and increase England's wealth**
- b. **May also provide strategic bases from which to strike out at Spanish trade**
- c. **The First English Colony - Roanoke**
 - (i) Sir Walter Raleigh
 - (A) Receives patent for colonizing land in New World (1584)
 - (ii) First Attempt - 1585
 - (A) Fails within a year: the colonists are returned to England by Drake
 - (iii) Second Attempt - 1587
 - (A) The plan is to resupply the colony frequently
 - (B) This plan is disrupted by Spain's attempt to invade England: [The Spanish Armada](#)
 - (C) Relief mission not launched until 1590; colonists have vanished
 - (iv) Failure of the Roanoke Colony (relief voyage 1590)

5. Peace between England and Spain, 1604

- a. **As with Spain in 1492, peace leads to a more conducive environment for colonization**

6. The Westphalian System

- a. **Named after the Peace of Westphalia, 1648**
- b. **Concluded a long period of heavily religious warfare between many European states**
- c. **The Peace tacitly recognized that no state had enough power to impose its will on neighboring states**

- d. The new Westphalian system of international relations accepted that each state was completely sovereign within its own borders and that other states could not violate that sovereignty—even if they hated, condemned, disagreed with the internal affairs of that state

PART V. The Founding of the English Colonies, 1607-ca. 1745 (Textbook page 126 through end of Chapter 4)

Central idea: The two dominant motivations for English colonization were religion (i.e., a refuge for religious dissenters in the wake of the Reformation) and a desire for profit. The numerous English colonies were founded at different times, in different places, by different groups, each with its own particular motives, leading to a geographic and cultural diversity from the very beginning.

Legacy for modern America: The United States today consists of many different states, and each state has—or is at least supposed to have—considerable political power/sovereignty over its own affairs, with a national government that is supposed to be one of limited powers. While this model has changed considerably in the past eighty years, it remains at least partly true, and it is based ultimately in the fact that separate, legally and culturally distinct colonies predated the national government by as much as a century and a half. Some of Americans' most fundamental beliefs regarding freedom of religion, the need for education, the importance of market capitalism, and the special role of America as a force for good in the world all date from the founding of the colonies in the 16-00s and early 1700s. The great geographic diversity meant that significant cultural differences between North American regions also existed from the very beginning, and that these differences have caused—and could continue to cause—significant problems in the future.

A. Questions to think about:

- 1. Why did English colonization efforts in the early 1600s succeed while earlier efforts had failed?**
- 2. What were the main motivations for English colonization?**
- 3. What basic, enduring aspects of the American character did the early colonies establish? Why?**

B. Possible essay questions:

- 1. Write a history of English colonization during the 1600s. Why did they take place? How did they differ from colony to colony? What elements of today's American character resulted from this period?**

2. Write a history of the contributions of Puritanism to the American character.

C. Possible short answer/ID questions

1. Jamestown
2. Events in Jamestown in 1619
3. The Mayflower Compact
4. The Fall Line
5. The Battle of Bloody Marsh
6. The Frontier Thesis

D. Advance reading assignment: Before class, carefully read the Mayflower Compact at http://avalon.law.yale.edu/17th_century/mayflower.asp (link is on course web page)

E. Section outline

1. Wealth/Economy as a Motivation for Colonization

a. The Joint-Stock Companies

- (i) early version of a modern corporation
- (ii) Formed by London merchants to finance colonization and turn a profit

2. Religion as a Motivation for Colonization

- a. The Protestant “Reformation” had produced many diverse religious groups in England**
- b. Members of these groups could face persecution from the government and the official Church of England**
- c. This gave them an incentive to form their own colonies where they could practice their religion without persecution**

3. Jamestown, 1607

- a. Motivated by economics/desire for wealth, not religion**
- b. Settled by employees of the London Company (1607)**
- c. Came seeking wealth**
 - (i) Most were young adventurers, goldsmiths, etc.
 - (ii) Could do little meaningful work

d. Starving time (1607 - 1612)

- (i) Starvation and disease take toll on colonists
- (ii) Evolves into a military garrison for survival

e. John Smith takes command, forcing men to farm

- (i) “New employment incentive plan: If you don’t work, you don’t eat”
- (ii) Free enterprise, market capitalism, productivity become a major contribution of Jamestown to the American character

f. The Virginia Economy

- (i) Based on Tobacco
 - (A) Spanish seeds brought to Virginia by John Rolfe
 - (B) More colonists arrive to cash in on tobacco boom
- (ii) Tobacco cultivation gives rise to Planter Class

g. 1619:

- (i) Self-Government
 - (A) Formation of the House of Burgesses
 - (B) Burgesses pass laws relating to the governance of Virginia
 - (C) Another contribution of Virginia to the American character
- (ii) Women/Family Structure
 - (A) Large numbers of women begin arriving after 1618
 - (B) Leads to traditional family structure and population growth
- (iii) Africans/Slaves
 - (A) Africans arrive on Dutch ships
 - (B) At first they are indentured servants
 - (C) Later they will become slaves due to economic competition with whites

4. The Separatists/Pilgrims and the Plymouth Colony, 1620

- a. The Separatists: wished to separate themselves completely from the Church of England**
- b. Self-Government and the Social Contract: [The Mayflower Compact](#)**

5. The Puritans and the Massachusetts Bay Colony, 1630

a. The Puritans

- (i) Unlike the Separatists, did not wish a separation from the Church of England
- (ii) But believed the Church of England, although Protestant, to still be too Catholic
- (iii) Received permission to found a Puritan colony called Massachusetts Bay

b. Contributions of the Puritans to the American character

- (i) The idea of American Exceptionalism
 - (A) A sense that American civilization is fundamentally different from (and superior to) other civilizations
 - (B) A belief that America is to be an example for the rest of the world
 - 1. John Winthrop’s “City on a Hill”

- (C) Helped America to become the leader of the free world in the 20th and 21st centuries
- (ii) Literacy
 - (A) Development of movable type and the printing press, late 1400s, led to Protestantism's extreme emphasis on the Bible
 - (B) Emphasis on the Bible required believers to be able to read it
 - (C) This led to Puritan emphasis on education and literacy
- (iii) Participatory Government/Congregationalism
 - (A) The Catholic Church was governed by bishops and priests
 - (B) But members of Puritan congregation participated in decisionmaking within the church structure rather than deferring to leadership of priests or bishops
 - (C) Laid the basis for popular government: republicanism and ultimately democracy

6. Rhode Island, Roger Williams, and "Separation of Church and State"

- a. Another major (but misunderstood) contribution of new England to the American character**

7. Other Colonies, the climate, and the Fall Line

a. The Fall Line

- (i) A sharp drop from rocky highlands to more fertile/farmable lowlands
- (ii) Characterized by rapids and waterfalls where the break occurs
- (iii) Hard to navigate the rivers above the Fall Line
- (iv) In the South it is hundreds of miles inland (e.g., Macon, Georgia)
- (v) By the time it reaches New England, it has moved off the coast

b. Northern colonies

- (i) Much colder than southern colonies, with shorter growing seasons
- (ii) Poorer soil as the Fall Line moved closer to the coast
- (iii) But good harbors due to sharper drop-off in elevation due to the Fall Line
- (iv) Fall Line also led to more mills/waterwheels close to the coast at the waterfalls
- (v) Gave rise to industry and manufacturing
- (vi) Off the coast of New England, the "Fall Line" results in wide continental shelf with excellent fishing
- (vii) This combination of poor soil, short growing seasons, good harbors, and good fishing grounds pushes New England towards trade (domestic and overseas) and manufacturing

c. Southern colonies

- (i) With long growing seasons, good land, and fewer harbors, the South became focused on large-scale commercial agriculture

- (ii) Labor-intensive nature of agriculture required more labor, made slavery more pronounced in South
- (iii) Tobacco, rice, indigo, small amounts of sea island cotton

d. Result: Economic diversity

- (i) The climactic and geological differences between North and South had tremendous influence in the development of the American economy and American politics from the beginning of colonization through 1865 and beyond

e. Economic diversity was strengthened by ethnic diversity

f. Georgia and the High Tide of Spain, 1732-1742

- (i) Georgia: A military defense zone
- (ii) The Battle of Bloody Marsh, 1742

8. The Frontier Thesis

a. Put forward by historian Frederick Jackson Turner in 1893

b. Argued that the frontier (a place where civilization and socio-political conventions disappeared, or “the meeting point between savagery and civilization”) was essential to the forming of the American character

- (i) “The peculiarity of American institutions is, the fact that they have been compelled to adapt themselves to the changes of an expanding people—to the changes involved in crossing a continent, in winning a wilderness, and in developing at each area of this progress out of the primitive economic and political conditions of the frontier into the complexity of city life. ... But the most important effect of the frontier has been in the promotion of democracy here and in Europe. ... [T]he frontier is productive of individualism. Complex society is precipitated by the wilderness into a kind of primitive organization based on the family. The tendency is anti-social. It produces antipathy to control, and particularly to any direct control. The tax-gatherer is viewed as a representative of oppression. ... The frontier conditions prevalent in the colonies are important factors in the explanation of the American Revolution, where individual liberty was sometimes confused with absence of all effective government. ... The frontier individualism has from the beginning promoted democracy. ... What the Mediterranean Sea was to the Greeks, breaking the bond of custom, offering new experiences, calling out new institutions and activities, that, and more, the ever retreating frontier has been to the United States[.]”

c. When a person’s conditions in “civilization” aren’t acceptable, he moves west, into a region (the frontier) where the conditions of civilization no longer apply and he can make a fresh start

- (i) These conditions may include
 - (A) economic hardship
 - (B) political persecution

- (C) religious persecution
- (D) and other factors
- d. The frontier is high-risk, high-return**
 - (i) Individuals on the frontier have often come there because they resent government and social controls (which are largely absent); in other words, they prize individualism and personal liberty
 - (ii) And because of the absence of government and the security it offers, frontier dwellers must become highly self-reliant
- e. As the population moves west, centers of representation and power often lag behind, remaining in the east, thus robbing westerners of political input**

PART VI. Colonial Government and the Colonial Economy, 1607- ca. 1754 (Textbook Chapter 5 and Chapter 6 through page 260)

Central idea: The American colonial systems that developed in the 1600s and early 1700s led to both free and slave labor, political systems that were based heavily on English government, and considerable colonial political and economic autonomy. All of this meant that, while the colonists were part of the British Empire, in practical terms they governed themselves from a very early stage.

Legacy for modern America: The United States national government and state governments, along with national and state legal systems, are the direct descendants of the colonial governments of the 1600s and 1700s. By studying those early governments, we are in a better position to understand the purpose and functions of our governments today, especially the notions of federalism and separation of powers.

A. Questions to think about:

1. What was the basic template of colonial government? Why did this template develop? What long-term effects did it have on American government?
2. What was the basic relationship of the colonies to England? What is the reason for this relationship? How did this relationship shape American's understanding of government?

B. Possible essay questions:

1. Describe the development of the English colonies in terms of their political structure and their economic role in the British Empire from their origins to the early 1750s.

C. Possible short answer/ID questions

- 1. Indentured servants**
 - 2. The typical governmental structure of the typical royal colony**
 - 3. Mercantilism**
 - 4. The Navigation Acts**
 - 5. The Molasses Act**
 - 6. Salutary Neglect**
- D. Section outline**

1. Economy and social systems

a. Free Laborers

b. Indentured servants/Indentured servitude

c. Slaves

- (i) First Africans were indentured servants
- (ii) African Americans in Virginia initially had more or less the same rights as whites
- (iii) The planter class eventually came to prefer slaves to indentured servants
- (iv) Decline in availability of indentured servants in later 1600s as English economy improved
- (v) Fears of a glut of propertyless white laborers in the wake of Bacon's Rebellion, 1676
- (vi) By late 1600s, colonial law was forcing blacks into a position of slavery
- (vii) Slavery could be found as far north as Massachusetts, but was more common in warmer climates with large-scale agriculture

2. The Typical Governmental Structure of the Typical Royal Colony

(See chart)

a. Eventually, all colonies reverted to direct royal control

b. In each royal colony:

- (i) The royal governor was appointed by the Crown but paid by the colonists
- (ii) The assembly was elected by the voters of the colony to pass laws of that colony
- (iii) The council consisted of a few leading citizens of the colony; appointed by the governor and served as a combination of upper legislative house, cabinet/advisory body, and highest court in the colony

c. This system provided a template for the later notion of separation of powers

3. Mercantilism

- a. **A type of protectionism** (favoring your country's products over products from other countries)
- b. **A policy of maximizing monetary reserves of a nation by maintaining a favorable balance of trade with other nations (more money coming in than going out of your country)**
- c. **Use of colonies to help the British Empire become economically self-sufficient by**
 - (i) Providing a source of raw materials for the mother country and
 - (ii) Providing a market for the mother country's finished goods
- d. **The Navigation Acts**
 - (i) A series of parliamentary laws designed to direct colonies into an appropriate niche to enable mercantilism to work
 - (ii) Aimed largely at restricting access of the Dutch to the American shipping trade
 - (iii) Navigation Act of 1651:
 - (A) Trade to England or the colonies to be carried in English bottoms
 - (iv) Navigation Act of 1660:
 - (A) All trade between colonies must be carried in English ships
 - (v) Navigation Act of 1663:
 - (A) All imports from Europe to colonies must stop in England and be taxed (making them more expensive, thus less desirable)
 - (vi) Later protectionist acts:
 - (A) Iron Act of 1750
 - 1. Designed to prevent the development of manufacturing in the colonies while encouraging manufacturing in England
 - a. No mill for rolling iron or any furnace for making steel could be erected in America.
 - (B) Molasses Act, 1733
 - 1. Taxed molasses imports from non-British sources in West Indies
 - 2. Designed to protect interests of British West Indian plantations/colonies
 - 3. Hurt economies of the North American colonies since non-British colonies sold molasses more cheaply and for fish/lumber instead of cash
 - a. England had little means or will to enforce this act strongly
 - b. Led to widespread smuggling of molasses by Americans
 - c. Segue to . . .
- e. **Salutary Neglect and Effective Self-Government**
 - (i) As long as the colonies generally fulfilled their role in the mercantilist system, Parliament generally ignored matters of internal government, leaving the colonies to govern themselves

- (ii) Over time, the colonies came to accept this arrangement and internal self-government as a matter of right

PART VII. The Great Nationalizing Influences: The Great Awakening, the Enlightenment, and The French and Indian War (Textbook page 260 through page 294)

Central idea: Founded by very different movements and groups over more than a century, the English colonies in North America were gradually drawn together by a variety of forces, including a modern scientific outlook, a common religious experience, and most importantly a common enemy. By the mid-1700s, these forces were encouraging Americans to think of themselves, in some ways, as a single people with common interests.

Legacy for modern America: We call ourselves the United States. In what ways are we united? What divisions exist among us today? Which are stronger today—the unifying forces or the divisive ones? What effects might this fact have in the next few years or decades?

A. Questions to think about:

- 1. How did differences between colonial society and European society lead to a uniquely American outlook?**
- 2. How did this outlook help create a spirit of American nationalism and promote the concept of independence?**
- 3. Why did the colonies become involved in wars between England and other European countries?**
- 4. Why did the Seven Years' war (aka the French and Indian War) occur?**
- 5. What effects did the Seven Years War have on the relationship between England and the colonies?**

B. Possible essay questions:

- 1. Write a history of the great nationalizing influences that took place in the colonies in the century prior to the American Revolution. Which, in your opinion, was the most important? Why?**
- 2. Write an essay describing the differences between tigers (continental powers) and sharks (maritime powers).**

3. Write a history of the French and Indian War, 1754-1763.

C. Possible short answer/ID questions

- 1. The Great Awakening**
- 2. “Sinners in the Hands of an Angry God”**
- 3. The Enlightenment**
- 4. Sir Isaac Newton**
- 5. The Four Great Rivers**
- 6. The Appalachian Mountains**
- 7. Militia**
- 8. Linear tactics**
- 9. General Edward Braddock**
- 10. William Pitt the Elder**
- 11. The Plains of Abraham**
- 12. The Treaty of Paris of 1763**

D. Section outline

1. The Great Awakening, 1730s and 1740s

a. A Protestant revival

(i) A reaction to the dry, logical discussions of doctrinal differences between Catholicism and Protestantism as well as among different Protestant denominations

(A) Emphasized emotion, not reason

(B) Personal conviction of sin

(C) Personal religious experience

1. The believer’s personal experience of salvation was more important than his particular Protestant denomination

a. This meant greater unity and fewer differences between the different “flavors” of Protestantism

(ii) Figures

- (A) Rev. George Whitefield
 1. Native of England who preached widely in America, spreading the Great Awakening
- (B) Rev. Jonathan Edwards
 1. A native of New England, the most famous American-born minister of the Great Awakening
 2. Traveled from colony to colony, delivering the same sermons
 - a. E.g., “Sinners in the Hands of an Angry God”
- (iii) Importance
 - (A) The first national event in American history
 1. An event that cut across Protestant denominations
 2. An event that cut across colonial boundaries
 3. It is around this time that the term “Americans” emerged to identify people in all of the colonies
 - (B) Led to the questioning of authority (of the old, established ministers)

2. The era of The Enlightenment

a. Also known as the Age of Reason

b. The idea that the natural world operates according to rational, predictable laws

- (i) This knowledge, and these laws, can be:
 - (A) Known and understood by the human mind
 - (B) Used to understand how nature, the world, and the universe operate (i.e., they aren’t chaotic, mysterious, uncontrollable, and scary but orderly and predictable); and
 - (C) Used to invent and improve technology and make human institutions more rational and efficient

c. Rise of Modern Science

- (i) Empiricism
 - (A) Knowledge arising from experimentation and data, not received authority
- (ii) Rationalism
 - (A) Logic, reason, mathematics
- (iii) Challenge to Tradition
 - (A) A refusal to accept authority (monarchy, religion, the Church),
 1. I.e., rejection of commands or laws handed down by someone else who claims a special position or special knowledge that cannot be shared by others
 - (B) Instead, a desire to discover truth for one’s self through scientific method and analytical/logical reasoning
- (iv) The Scientists: Some examples
 - (A) Francis Bacon (1561-1626): Induction

- (B) Rene Descartes (1596-1650): Cartesian mathematics
- (C) Sir Isaac Newton (1642-1727)
 1. Calculus
 2. Classical mechanics/mathematical description, quantification, prediction of the physical universe

d. Political Science

- (i) Progress
 - (A) The concept of liberating society from problems and errors of the past (classical liberalism)
 - (B) Use of the new scientific method to understand and improve government, society, and the human condition
- (ii) The Political Scientists: Rational study of the origins purpose, and functions of government
 - (A) Thomas Hobbes of England
 - (B) John Locke of England
 1. The Social Contract
 - (C) Baron de Montesquieu of France
 1. Republics and the need for virtuous citizens
 2. Separation of powers

e. The Enlightenment in the Colonies

- (i) The Great Laboratory
 - (A) A self-conscious effort in America to build rational government and economic systems rather than blindly follow what people in Europe had always done
 - (B) In the 1700s, Enlightenment ideas in the developing society of the colonies created an emphasis on
 1. Economic liberty
 2. Republicanism
 3. Religious tolerance
 4. “The pursuit of happiness by the practice of reason and truth”
- (ii) Dr. Benjamin Franklin
 - (A) “The First American”
 - (B) A true Enlightenment figure: Scientist, inventor, political theorist, author, postmaster, and printer
 - (C) A strong believer in public virtue
 1. A republic can only survive if the people are virtuous
 - (D) The first internationally famous American
- (iii) A foundation for universal rights?
 - (A) If natural law was universal, without respect for human borders, how might that challenge the notion of Westphalian sovereignty?

3. The French and Indian War, 1754-1763

a. **The Geostrategy of North America**

- (i) The Appalachians
 - (A) A mountain range that keeps the colonists safely protected—or bottled up—in the east, allowing society (and social pressures) to build up strength
- (ii) The Four Great Rivers
 - (A) The Hudson
 - 1. Cuts the English colonies in half
 - 2. One of the only easy access points through the Appalachians between New France (Canada) and the English colonies
 - (B) The St. Lawrence
 - 1. The French Penetration route to the Great Lakes and the interior of the continent
 - (C) **The Mississippi**
 - 1. The French penetration route north from the Gulf of Mexico interior of the continent
 - 2. The central river of the vast North American river network: the key to military and economic domination of North America
 - (D) The Ohio
 - 1. A river that flows west into the heart of the continent—if the English can cross the Appalachians and reach its headwaters
- (iii) English settlement patterns
 - (A) On the eastern seaboard
 - (B) The Appalachians slow westward advance, allowing for population concentration and increase in the east
 - (C) The Appalachians also insulate the English colonies from French incursion
- (iv) French settlement patterns
 - (A) Up the St. Lawrence and Mississippi
 - (B) Focused heavily on the fur trade
 - (C) Low population compared to the English colonies
- (v) The Anglo-French Wars, 1689-1815
 - (A) A series of six major wars fought between England and France, fought for a variety of reasons
 - (B) The first four of these take place before American independence
 - (C) The first three of these begin in Europe and spread to North America, resulting in battles between the English and French
 - 1. King William's War (1689–97)
 - 2. Queen Anne's War (1702–13)
 - 3. King George's War, (1744-1748)
- (vi) **The French and Indian War**, 1754-1763
 - (A) Unlike the first three wars, this one begins in North America

1. Conflict in the Ohio River Valley
 - a. French and English contact, 1754
 - b. The Virginia militia in Ohio, 1754
 - i. Sidebar: the difference between militia and regular army
 - c. The Braddock expedition, 1755
 2. European versus frontier tactics
 - a. [Linear tactics](#)
 - i. Smoothbore musket
 - ii. Muzzle loading
 - iii. Black powder
 - iv. Rank fire
 - v. The battlefield
 - b. [Indian/frontier tactics](#)
 - i. The individual warrior
 - ii. [Close-quarters in the forest](#)
- (B) Escalation: The Seven Years' War
- (C) [Tiger and Shark: William Pitt the Elder's maritime strategy](#)
1. "[W]hosoever commands the sea commands the trade; whosoever commands the trade of the world commands the riches of the world, and consequently the world itself."—Sir Walter Raleigh
- (D) Battle of Quebec, 1759: The Plains of Abraham
1. The deaths of [Wolfe](#) and [Montcalm](#)
- (E) Capture of Montreal, 1760
- (F) The Treaty of Paris of 1763
1. France loses all territory in North America to England
 2. France has already given Louisiana to Spain to keep it out of English hands
- (G) Results of the French and Indian War
1. [The English colonies no longer face a threat from France](#)
 2. This means that they have less need of England's protection and are thus less tied to England
 3. England's national debt has doubled; England will turn to the colonies to help pay this debt, alienating them
 4. This sets the stage for the American Revolution

PART VIII. [The American Revolution](#), 1760-1776 (Textbook pages 294 through 337)

Central idea: England, which had largely left the colonies to govern themselves for more than a century, began in the 1760s to tax them and regulate their commerce. Lack of a colonial voice in these measures at first produced anger and then a sense that America was its own nation, leading to the Declaration of Independence.

Legacy for modern America: What are Americans' most basic views about society and government today? Why do we have those views? How is the American national government—especially Congress—similar to the British Parliament of the 1700s in regard to the states and the American people? How is it different?

A. Questions to think about:

- 1. As a result of the Seven Years' War, what new policy did England adopt towards the colonies?**
- 2. What was the reaction of the colonies to this policy? Why?**
- 3. Why did this policy result in the American Revolution?**

B. Possible essay questions:

- 1. Write a history of the American Revolution, 1760-1776.**
- 2. Analyze and describe the contents of the Declaration of Independence. Why is this document important in American history and government?**

C. Possible short answer/ID questions

- 1. The Writs of Assistance**
- 2. The Proclamation of 1763**
- 3. Sugar Act**
- 4. The Stamp Act**
- 5. Virtual representation**
- 6. The Boston "Massacre"**
- 7. The Boston Tea Party**
- 8. The "Intolerable Acts"**

9. The First Continental Congress

10. The Battle of Bunker Hill

11. The Olive Branch Petition

12. "Common Sense"

13. The Lee Resolution

D. Advance reading assignment: Before class, carefully read the first two paragraphs of the [Declaration of Independence](http://www.cato.org/publications/commentary/declaration-independence) (beginning with “When in the course of human events”) at <http://www.cato.org/publications/commentary/declaration-independence> (link is on course web page)

E. Section outline

1. American Revolution and War of Independence: Two different things

- a. “But what do we mean by the American Revolution? Do we mean the American war? The Revolution was effected before the war commenced.”
—John Adams, letter to Hezekiah Niles, 13 February 1818
- b. What do we mean by the revolution? [Do we mean] the war? That was no part of the revolution; it was only an effect and consequence of it. The revolution was in the minds of the people, and this was effected from 1760 to 1775, in the course of fifteen years, before a drop of blood was shed at Lexington.”—John Adams, letter to Thomas Jefferson, 24 August 1815

2. 1760-1764: As a result of the French and Indian War, Great Britain begins to adopt a new policy of imperialism designed to administer North America and recoup part of the war’s cost from the colonies

a. The Writs of Assistance, 1760

- (i) A type of search warrant for enforcing the Navigation Acts
- (ii) General, reusable, and transferable search warrants that allowed a customs officer to search any premises for contraband.
- (iii) Use by royal customs officials escalate beginning in 1760
- (iv) Paxton’s Case, 1761:

- (A) Boston merchants challenge the validity of the writs of assistance
Attorney James Otis argues that such writs violate English principles of law and equity and claims that search warrants must describe the particular persons and places to be searched, and must be based on some evidence instead of just mere suspicion.
- (B) Otis essentially argues that natural law limits the operation of parliamentary law (i.e., there are some things that parliament cannot legally do; some laws that Parliament may not pass). This is one of the earliest challenges to English authority over the colonies.
- b. The Proclamation of 1763**
 - (i) Purpose: in the wake of Pontiac’s Rebellion, the Proclamation sought
 - (ii) to avoid inciting disputes with Indians, thus preventing future uprisings/wars
 - (iii) Forbade colonists to move west of the Appalachians
 - (iv) Colonists infuriated
 - (v) Many veterans had fought in the war and felt betrayed: “We fought the war for the right to move west”
 - (vi) Land speculators believed Americans should have access to lands.
- c. Sugar Act passed in 1764**
 - (i) First act ever passed specifically designed to raise revenue from the colonies for the Crown.
 - (ii) Reduced taxes on molasses but taxed all molasses, not just molasses from French West Indies.
 - (iii) Enforced more rigorously than the Molasses Act had been
- d. Quartering Act, 1765**
Certain colonies required to provide food & quarters for British troops.

3. 1765-1774: Three great crises in the colonies lead to Independence: Stamp Act, Townshend Acts, & Tea Act

- a. The Stamp Act of 1765**
 - (i) Purpose: to raise revenues to support the new military force in the colonies
 - (ii) Provisions:
 - (A) Official stamps on paper would serve as proof of payment. Tax applied to published materials and legal documents
 - 1. e.g., pamphlets, newspapers, diplomas, bills of lading, marriage certificates, death certificates, mortgages, insurance policies, liquor licenses, & playing cards.
 - (iii) English Prime Minister Grenville’s view:
 - (A) Stamp Act was reasonable and just
 - (B) Only required colonials to pay their fair share for colonial defense

- (C) Stamp Act in Britain had been much heavier and in effect for 2 generations.
- (iv) Colonists' views
 - (A) distinguished between "legislation" and "taxation" "No taxation without representation"
 - (B) Legislation, "external taxes," the right of Parliament regarding the empire; e.g. customs duties (tariffs)
 - (C) Taxation, "internal taxes," exclusive right of local representative government
 - (D) British taxation was robbery; attacked sacred rights of property
- (v) Grenville's response:
 - (A) colonies had "virtual representation" in Parliament
 - (B) All British subjects were represented, even those who did not vote for members in Parliament.
- (vi) Stamp Act repealed in 1766 after widespread colonial agitation
- (vii) But at the same time, Parliament passed the Declaratory Act
 - (A) Claimed that Parliament had the right to tax colonies in the future.
 - (B) Purpose was partly to save face

b. Townshend Acts (1767)

- (i) Charles Townshend took control of Parliament and sought to punish the colonies for the Stamp Act uprising. Provisions:
 - (A) Small import duty placed on glass, white lead, paper, paint, silk and tea.
 - (B) Tax was an indirect customs duty ("external tax")
- (ii) Colonial reaction
 - (A) Colonies angrily interpreted the act as an inappropriate tax to raise revenue
- (iii) The Boston "Massacre"
 - (A) Peaceful arrival of troops in Boston aroused American resistance
 - (B) Colonials fearful of standing armies;
 - (C) March 5, 1770 British soldiers (having been provoked) fired on a crowd
 - (D) Eleven civilians killed or wounded
 - (E) Word of the "massacre" spread throughout the colonies (esp. by Sons of Liberty)
 - (F) Colonial propaganda grossly exaggerated the event. John Adams and the trial of the soldiers
 - (G) Samuel Adams used propaganda to whip up colonial resentment

c. The Tea Act Crisis and the First Continental Congress

- (i) Tea Act (1773)

- (A) British government granted British East India Company a monopoly of the American tea trade.
- (ii) Price of tea would be even lower than existing prices, even with the tax.
- (iii) Americans reacted angrily: saw Tea Act as an attempt to trick colonies into accepting the tax through cheaper tea.
- (iv) Boston Tea Party, Dec. 16, 1773
 - (A) Sons of Liberty, dressed as Indians, boarded three ships, smashed hundreds of chests open, and dumped the tea into the harbor.
 - (B) Interesting aside: Americans' switch from tea to rum
 1. John Adams to Abigail Adams, 6 July 1774: "When I first came to this House it was late in the Afternoon, and I had ridden 35 miles at least. 'Madam' said I to Mrs. Huston, "'is it lawfull for a weary Traveller to refresh himself with a Dish of Tea provided it has been honestly smuggled, or paid no Duties?' 'No sir, said she, we have renounced all Tea in this Place. I cant make Tea, but I'll make you Coffee.' Accordingly I have drank Coffee every Afternoon since, and have borne it very well. Tea must be universally renounced. I must be weaned, and the sooner, the better."
- (v) The "Intolerable Acts" (Coercive Acts)
 - (A) 1774, Parliament passed laws designed to punish Boston for the Tea Party
 1. Boston Port Act — harbor remained closed until damages were paid and law and order restored. Massachusetts charter revoked
 2. King had power to appoint the Governor's Council, not the assembly
 3. Forbade town meetings except for election of town officials.
 4. Enforcing officials who killed colonists could now be tried in England instead of the colonies (thereby avoiding colonial juries).
 5. A new Quartering Act: Provided for the quartering of troops once again in Boston.
- (vi) The First Continental Congress, 1774
 - (A) Called in response to the Coercive Acts
 - (B) The first meeting ever of delegates from nearly every colony
 1. 12 of 13 colonies present (except Georgia)
 2. Two earlier congresses (The Albany Congress, 1754; The Stamp Act Congress, 1765) had met, but with only some colonies represented
 - (C) Delegates included Samuel Adams, John Adams, George Washington, & Patrick Henry.
 - (D) 1st Step: endorse several resolutions known as the Suffolk Resolves.
 1. Denounced "Intolerable" Acts
 2. Urged colonies to organize militia for defensive purposes

- 3. Called on colonies to suspend all trade with rest of British empire
Urged citizens not to pay taxes.
- 4. Main purpose: Petition for redress of grievances
- (E) Yet, Congress restated allegiance to the King
- (F) No real desire for independence; merely wanted grievances redressed
- (G) Had no power to pass “national” laws: could only make recommendations to the colonial governments

4. 1775-1776: The Resort to War and Independence

a. Lexington and Concord — “The Shot Heard around the World”

- (i) Parliament ordered General Gage, new Gov. of Massachusetts, to arrest leaders of the rebellion and prepare for military action. Gage sought to prevent bloodshed by disarming the local militia.
- (ii) April 1775, 700 British redcoats went secretly to nearby Concord to seize gunpowder and arrest Sam Adams & John Hancock. Paul Revere’s ride
- (iii) Battle of Lexington and Concord began when Minutemen (Massachusetts Militia), confronted by redcoats, refused to disperse on the Lexington Green and shots were fired (source/side unknown).
 - (A) 8 Americans killed, 10 wounded.
 - (B) Redcoats continued on to Concord. 6 miles away.
 - (C) Militia then forced redcoats back into Boston
- (iv) April 23—The Provincial Congress in Massachusetts orders 13,600 American soldiers to be mobilized. Colonial volunteers from all over New England assemble and head for Boston, then establish camps around the city and begin a year long siege of British-held Boston.

b. Escalation: The Battle of Bunker Hill

- (i) June 17—The first major fight between British and American troops occurs at Boston in the Battle of Bunker Hill.
- (ii) American troops are dug in along the high ground of Breed’s Hill (the actual location) and are attacked by a frontal assault of over 2000 British soldiers who storm up the hill.
- (iii) The Americans are ordered not to fire until they can see “the whites of their eyes.” As the British get within 15 paces, the Americans let loose a deadly volley of musket fire and halt the British advance.
- (iv) The British then regroup and attack 30 minutes later with the same result. A third attack, however, succeeds as the Americans run out of ammunition and are left only with bayonets and stones to defend themselves.
- (v) The British succeed in taking the hill, but at a loss of half their force, over a thousand casualties, with the Americans losing about 400

c. The Second Continental Congress

- (i) May 10—The Second Continental Congress convenes in Philadelphia, with John Hancock elected as its president.
- (ii) On May 15, 1775, the Congress places the colonies in a state of defense. On June 15, the Congress unanimously votes to appoint George Washington general and commander-in-chief of the new Continental Army.
- (iii) July 5, 1775—The Continental Congress adopts the Olive Branch Petition which expresses hope for a reconciliation with Britain, appealing directly to the King for help in achieving this.
 - (A) In August, King George III refuses even to look at the petition and instead [issues a proclamation declaring the Americans to be in a state of open rebellion](#).
- (iv) July 6, 1775—The Continental Congress issues a Declaration on the Causes and Necessity of Taking Up Arms detailing the colonists' reasons for fighting the British and states the Americans are "resolved to die free men rather than live as slaves."

d. 1776: Independence

- (i) January 9, 1776—Thomas Paine's "Common Sense" is published in Philadelphia.
 - (A) The 50 page pamphlet is highly critical of King George III and attacks allegiance to Monarchy in principle while providing strong arguments for American independence.
 - (B) It becomes an instant best-seller in America. "We have it in our power to begin the world anew...American shall make a stand, not for herself alone, but for the world," Paine states.
- (ii) June-July 1776:
 - (A) On June 7, Richard Henry Lee, a Virginia delegate to the Continental Congress, presents a formal resolution calling for America to declare its independence from Britain.
 - 1. "Resolved, That these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent States, that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved. . . ."
 - (B) On June 11, Congress appoints a committee to draft a declaration of independence.
 - 1. Committee members are [Thomas Jefferson](#), Benjamin Franklin, [John Adams](#), Roger Livingston and Roger Sherman. Jefferson is chosen by the committee to prepare the first draft of the declaration, which he completes in one day.

2. Just seventeen days later, June 28, Jefferson's Declaration of Independence is ready and is presented to the Congress, with changes made by Adams and Franklin.
- (C) On July 2, twelve of thirteen colonial delegations (New York abstains) vote in support of Lee's resolution for independence. On July 4, the Congress formally endorses Jefferson's Declaration, with copies to be sent to all of the colonies. The actual signing of the document occurs on August 2, as most of the 55 members of Congress place their names on the parchment copy.
- (D) The Declaration of Independence
1. America's most famous statement of the premises of government
 2. Key elements
 - a. The social contract
 - b. Natural law/natural rights
 - c. Rights that come from God, not government
 - d. The purpose of government: Not to give rights but to protect them
 - e. The consent of the governed
 - f. The right of the people to alter or abolish governments that aren't protecting natural rights
 - g. The question of equality: how can a slaveowner write that "all men are created equal?"
 - h. If equality and liberty are based in Enlightenment style, universal, natural law, what challenge might that present to the idea of Westphalian sovereignty?
- (E) June-July—A massive British war fleet arrives in New York Harbor consisting of 30 battleships with 1200 cannon, 30,000 soldiers, 10,000 sailors, and 300 supply ships, under the command of General William Howe and his brother Admiral Lord Richard Howe.

PART IX. The War of American Independence, 1775-1783

(Textbook page 337 through end of Chapter 8)

Central idea: Having declared their independence, the new American states now had to make that declaration "stick" through the use of force. Through good military leadership, excellent diplomacy, and the fact that England at the time was poorly led, Americans pulled off the near-miracle of independence by 1783.

Legacy for modern America: What disadvantages did England face in fighting the United States? What similar disadvantages do we face in our confrontations with various forces in the Middle East and Far East?

A. Questions to think about:

1. What was the American objective in the War of Independence?

2. What did it have to achieve in order to win?

3. How did it go about achieving this objective?

B. Possible essay questions:

1. Write a military/diplomatic history of the War of American Independence, 1775-1783.

C. Possible short answer/ID questions

1. The Battles of Princeton and Trenton

2. The Battle of Saratoga

3. The Cowpens, King's Mountain, and Guilford Courthouse

4. Yorktown

5. The Treaty of Paris of 1783

D. Section outline

1. Strategic overview

a. British strengths

- (i) Wealth
- (ii) Professional army
- (iii) strong navy

b. British weaknesses

- (i) Distance from America
- (ii) Poor political and military leadership during this period

c. British strategy

- (i) Find a loyalist base in America

d. American strengths

- (i) Ideology—hard to conquer an idea
- (ii) Distance from England

e. American weaknesses

- (i) U.S.
 - (A) Is underpopulated
 - (B) Is undercapitalized
 - (C) Is unindustrialized
 - (D) Has very weak military

- (E) Has no allies
- (F) Is going up against one of the most powerful countries on earth
- f. Washington's Strategy**
 - (i) keep army in being—no pitched battles against main British forces
 - (ii) Keep resisting until England gives up and goes home

2. Operations ([Map](#))

a. The Northern Phase, 1775-76

- (i) Lexington, Concord, Bunker Hill, 1775
- (ii) [New York, 1776](#): Washington Learns the Hard Way
- (iii) [Washington Crossing the Delaware](#)
 - (A) Princeton
 - (B) Trenton

b. The Middle Phase, 1777-78

- (i) [Burgoyne's campaign](#)
 - (A) The Battle of Saratoga, 1777
- (ii) The treaties with France, 1778—a direct result of Saratoga
 - (A) Amity and commerce
 - (B) Mutual defense

c. The [Southern Phase](#), 1778-81

- (i) British victories
 - (A) The capture of Savannah
 - (B) The Capture of Charleston
 - (C) The Battle of Camden
- (ii) American counterstrike
 - (A) The Battle of the Cowpens
 - (B) The Battle of King's Mountain
 - (C) The Battle of Guilford Courthouse
- (iii) [Yorktown and British Capitulation](#)

3. [The Treaty of Paris of 1783](#)

a. U.S. gets its independence

b. Britain also cedes the Trans-Appalachian region (between Appalachians and the Mississippi River) to the United States

PART X. The Confederation Era and the Drafting of the Constitution, ca. 1781-1789 ([Textbook Chapter 9](#))

Central idea: During the American revolution, Americans generally believed that the problem was a central government that had too much power. Once independence was a reality, they overreacted by establishing a national government that had too little power to deal with economic crises resulting from the war. The result was the United States Constitution: a document designed to achieve the Goldilocks effect of a central government with enough power to govern effectively without having so much power that it threatened Americans' rights to life, liberty, and property.

Legacy for modern America: The United States Constitution today is one of the oldest written constitutions still in effect. Only four pages long, its meaning and contents are still the subject of intense debate today. Can Muslims be banned from entering the United States? Under what conditions may police use lethal force against suspects? Do terrorists have legal rights? All of these recent political issues involve the Constitution written in 1787.

A. Questions to think about:

- 1. What type of government did the United States adopt upon gaining independence?**
- 2. Why this type of government and not another?**
- 3. What problems developed with this type of government?**
- 4. How did the United States address these problems?**

B. Possible essay questions:

- 1. Write an essay discussing why the founding generation decided to replace the Articles of Confederation with the United States Constitution. In what ways was the Constitution different from the Articles?**

C. Possible short answer/ID questions

- 1. The Articles of Confederation**
- 2. The Annapolis Convention**
- 3. Shays's Rebellion**
- 4. Separation of Powers**
- 5. Federalism**
- 6. The Great Compromise of 1787**

7. The Three-Fifths Compromise

8. The Federalist Papers

D. Advance reading assignment: Before class, carefully read the [Bill of Rights](http://www.let.rug.nl/usa/documents/1786-1800/bill-of-rights-and-the-amendments-to-the-constitution.php) (the first ten amendments to the Constitution) at <http://www.let.rug.nl/usa/documents/1786-1800/bill-of-rights-and-the-amendments-to-the-constitution.php> (link is on course web page)

E. Section outline

1. The first state constitutions

- a. Most states wrote new constitutions establishing basic framework of state governments, 1776-1780
- b. A legacy of colonial governments being based on written founding documents setting forth colonists' rights and duties (e.g., the Mayflower Compact)
 - (i) Importance of a written document also reflected Protestant ideas of the authority of a writing (i.e., the Bible)
- c. Many of these state constitutions were approved by popular vote, showing the principle of "consent of the governed" in action

2. The Articles of Confederation

- a. A written plan for a national government
 - (i) Proposed by Franklin in 1776
 - (ii) Ratified by all of the states by 1781
- b. A League of 13 (international law) States
 - (i) E.g., each state has only one vote, the same as every other state (since in international law all states are by definition equally sovereign)
- c. A Reaction to an Overbearing Parliament: Distrust of National Government
 - (i) Amendments must pass Congress unanimously
 - (ii) National government cannot tax
 - (iii) National government cannot regulate interstate commerce
- d. Result: failing economy and danger of interstate trade wars

3. The Movement Towards Stronger National Government

- a. The Annapolis Convention, 1786
 - (i) A convention promoted by James Madison of Virginia to amend the Articles of Confederation, allowing the national government to regulate interstate trade and thus prevent trade wars among the states
 - (ii) Only five states sent delegates

- (iii) The Convention thus proposed that another convention take place in Philadelphia the following May, with hopes that more states would send delegates

b. Shays's Rebellion, 1786-87

- (i) A rebellion of 4000 farmers and others in western Massachusetts against eastern Massachusetts merchants
- (ii) Showed weakness of national government under the Articles
 - (A) National government lacked money necessary to raise an armed force
 - (B) Convinced many people that revision of the Articles was in fact necessary
 - (C) As a result, the Philadelphia Convention, unlike the Annapolis Convention, was well-attended

c. The Philadelphia Convention, summer 1787

- (i) An attempt to steer a middle course between a too-powerful Parliament and an impotent Confederation Congress
- (ii) The ongoing problem of American government: How do we give the government (particularly the national government, the heir to Parliament and the ineffective Confederation Congress) enough power to govern effectively while simultaneously ensuring that the government doesn't have so much power that it can threaten our lives, liberty, and property?
- (iii) The Constitution's original two [methods of granting and controlling power simultaneously](#)
 - (A) The concept of Separation of Powers
 - 1. Legislative, executive, and judicial powers each to be exercised by a different branch of government to prevent concentration of power in one group of hands
 - (B) The concept of Federalism
 - 1. Dividing government power between two different governments, each presumably jealous of its own power
 - a. Article I, Section 8: The Convention gives Congress the power:
 - i. To tax and
 - ii. To regulate interstate (and foreign) commerce
- (iv) Problem: since Congress, like Parliament, will have the controversial powers of taxation and trade regulation, how does each state make sure that it has adequate representation in Congress?
 - (A) I.e., taxation without representation is not acceptable
 - (B) Possible solutions
 - 1. The Virginia Plan
 - 2. The New Jersey Plan
 - (C) The Great Compromise

- (v) The Great Compromise raises another taxation and representation problem: if representation and apportioned taxation are to be based on population, should slaves be counted as part of that population?
 - (A) The Three-Fifths Compromise
- (vi) The Electoral College: A means of electing the president that reflects
 - (A) Diversity
 - (B) Federalism
 - (C) Republicanism (not democracy)
- (vii) A remaining long-term problem: The question of ultimate sovereignty
 - (A) Unlike the Articles of Confederation, the Constitution didn't expressly state whether or not the United States as a whole, or each separate state, was sovereign
 - (B) The Constitution did contain language that could be used to support both interpretations

d. Ratification

- (i) [Federalists and Antifederalists](#)
- (ii) [The Federalist](#), aka The Federalist Papers
 - (A) A series of newspaper articles written by Alexander Hamilton, James Madison, and John Jay explaining and promoting the new Constitution
- (iii) The Push for a National [Bill of Rights](#)

Several states coupled their ratification with a demand for a national bill of Rights to be added to the new Constitution

PART XI. The Federalist Era, 1789-1801 (Textbook Chapter 10)

Central idea: Although the Constitution didn't anticipate or provide for political parties, they soon developed. Partisan strife was severe; the Federalist Party, which controlled the new national government for the first twelve years, ultimately fell into disrepute, but not before establishing permanent constitutional structures and precedents that are still in place today. Legacy for modern America: Both major political parties today want what is best for America (um . . . don't they? Is it really reasonable to assume that the members of one party are all selfless heroes while the members of the other are all selfish villains bent on the country's destruction?). Yet the parties can agree on almost nothing in either domestic or foreign policy, leading to deadlock and endless partisan warfare that makes government inefficient and which compromises America's interests when dealing with other countries. Is this desirable? If not, what should we do about it?

A. Questions to think about:

1. What policies did George Washington and his administration adopt during the first dozen years of the new government?

2. What long-term impacts on American government did these policies have?

3. Why did political parties develop?

4. What caused the Federalists to fall from power?

B. Possible essay questions:

1. Write a history of the Federalist Era, 1789-1801.

2. Discuss Alexander Hamilton's background, his goals, and his three reports to Congress. How do these things continue to influence America today?

3. Discuss in detail Washington's Farewell Address. What did Washington advise? What had caused him to offer this advice? How does this advice relate to America today?

C. Possible short answer/ID questions

1. Implied powers

2. The Whiskey Rebellion

3. The Reign of Terror

4. Jay's Treaty

5. Pinckney's Treaty

6. Washington's Farewell Address

7. The XYZ Affair

8. The Undeclared Naval War with France

9. The Alien and Sedition Acts

10. The Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions

D. Advance reading assignment: Before class, look up the definition of the words “foregoing” and “implied” in a hard-copy or online dictionary.

E. Section outline

1. Domestic Affairs

a. Washington’s administration

- (i) Everything that George Washington did, as the first president, was likely to set a precedent
- (ii) He was generally restrained in his use of presidential power
- (iii) Only vetoed laws that he believed to be unconstitutional
- (iv) Appointments
 - (A) Thomas Jefferson, Secretary of State
 - (B) Alexander Hamilton, Secretary of the Treasury

b. Hamilton’s program

- (i) Alexander Hamilton: protégé of George Washington, first Secretary of the Treasury, and financial genius
- (ii) Hamilton’s goals
 - (A) To establish and maintain the public credit and thereby revive confidence in the government at home and abroad
 - (B) To encourage the development of American industry and manufacturing, leading to a strengthening of the American economy and decreased economic dependence on foreign countries
 - (C) To strengthen and stabilize the central government by fostering a consciousness of national solidarity of interest among business and commercial groups who held most of the domestic debt.
- (iii) Hamilton’s Three Reports, 1790-91
 - (A) First Report on the Public Credit, January 1790
 - 1. Called for the new government to fund (pay off) existing national debt
 - a. This would favor speculators
 - 2. Also called for the national government to assume all state war debts
 - a. This would favor the northern states, since most of the southern states had already paid off their war debts
 - 3. Jefferson and Madison opposed the funding and assumption plan because it discriminated against the South and would concentrate too much economic power in the national government
 - a. Jefferson’s view of America: We would be truly independent if we were a nation of self-sufficient yeoman farmers
 - 4. Hamilton compromised with Jefferson and Madison
 - a. Jefferson and Madison agreed not to oppose the funding and assumption plan

- b. In return, Hamilton and his faction would allow the new national capital to be located in the South (i.e., Washington, D.C.)
- (B) Report on a National Bank (December 1790)
 1. Called on Congress to charter a national bank
 2. Privately owned but publicly funded
 3. Would perform fiscal operations for the national government on a nationwide scale
 4. Jefferson objected
 - a. Would give too much economic power to the national government
 - b. Argued that Congress had no express (explicitly stated) power to charter a bank
 5. Hamilton replied that Congress had an implied power to charter a bank under the Necessary and Proper Clause
 6. Washington sided with Hamilton and signed the bank bill, creating the (First) Bank of the United States in 1791
- (C) Report on Manufactures (December 1791)
 1. Called on Congress to raise tariffs (taxes on imports), thus making goods manufactured in the U.S. relatively cheaper and more attractive to American consumers compared to foreign imports, thus encouraging consumers to “buy American”
 2. These tariffs would
 - a. protect infant American industry for a short term until it could compete;
 - b. raise revenue to pay the expenses of government;
 - c. raise revenue to directly support manufacturing through subsidies to domestic industry
 - d. raise revenue to pay for internal improvements (roads, canals, bridges) that would improve domestic trade
 - e. reduce the flow of American money out of the country
 3. Jefferson and Madison opposed the proposals
 4. Viewed them as showing favoritism to manufacturers and the wealthy at the expense of consumers (because consumers would have to pay higher prices)
 5. Congress refused to pass most of these proposals
 6. Would resurface after the War of 1812

c. Whiskey Rebellion, 1794

- (i) Whiskey Tax, March 1791
 - (A) Hamilton convinced Congress to levy an excise tax on manufactured distilled liquors to raise revenue
 - (B) This tax of seven cents per gallon imposed a heavy burden on backwoods farmers for whom distilling was the chief means of disposing of surplus grain (because of poor roads and high shipment costs)

- (ii) 1794, Western counties in Pennsylvania erupted in open resistance to the whiskey tax
- (iii) Seizing this opportunity to show the authority of the new government, Washington sent 15,000 troops to those counties under Henry Lee accompanied by Hamilton.
- (iv) This show of force suggested to Jefferson and Madison that the national government was becoming too powerful and following in the footsteps of Parliament

d. The Beginning of Political Parties

- (i) Factions began to coalesce around Hamilton and his programs on the one hand, and Jefferson and Madison and their opposition to Hamilton on the other
- (ii) These factions soon began to harden into political parties
- (iii) Parties are groups who share an ideology and work together to elect their members and enact their programs
- (iv) Parties had not been foreseen by the founders and were not seen as desirable since a party might be more concerned with its own good rather than with the common good
- (v) The pro-Hamilton party became known as the [Federalist Party](#)
- (vi) The anti-Hamilton party became known as the [Republican Party](#) (sometimes called the Democratic-Republican Party or Jeffersonian Party)
- (vii) The two parties [differed on nearly every important issue](#)

2. Foreign Affairs

a. Impact of the French Revolution

- (i) Nature of the Revolution
 - (A) Popular overthrow of French monarchy and aristocracy, beginning in July 1789
 - (B) Revolt against the handful of aristocrats who controlled almost all of France's wealth and political power
 - (C) [Internationalist](#): the common people regardless of country/nationality, against the wealthy and entitled, regardless of country/nationality
 - (D) [Collectivist](#): rule not by a monarch or aristocrats, but by an abstract thing called "the people"
 - 1. France proclaimed itself a republic (similar to the U.S.)
- (ii) Americans initially pleased (especially Jeffersonians)
 - (A) Saw the French Revolution as the second chapter of the American Revolution.
- (iii) The Reign of Terror
 - (A) mid-1790s, the French revolutionary government executed thousands of conservatives, clergy, & anti-revolutionaries
 - (B) 1793, King Louis XVI & his wife, Mary Antoinette, beheaded

- (C) Christianity was abolished
- (D) Jeffersonians continued to support principles of the Revolution in spite of the bloodshed
- (E) Federalists frightened at the scope of the carnage; viewed Jeffersonian masses with concern.
- (iv) Revolution became a struggle between the France and the monarchies of Europe, ultimately becoming a world war
 - (A) 1792, war breaks out in Europe
 - (B) 1793, Britain sucked into the conflict; became France's main opponent, 1793-1815
 - (C) U.S. had to decide which side to support when war spread to the Atlantic & Caribbean.

b. The problem for the U.S.: side with France or side with England?

- (i) Jefferson:
 - (A) Republics (U.S. and France) should stick together in the face of monarchies
 - (B) The revolutionaries are fighting for peoples' rights
 - (C) In the 1770's France was on our side: England tried to conquer us; now we owe them
 - (D) U.S. is still obligated to France under the Franco-American mutual defense alliance of 1778
- (ii) Hamilton:
 - (A) The French Republic is run by a lawless, murdering mob that threatens people's rights
 - (B) Our biggest and most important trading partner by far is England; our economy would take a huge hit if we sided with France
 - (C) The Royal Navy is insulating the U.S. from the French Revolution
 - (D) The treaty was with the prior French government, not with the French Republic
- (iii) Washington:
 - (A) U.S. was militarily weak in 1793
 - (B) believed war should be avoided at all costs due to American weakness
- (iv) B. President Washington's Neutrality Proclamation of 1793
 - (A) Proclaimed U.S. neutrality toward the war between Britain and France
 - (B) Warned citizens to be impartial to both Britain and France
 - (C) Federalists supported the Proclamation
 - (D) Jeffersonians were enraged by the Proclamation, especially by Washington's failure to consult Congress.
 - (E) America & France benefited from U.S. neutrality
 1. America's neutrality meant it could still deliver foodstuffs to the West Indies.

2. France did not officially ask the U.S. to honor the Franco-American treaty.
 3. If U.S. entered war, British navy would blockade U.S. coasts and cut off supplies the French relied on.
- (v) C. Citizen Genêt
- (A) Genêt was French minister to U.S. who recruited Americans and commissioned American ships to fight for France
 - (B) Genêt believed that the Neutrality Proclamation did not truly reflect American public opinion; attempted to bypass Washington by appealing directly to the voters.
 - (C) Washington demanded Genêt's withdrawal, & the French Government replaced him.
 - (D) The Genêt affair showed that the ideas of the revolution were capable of "infecting" the United States, and also that it would be difficult for te U.S. to remain neutral in the face of French (and English) pressure
- (vi) [Video review of partisan tensions and foreign policy: Genêt](#)
- (vii) [Video review of partisan tensions and foreign policy: Adams/Jefferson face-off](#)

c. Jay's Treaty of 1794 (ratified by Senate in 1795)

- (i) Background: British continued harassing American frontier settlers and U.S. maritime commerce.
 - (A) British remained in their northern frontier posts on U.S. soil in violation of the Treaty of Paris of 1783
 - (B) British were selling firearms and alcohol to Indians in Old Northwest, who continued to attack American settlers
 - (C) Beginning in 1793, British navy seized about 300 U.S. ships trading with French West Indies
 - (D) As Britain and France went to war, British pressed hundreds of Americans sailors from U.S. merchant vessels into service on British warships (impressment).
- (ii) Federalists were unwilling to go to war
 - (A) U.S. depended on nearly 75% of its revenue from tariffs on British imports.
 - (B) Jeffersonians nevertheless argued that U.S. should impose an embargo against Britain.
- (iii) Washington sent John Jay to London in 1794 to negotiate.
- (iv) [Provisions of the treaty that Jay negotiated:](#)
 - (A) Generally very favorable to Britain; U.S. won few concessions
 - (B) British pledged to remove their posts from U.S. soil by 1796
 - (C) British refused to guarantee against future maritime seizures and impressments or the inciting of Indians to violence on the frontier.

- (v) Washington pushed for ratification of the treaty, realizing that war with Britain would be disastrous to the weak U.S.
- (vi) The Senate narrowly approved the treaty in 1795
- (vii) War with Britain was averted
- (viii) Jeffersonian outrage resulted in creation/solidification of the Republican Party.

d. Pinckney's Treaty of 1795 (ratified by Senate in 1796)

- (i) Spain feared that Jay's Treaty portended an Anglo-American alliance; Spain thus sought to appease U.S. and thus head off U.S. expansion on the frontier
 - (A) 1. Spain was a declining power in Europe
 - (B) 2. Spain's position was also declining on the American frontier
- (ii) Treaty provisions:
 - (A) 1. Unlike Jay's Treaty, Pinckney's Treaty was very favorable to U.S.
 - (B) 2. Granted free navigation of the Mississippi River to the U.S., including right of deposit at the port city of New Orleans
 - (C) 3. Yielded large area north of Florida that had been in dispute for over a decade

e. Washington's Farewell Address, September 1796

- (i) The two-term tradition
- (ii) The Address
 - (A) Offered in reaction to what Washington had seen happening during his two terms as president
 - (B) The advice:
 - 1. National unity is important; sectional jealousies are bad
 - 2. Political parties are bad
 - 3. National debt is bad
 - 4. entangling alliances are bad
 - a. We should trade freely with all but not tie ourselves politically to any foreign state
 - 5. Virtue and morality of citizens is required if the citizens are to govern the nation (res publica)
 - 6. The public must be educated and informed if it is to govern the nation (res publica)
 - (iii) Washington's vision:
 - (A) Washington was a western land surveyor
 - (B) Knew of the potential wealth of the North American continent if the U.S. was given sufficient time to develop it and build up the population
 - (C) In time, we would become unconquerable by the Great Powers of Europe, insulated as we were from them by the Atlantic
 - (D) The problem lay in buying enough time to allow this to happen
 - 1. The threat of internal faction/infighting/disunity
 - 2. The threat from foreign powers

3. The Adams Administration, 1797-1801

a. The election of 1796

- (i) The first truly contested presidential election:
- (ii) Adams, a moderate Federalist, versus
- (iii) Jefferson, the leader of the Republicans
 - (A) Jefferson secretly hired newspaper publisher James Callendar to orchestrate a smear campaign against Adams
- (iv) Result of election:
 - (A) Adams won the most electoral votes, followed by Jefferson
 - (B) Because of the way the Electoral College worked in the 1790s, this meant that Adams became president while Jefferson became his vice president
- (v) Adams's approach as president
 - (A) As a moderate Federalist, Adams was leery of France
 - (B) As a diplomat, Adams tended to favor a diplomatic rather than a military approach to the foreign policy problems
 - (C) Adams took Washington's advice in the Farewell Address to heart used it as guidance
 - 1. As a moderate, Adams was hated by the more doctrinaire Federalists such as Hamilton
 - 2. As a Federalist, Adams was hated by the Republicans

b. War with France

- (i) French government condemned Jay's Treaty
 - (A) Saw it as an initial step towards a U.S. alliance with Britain
 - (B) Saw it as a flagrant violation of the Franco-American mutual defense treaty of 1778
 - (C) French warships seized about 300 U.S. merchant vessels by mid-1797, mainly in the Caribbean
 - (D) 4. France refused to receive America's newly appointed envoy.
- (ii) The XYZ Affair
 - (A) President Adams sent a delegation to Paris in 1797 to settle the problem.
 - (B) The U.S. delegates were approached by three French agents, to whom the delegates referred in their official dispatches as "X, Y, and Z"
 - (C) "X, Y, and Z" demanded a large loan and a bribe of \$250,000 for the privilege of opening discussions with French foreign minister Talleyrand.
 - (D) The Americans refused to pay; negotiations broke down.
 - (E) News of the episode insulted and infuriated Americans, and war hysteria swept the U.S.
- (iii) The Undeclared Naval War with France, 1798-1799 — The "Quasi -War"
 - (A) U.S. war preparations set in motion

1. Navy Department at the cabinet level was created: the navy was expanded
 2. Marine Corps established
 3. Army of 10,000 men was authorized (not fully raised)
 4. Washington was named the top general, but he gave active command to Hamilton (the leading Federalist)
- (B) 2. President Adams suspended all trade with France and authorized American ships to capture armed French vessels
- (C) 3. Undeclared hostilities ensued for 2 1/2 years between 1798-1800
1. Principally in the West Indies.
 2. U.S. privateers and U.S. Navy captured over 80 French armed ships
 3. Several hundred U.S. merchantmen were lost to the French.
- (iv) D. Convention of 1800 (Adams's "Finest Moment")
- (A) France, reluctant to encourage an Anglo-American alliance, became eager to negotiate a peace
- (B) Adams sent new foreign envoys to France
1. Hamiltonian "High Federalists" enraged; sought conquest, expansion, and military glory
 2. Jeffersonians and moderate Federalists approved, favoring one last try for peace
- (C) 3. 1800, U.S. negotiated with Napoleon (who was bent on European conquest)
- (D) 4. Convention of 1800
1. France agreed to end the 22-year Franco-American alliance with the U.S.
 2. U.S. agreed to pay the damage claims of American shippers.
- (E) 5. Significance:
1. Major war with France avoided
 2. Improved relations made possible the Louisiana Purchase 3 years later—if war had occurred, Napoleon would not have sold Louisiana
 3. Adams felt this to be his finest achievement.

c. Domestic consequences of the undeclared naval war with France

- (i) The Alien and Sedition Acts (1798)
- (A) Anti-French hysteria played into the hands of the Federalists
- (B) Largest ever Federalist victory in the 1798-99 congressional elections
- (C) This popular approval led Federalists to pass a series of four controversial national security laws in 1798 to neutralize power of French agents in U.S. and prevent interference with the war effort; these laws are collectively known as the Alien and Sedition Acts
1. A collateral effect of the laws was to reduce the power of Jeffersonians and silence their anti-war opposition

2. This was a deliberate effect; many Federalists saw the Jeffersonians as tools or partners of the French revolutionary government
- (D) The Alien Acts
 1. a. A series of naturalization acts that raised residence requirements for U.S. citizenship from 5 years to 14 years and allowed the president to deport dangerous foreigners
 2. b. The Alien Acts were never enforced, but some frightened foreign agitators left
- (E) The Sedition Act
 1. Anyone who conspired to impede the policies of government or falsely or maliciously criticized its officials, including the president, would be liable to a heavy fine and imprisonment.
 2. The act would automatically expire in 1801 the day before Adams's term was to end; this showed the law's political character (if a Republican became president in 1801, Republicans wouldn't be able to use the Sedition Act to prosecute Federalists.)
 3. A Republican member of Congress and ten Republican newspaper editors were brought to trial and convicted
 4. Defense of the Sedition Act: The First Amendment only prohibits prior censorship
- (ii) Republican response to the Alien and Sedition Acts—The Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions (authored by Jefferson and Madison)
 - (A) A series of resolutions adopted by the Virginia and Kentucky state legislatures, secretly authored by Jefferson (Kentucky Resolutions) and Madison (Virginia Resolutions)
 - (B) The resolutions argued that some aspects of the Alien and Sedition Acts were unconstitutional (especially the Sedition Act)
 - (C) The resolutions further argued that individual state governments had the right to
 1. **interpose** themselves between their own citizens and the overreaching national government (Virginia Resolution of 1798), and to
 2. **nullify** unconstitutional federal laws (Kentucky resolution of 1799)
 - a. Nullification is based on the theory that individual states are the final judges of whether a federal law is constitutional.
 - (D) Context:
 1. State governments were older, more established, more respected, and generally more powerful than the national government
 2. According to the theory of state sovereignty, the states had in fact created the national government (in Philadelphia Convention, 1787) and decided what powers it would and wouldn't have

3. Not until the 1900s did the national government become significantly more powerful than the state governments
 4. The resolutions' purpose was not to break up the Union but to preserve it by protecting civil liberties from federal government overreach.
- (iii) Backlash against heavy-handed Federalist measures led to Jefferson's defeat of Adams in the 1800 presidential election and many congressional and state elections of 1800, bringing an end to the Federalist Era

PART XII. The Jeffersonian Era, 1801-1808 (Textbook Chapter 11 through page 496)

Central idea: Thomas Jefferson's inauguration signaled the first transfer of national power from one political party to another, as well as a change in the Republican Party to be more accepting of national power.

Legacy for modern America: Today we take peaceful transfer of the presidency from one party to another for granted; this legacy goes back to The Republicans' triumph in the election of 1800 and Jefferson's inauguration. Likewise, we see in the Republicans' shifting views of national power the basic idea that the party or interest that controls the machinery of power tends to want to maximize that power, while the party or interest out of power tends to want to minimize that power.

A. Questions to think about:

- 1. How did the Jeffersonians in power differ from the Federalists? Why?**
- 2. Why was the Louisiana Purchase of such major importance to the long-term future of the United States?**

B. Possible essay questions:

- 1. Discuss John Marshall and judicial nationalism.**
- 2. Write a history of the Louisiana Purchase.**

C. Possible short answer/ID questions

- 1. The "Revolution of 1800"**
- 2. John Marshall**
- 3. Marbury v. Madison**

4. McCulloch v. Maryland

5. Toussaint L'Ouverture

6. The Louisiana Purchase

D. Section outline

1. The Revolution of 1800

- a. The revolution is that no revolution takes place
- b. A peaceful transfer of power from one party to another occurs, setting the pattern for the future American experience

2. Republican about-face on national power

- a. The Republicans largely leave the Federalist program intact
 - (i) E.g., Bank of the United States continues to exist until its scheduled expiration in 1811
- b. Republicans found U.S. Military Academy at West Point in 1802
 - (i) Had viewed national military with suspicion as aristocratic, dangerous, and expensive
- c. Nevertheless, Republicans still don't favor manufacturing and commerce over agrarianism
 - (i) E.g., the Republicans don't pass the sort of high tariff that Hamilton had argued for ten years earlier

3. Federalism's Last Offensive: John Marshall and judicial nationalism

- a. John Marshall of Virginia
 - (i) Cousin of Thomas Jefferson
 - (ii) A Hamiltonian Federalist: supports a strong central government and protection of property rights
 - (iii) Appointed as Chief Justice of the U.S. Supreme Court in the final days of John Adams's presidency
 - (iv) The most capable chief justice in history
 - (v) One of the longest serving justices in history
 - (vi) In practical terms, federal judges can hold their jobs for life: Marshall will thus continue the Federalist influence on the court until his death in 1835
- b. Major cases:
 - (i) Marbury v. Madison (1803)

- (A) Marshall, in a dispute with president Jefferson and Secretary of State Madison, will establish the federal courts' power to declare a law of Congress unconstitutional this is known as the doctrine of judicial review
- (ii) Fletcher v. Peck (1810)
 - (A) The Supreme Court declares that federal courts can strike down state laws as violating the federal Constitution
- (iii) Fast forward: McCulloch v. Maryland (1819)
 - (A) The Supreme Court recognizes Hamilton's concept of implied powers, greatly expanding Congress's power to legislate

4. The Barbary Wars

- a. The Barbary States of North Africa had long had a practice of piracy and demanding tribute (i.e., "protection money" for not seizing European merchant ships**
- b. American ships protected by Royal navy until 1776 and French navy until 1783**
- c. Jefferson objected to American payment of tribute**
 - (i) Believed that payment only encouraged further transgressions
 - (ii) As president, Jefferson sent a naval squadron to combat Barbary pirates
 - (iii) Oversaw a naval build-up to allow projection of US force against the Barbary states
 - (iv) Like the founding of West Point, this was something of a Republican reversal given navies' expense
- d. First Barbary War took place from 1801 to 1805**
- e. Second Barbary War occurred 1815-1816**
- f. End result of wars was largely to end Barbary seizing of American ships and American payment of tribute**

5. The Louisiana Purchase, 1803

- a. The strategic importance of New Orleans**
- b. Spain withdraws Americans' right of deposit in New Orleans, threatening U.S. expansion into trans-Appalachian West**
- c. Ca. 1800, Spain returns control of Louisiana to France (formal transfer 1803)**
- d. Napoleon's plans frustrated: Toussaint L'Ouverture**
 - (i) The "Black Napoleon" of St. Dominigue
- e. 1803, France sells all of Louisiana to the United States for \$15 million**
- f. Doubles the size of the U.S. overnight and gives it strategic control of the Mississippi River network**

6. The Lewis and Clark Expedition, 1804-06

a. An expedition to:

- (i) Discover a practical route to the Pacific coast and
- (ii) Claim far western land for the United States to prevent British claims

**PART XIII. The Coming of the War of 1812, ca. 1804-1812
(Textbook page 496 through page 502)**

Central idea: The ongoing Napoleonic Wars placed the United States in a difficult economic and diplomatic position in which an excess of patriotism ultimately brought America into war.

Legacy for modern America: Foreign affairs—military, diplomatic, and economic—can all have major impacts on the domestic aspects of American life. While there may often be a domestic call for military intervention, such intervention may or may not be wise and is often costly for the nation.

Questions to think about:

1. What was America's main goal during the Napoleonic Wars?
2. Why was this goal so difficult to achieve?
3. Why did the United States ultimately declare war on Great Britain?

B. Possible essay questions:

1. Write a history of the events leading up to the War of 1812, beginning in 1803.

C. Possible short answer/ID questions

1. The Leopard/Chesapeake Affair
2. The Embargo Act
3. The Non-Intercourse Act
4. Macon's Bill #2
5. The War Hawks

D. Section outline

1. Overview of the problem

During the war between Britain and France, each tried to strangle the other economically, through blockade and other restrictions on trade.

This economic warfare affected the U.S., which, as a growing commercial power, wished to carry on unrestricted trade with all parties. (The U.S. term for principle was “free ships make free goods,” i.e., if goods are on a neutral state’s ship, those goods aren’t contraband and thus aren’t subject to seizure by a state that’s at war.)

But because U.S. trade could affect the Anglo-French war even though the U.S. was legally neutral, Britain and France didn’t accept this principle. The result was English and French seizures of U.S. shipping, and British impressments of American sailors to man the Royal Navy.

2. War between France and Britain, renewed in 1803, leads to America's being caught in the middle.

- a. America is neutral, and Americans want to trade with both sides in order to make money**
- b. France doesn’t want Americans to trade with England because that helps the English war effort**
- c. England doesn’t want Americans to trade with France because that helps the French war effort**

3. Each side takes steps to block American trade with the other side

- a. 16 May 1806 - British Order-in-Council declares blockade of Europe from Brest to Elbe River.**
- b. 21 Nov 1806 - Napoleon issues Berlin Decree, declaring blockade of British Isles, forbidding all commerce with them, and authorizing seizure of vessels and cargo violating the blockade.**
- c. 7 Jan 1807 - British Order-in-Council — All shipping involved in coastal trade with France and her allies is prohibited.**
- d. 11 Nov 1807 - British Order-in-Council — only those ships which have passed through a British port, cleared, and paid duties would be permitted to call at still-open ports on the Continent.**
- e. 17 Dec 1807 - Napoleon's Milan Decree declares that all vessels searched by British or obeying the orders in council would be seized.**

4. Result of these conflicting positions means that whether or not American ships comply with Orders-in-Council, they will be in violation of either British or French policy and subject to seizure by one or the other

- a. if they submit to British procedures, French will seize them**
- b. If they run British blockade without British clearance, British will seize them.**

5. 22 June 1807 - Leopard/Chesapeake Affair

- a. British warship Leopard fires on U.S. warship Chesapeake off Virginia coast, killing or wounding 21 Americans and forcibly removing four alleged Royal Navy deserters from her.**

6. American response: Since we're too weak to fight England or France, seek to hurt them economically in an effort to get them to respect our neutral trading rights

a. December 1807 – U.S. passes Embargo Act.

- (i) a. Bars all U.S. citizens from engaging in any trade with foreign ports.
- (ii) b. Results:
 - (A) 1. Devastation of U.S., and particularly New England economy.
 - (B) 2. Damage to British economy—in effect, an American ratification of the Berlin Decree.

b. March 1809 – U.S. passes Non-Intercourse Act.

- (i) a. Repeals Embargo Act.
- (ii) b. No trade with France or Great Britain.
- (iii) c. President may resume trade with either upon cessation of violations of neutral rights.
- (iv) d. Results:
 - (A) 1. Impossible to enforce.
 - (B) 2. Continued economic hardship on U.S. merchants.
 - (C) 3. Napoleon seizes American ships arriving in French harbors on pretext that they must be British, since under the Non-Intercourse Act, American ships can't legally be there.

c. May 1810 – U.S. passes Macon's Bill Number 2.

- (i) a. Reopens trade with France and Britain.
- (ii) b. If either country revokes its edicts or ceases violations, U.S. will resume non-intercourse against the other.
- (iii) c. Results:
 - (A) Napoleon therefore claims in a diplomatic note to U.S. that he had made the requisite repeal of Berlin and Milan decrees
 - (B) Madison resumes non-intercourse with the British, but then Napoleon goes back on his promise

7. 1811-12, War Hawks come to power in Congress.

a. War Hawks are predominately Western and Southern.

- (i) E.g., [Henry Clay](#), Kentucky
- (ii) E.g., [John C. Calhoun](#), South Carolina

b. They are expansionist, and they resent incursions of Tecumseh and other British-backed Indians along the frontier.

- c. They argue for war against Great Britain in the name of the abstract rights of neutrality, free trade, and national honor.
 - d. New England merchants and shippers, however, oppose war, which would be worse for them economically than trade that's subject to British seizure and impressments.
 - e. e. 1811-12, Madison begins to defer to War Hawks.
8. 1 June 1812 - Madison requests declaration of war.
 9. 4 June 1812 - House passed declaration of war.
 10. 16 June 1812 – British, finally feeling great economic pressure from U.S. measures, announce suspension of Orders-in-Council.
 11. 18 June – Senate, unaware of British actions, passed declaration of war. U.S. officially at war with British Empire.

PART XIV. The War of 1812, 1812-1815 (Textbook pages 502 through page 510)

Central idea: Due to an overabundance of patriotism/nationalism, the United States in 1812 found itself in a war for which it was unprepared both militarily and economically. In the end, however, England's need to commit most of her resources to her war against Napoleon, together with the rise of "new blood" in the American military, led almost by accident to the avoidance of disaster and the final securing of American independence.

Legacy for modern America: Wars are expensive and risky. In the case of the War of 1812, America's gamble, due to its basic unpreparedness, was a big one, but almost in spite of itself the gamble paid off. Has this been the case with America's recent wars? Will it be the case with the next war?

A. Questions to think about:

1. Why is the War of 1812 sometimes called America's second war of independence?
2. What is the meaning and importance of the phrase "America's advantage from Europe's distress?"
3. What did the rise of Andrew Jackson mean for America's long-term political future?

B. Possible essay questions:

- 1. Write a history of the War of 1812 beginning with the American declaration of war.**

C. Possible short answer/ID questions

1. The Battle of Horseshoe Bend

2. The Battle of New Orleans

3. The Treaty of Ghent

D. Section outline

1. Weaknesses of the combatants

2. The War

a. Phase 1: 1812

- The Land War/Canadian Border
 - U.S. incompetence and failure
- The Naval War
 - “Feel good” U.S. victories

b. Phase 2: 1813:

- The Battle of Lake Erie
 - Secures control of the northern border

c. Phase 3: 1814/15

- The British 3-Pronged Offensive
 - Down the Hudson
 - General Winfield Scott
 - Up the Chesapeake/Washington, D.C.
 - Retaliation for burning of York, 1813
 - Up the Mississippi/ New Orleans
- The Rise of [Andrew Jackson](#)
 - [Jackson at 14](#)
 - Battle of Horseshoe Bend, 1814
 - Battle of New Orleans, 1815
 - [Jackson’s smashing victory](#) at New Orleans secures American control of the Mississippi Valley once and for all
 - The Battle of New Orleans shows that America has finally become powerful enough to assure its independence permanently
 - Jackson becomes America’s first great popular hero overnight

3. The Treaty of Ghent, 1814

a. Status quo antebellum

- (i) Agreement to end the war
- (ii) Agreement to resolve all outstanding questions later
 - (A) These issues (impressment, ship seizures) are mooted by the fact that the Napoleonic Wars are over

4. Results of the War of 1812

a. Andrew Jackson becomes the most wildly popular hero in American history thus far

b. The War of 1812 is often referred to as the Second American Revolution/Second War of Independence

- (i) American independence was always somewhat in doubt until the Battle of New Orleans
- (ii) But The Battle of New Orleans shows we are finally strong enough that we need no longer fear loss of our independence to England or France: Washington's prophecy fulfilled

c. The Anglo-French wars are at an end and Europe begins to focus less on the New World and more on rebuilding itself

- (i) Now America, its independence assured, may turn away from European affairs and begin developing itself and its resources into a growing world power

PART XV. The Foreign Policy Aftermath of the War of 1812, 1815-1823 (No textbook pages)

Central idea: From the 1750s to the 1810s, America had been buffeted almost non-stop by European wars and diplomatic crises It was only because of the long enmity between England and France that prevented Europe from venting its full fury on the new United States and allowed it to survive until 1815. By the time peace finally returned to Europe that year, the United States had had the breathing room to become firmly established as an independent nation. Over the next few years it regularized its relations with its neighbors and Europe through peaceable diplomatic arrangements.

Legacy for modern America: America has traditionally been insulated from the world by the Atlantic and Pacific oceans and either good relations with, or the lack of a serious military threat from, the nations on its borders. This fact, dating largely from the period 1815-1823, has allowed the United States to grow economically strong and to develop a strong tradition of property rights and civil liberties. Given 21st century technology (ICBMs, long-range aircraft, biological warfare, cyberwar), ideology (terrorism and religious extremism), and demographics (unsecured borders/mass illegal immigration), is this likely to last? What should we do about it?

A. Questions to think about:

1. Why, between 1815 and 1823, could the United States begin concentrating more on domestic developments than on foreign policy?

B. Possible essay questions:

1. Write a history of the Era of Good Feelings, 1815-1824. Include both domestic developments and foreign policy developments.

C. Possible short answer/ID questions

1. The Anglo-American Convention of 1818
2. The Rush–Bagot Treaty
3. The Adams-Onís (Transcontinental) Treaty
4. The Monroe Doctrine

D. Section outline

1. A shift from emphasis on foreign/European affairs to internal development and expansion
 - a. Results from
 - b. the end of the Anglo-French Wars
 - c. The exhaustion of Europe as a result of the wars and its need to recover, and
 - d. the withdrawal of European influence from much of the United States in the wars' wake
2. Adjusting borders and relations to the north
 - a. **The Anglo-American Convention of 1818**
 - (i) Settles boundary between U.S. and Canada
 - (ii) Provides that neither the U.S. nor England will contest the others' presence in Oregon, giving the U.S. access to the Pacific coast
 - b. **Rush–Bagot Treaty, 1818**
 - (i) Demilitarizes Great Lakes and U.S./Canadian border
 - (ii) Today, the U.S. /Canadian border is the longest demilitarized border in the world
3. Adjusting borders and relations to the south

- a. Jackson in Florida: John Quincy Adams plays “good cop, bad cop” with Spain
- b. The Adams-Onis (Transcontinental) Treaty, 1819
 - (i) Spain gives up strong claims to Florida
 - (ii) U.S. gives up weak claims to Texas in determination of the border of the Louisiana Purchase

4. The Monroe Doctrine, 1823

- a. Spanish colonies in Central and South America were establishing their independence from Spain
- b. U.S. and England feared that France and others would attempt to regain control of them
- c. England suggested a joint declaration with the United States opposing European interference in the New World
- d. President James Monroe (1817-1825) and Secretary of State John Quincy Adams decided to make a unilateral declaration instead, warning Europe not to try to establish new colonies in the New World:
 - (i) “[T]he American continents, by the free and independent condition which they have assumed and maintain, are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European powers.”
 - (ii) “[W]e could not view any interposition ... by any European power in any other light than as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition toward the United States.”
- e. Enforced not by the United States but largely by the Royal Navy
- f. A basis of American policy towards Latin America for the next century and a half
- g. Symbolizes New American emphasis on development and expansion, as opposed to international dealings with the Old World

PART XVI. The Era of Good Feelings, 1816-1824 (Textbook page 510 through page 541)

Central idea: The end of a half-century of European/foreign crisis inaugurated a decades-long period in which America concerned itself mainly with domestic development and expansion. The new wave of nationalism that had surfaced just before the War of 1812 and bolstered by the Battle of New Orleans at first produced a strong sense of national unity, but with the decline of the Federalist Party Republican leaders, lacking a common enemy, began to fall out among themselves, paving the way for the rise of a new party system.

Legacy for modern America: What unites Americans? What divides Americans? Is national unity of the sort we see during the Era of Good feelings possible today? Why or why not? How could it be achieved?

A. Questions to think about:

- 1. What brought about the final collapse of the Federalist Party?**
- 2. How and why did the Republican Party begin behaving somewhat like the Federalists originally had?**
- 3. Why did the Era of Good Feelings come to an end?**
- 4. Why do we call the Missouri Crisis a “crisis?” What was its long-term significance?**
- 5. Why did Thomas Jefferson believe the Missouri Crisis to be “a fire bell in the night?”**

B. Possible essay questions:

- 1. Write a history of the Era of Good Feelings, 1815-1824. Include both domestic developments and foreign policy developments.**

C. Possible short answer/ID questions

- 1. The Hartford Convention**
- 2. The American System**
- 3. McCulloch v. Maryland**
- 4. The Missouri Compromise**
- 5. The Election of 1824**
- 6. The “Corrupt Bargain”**

D. Section outline

- 1. Prelude: Adams and Jefferson, the final chapter**
- 2. The Hartford Convention and the Death of the Federalist Party**
 - a. Federalist merchants devastated by the embargo and the War of 1812**

- b. Two dozen delegates from the new England States met in Hartford, Connecticut, late 1814**
 - (i) Proposed several constitutional amendments to limit national power
 - (ii) Note that Federalists, being a regional minority, had now adopted a states' rights position
 - (iii) States' rights is the usual position of a national minority
- c. Some delegates discussed the idea of secession from the Union**
- d. Three delegates arrived in Washington to discuss the proposals immediately after news of the Battle of New Orleans**
 - (i) This timing made the Federalists appear to be secessionists and disloyal
 - (ii) The result was the collapse of the Federalist Party by 1820, leaving the Republicans the only national party—hence, “The Era of Good Feelings” with no more partisan strife

3. Postwar nationalism

- a. In the wake of the War of 1812, a new wave of support for national development swept the country**
- b. Republicans, in a role reversal, adopted a Hamiltonian financial program**
- c. Henry Clay's “American System”:**
 - (i) Supported by Clay, John Quincy Adams, and others
 - (ii) Proposed the following:
 - (A) High tariffs to protect and help the development of American industry
 - (B) A new Bank Of The United States
 - (C) Federal funding for internal improvements (roads, canals, bridges) to improve domestic trade and economy
- d. Resulted in the following:**
 - (i) New high tariff of 1816 (Hamilton's high tariff is finally achieved)
 - (ii) Second Bank of the United States chartered in 1816 for 20 years
 - (A) John Marshall upholds the constitutionality of the Second Bank of the United States in *McCulloch v. Maryland* (1819) (implied powers doctrine)

4. Good feelings begin to subside

- a. 1819-1820: The Missouri Crisis and Compromise**
 - (i) 1819, Missouri petitions for statehood
 - (ii) U.S. representative James Tallmadge of New York offers the Tallmadge Amendment (proposed amendment to a law of Congress, not an amendment to the Constitution)
 - (A) A plan for gradually ending slavery in Missouri
 - (B) In exchange for statehood, Missouri agrees to emancipate all blacks born henceforth at age 25

- (C) Tallmadge Amendment produces the first straight sectional North/South vote in Congress, with all slave states voting against it
 - (D) This reveals a major disagreement between North and South over the slavery issue
 - 1. Southerners believed that the Amendment was an unconstitutional intrusion into state sovereignty
 - 2. Southerners also perceived a major threat to the institution of slavery and thus the southern economy as well as southern society
 - (E) Why does the Tallmadge Amendment frighten white southerners so badly?
 - 1. Because it raises the specter of a nationwide ban on slavery at some point on the future, which would destroy the southern economy and upend race relations in the South
 - a. What is the only way a nationwide ban on slavery could occur and how does it involve the Tallmadge Amendment? [Class exercise](#)
 - (iii) Result: [The Missouri Compromise](#)
 - (A) Missouri is admitted to the Union as a slave state (i.e. without the Tallmadge Amendment limitations)
 - (B) Maine is admitted to the Union as a free state
 - (C) The remainder of Louisiana territory is divided at the 36°30' line, with no slavery allowed in the federal territory north of the line
 - (iv) The crisis ends as quickly as it arose
 - (v) But fills the elderly Jefferson and others with a sense of foreboding for the future
- b. The Election of 1824**
- (i) Lack of opposition from another party leads to shattering of the old Republican party and several regional candidates seeking the presidency, among them
 - (A) General Andrew Jackson
 - (B) Secretary of State [John Quincy Adams](#)
 - (C) Representative [Henry Clay](#)
 - (D) Secretary of War [John C. Calhoun](#)
 - (E) Others
 - (ii) Jackson wins the plurality of the popular vote and electoral vote; nobody wins the majority of the electoral vote
 - (iii) House of Representatives gets to decide among the top three electoral vote-getters: Jackson, Adams, and William Crawford of Georgia
 - (iv) The “Corrupt Bargain”
 - (A) Clay with his American System hates Jackson with his common man support (reminiscent of Hamilton versus Jefferson)

1. Clay on Jackson: “I cannot believe that killing 2,500 Englishmen at New Orleans qualifies for the various, difficult, and complicated duties of the Chief Magistracy.”
- (B) Clay, Speaker of the House, throws his support to Adams, enabling Adams to beat Jackson
- (C) Adams then makes Clay his Secretary of State
- (D) Jackson supporters are outraged
- (E) Charge that Adams and Clay made a “corrupt bargain” to steal the election from Jackson
- (F) This leads to the formation of a new party dedicated to electing Jackson in 1828: the Democratic Party
 1. The direct ancestor of today’s Democratic Party
 2. Opposed to privilege
 3. Supports the common man (farmers, laborers) as opposed to merchants and big business
 4. Opposed to the American System

PART XVII. The Age of Jackson, 1824-1840 (Textbook page 541 through end of Chapter 12)

Central idea: In order to elect to the presidency America’s first true popular hero, his supporters created a new government based on broad-based popular rule, in which neither education nor an economic stake in society required qualification to vote. This massive expansion of the franchise gave rise to mass democracy in America for the first time.

Legacy for modern America: Is mass democracy good or bad? Is it about equality and government by the people, or does it instead produce a “race to the bottom” that panders to ignorance and values only the lowest common denominator? What sort of alternatives, if any, would be preferable?

A. Questions to think about:

- 1. In what ways did the Jacksonian Democrats change the basic nature of American politics? What effects do these changes still have today?**
- 2. How did Jackson himself change the nature of the American presidency? What effects do these changes still have today?**
- 3. What other “fire bells in the night” sounded during Jackson’s presidency? Why?**

B. Possible essay questions:

1. Write a history of the Jacksonian Era, 1824-1840.
2. Write a history of the Nullification Crisis, 1828-1833.

C. Possible short answer/ID questions

1. The Election of 1828
2. The Trail of Tears
3. The Force Bill
4. William Lloyd Garrison
5. The Liberator
6. The Whig Party
7. Jackson's Bank Veto
8. The Specie Circular

D. Advance reading assignment: Before class, look up the definition of the words "specie" in a hard-copy or online dictionary.

E. Section outline

1. The Election of 1828
 - a. Modern Campaigning
 - b. "Lowest Common Denominator" Mass Voting
 - c. Feel, Don't Think
 - d. Jackson Triumphant
 - e. "King Mob"
2. Jackson's Program
 - a. Active/Strong Presidency
 - (i) President as the Representative of the People
 - (ii) Heavy Use of the Veto Power
 - (iii) The Eaton Affair and the Kitchen Cabinet

- (A) 1829 Marriage of Secretary of War to Peggy Timberlake, a woman of questionable virtue who is then snubbed by the other Cabinet members' wives (and Vice President Calhoun's wife)
- (B) Rejection of Peggy Eaton stirs Jackson's memory of Rachel, provoking his anger
- (C) Results:
 1. Jackson forces most Cabinet members to resign
 - a. Vice President Calhoun falls out of Jackson's good graces
 - b. Secretary of State Martin Van Buren, a widower, remains in Jackson's good graces and replaces Calhoun as Jackson's likely successor
 2. Jackson relies heavily on unofficial advisors—the Kitchen Cabinet—rather than the new, replacement Cabinet officers

b. Indian Removal

- (i) The Five Civilized Tribes of the South
 - (A) Creek
 - (B) Cherokee
 - (C) Choctaw
 - (D) Chickasaw
 - (E) Seminole
- (ii) [Indian Removal Act](#), 1830
 - (A) Authorizes federal treaties with the five civilized tribes of the south requiring them to surrender their tribal lands east of the Mississippi in exchange for lands west of the Mississippi
- (iii) [The Trail of Tears](#)
- (iv) Worcester v. Georgia (1832)
 - (A) U.S. Supreme Court rules against Georgia/in favor of Cherokee sovereignty in North Georgia
 - (B) Jackson refuses to enforce the ruling

c. [The Nullification Crisis](#)

- (i) The Tariff of Abominations, 1828
- (ii) The South Carolina Exposition and Protest, 1828
 - (A) Authored by Calhoun
 - (B) Similar to but more elaborate than the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions
 - (C) Sets forth a constitutional theory designed to protect states rights from federal overreaching
 - (D) The concept of nullification and secession fully explained
- (iii) The Webster-Hayne debate, 1830
 - (A) Debates in the U.S. Senate on the nature of the Union, i.e., whether secession is possible
- (iv) The Jefferson Day face-off, 1830
- (v) The Tariff of 1832

- (A) An even higher tariff than that of 1828
- (vi) South Carolina nullifies the Tariff of 1832
- (vii) The Force Bill
- (viii) The Compromise Tariff of 1833
- (ix) Parting shot: South Carolina nullifies the Force Bill
- (x) The Nullification crisis seemed to be about the tariff, but was also about slavery
 - (A) 1831, the publication of William Lloyd Garrison's abolitionist newspaper The Liberator had shown southerners northern hostility to slavery
 - (B) 1831, The Nat Turner Slave revolt in Virginia had terrified white southerners

d. Jackson and the Bank of the United States

- (i) The rise of the Whig Party, 1833-40
 - (A) Leaders: Henry Clay, Daniel Webster
 - (B) Based on the American System: pro-Bank, pro-commerce, pro-tariff
 - (C) Clay runs for president against Jackson, 1832 as a “National Republican”
- (ii) The Bank Veto, 1832
 - (A) Clay's strategy: Go ahead and recharter the Bank of the United States prior to the election
 - (B) Either Jackson will veto the bank and lose the election to Clay, or Jackson will be forced to sign the bank bill and assure its continued existence
 - (C) Backfire: Jackson vetoes the Bank and wins re-election anyway
- (iii) Jackson and the Pet Banks
- (iv) Inflation, the Specie Circular, and the Panic of 1837

3. The Van Buren presidency and the election of 1840

- a. Jackson hand-picks Van Buren as his successor; Van Buren wins election in 1836**
- b. Becomes president just in time to catch the blame for the Panic of 1837**
- c. In the election of 1840, the Whigs use the same mass democratic campaign tactics against Van Buren that the Democrats had invented and used against Adams in 1828**
- d. Result: Van Buren loses the 1840 election to the Whig candidate (William Henry Harrison)**

PART XVIII. The Old South, Slavery, and the Abolitionists, 1790-1860 (No textbook pages)

Central idea: After 1790, southern cotton was of massive value to all geographic sections of America; that cotton required slavery for its production. Destruction of slavery not only would have severely damaged the American economy but would have destroyed a social structure that southern whites demanded, yet some northerners began to call for an end to slavery. The stage was being set for a major cultural and political clash.

Legacy for modern America: Just because something is legal, is it automatically moral or right? Do individuals have the legal right to behave immorally? Can morality be legislated? Should it? Is it hypocritical to buy products made in Far Eastern or Latin American sweat shops while condemning poor treatment of workers?

A. Questions to think about:

1. What made cotton so important to America, North as well as South?
2. Why is slavery called “the peculiar institution?” What does “peculiar” mean in this context?
3. How does this help lead to potential conflict between North and South?

B. Possible essay questions:

1. Write a history of Abolitionism.
2. Write a history of the Old South, the cotton economy, and slavery.

C. Possible short answer/ID questions

1. The Cotton Gin
2. William Lloyd Garrison
3. The Liberator
4. Frederick Douglass
5. Nat Turner

D. Section outline

1. The Old South and the rise of "King Cotton"

- a. **Prior to 1793, the Southern economy was weak: depressed prices, unmarketable products, overcropped lands, and an unprofitable slave system. — Some leaders, such as Jefferson (who freed 10% of his slaves), spoke of freeing their slaves and of slavery gradually dying; "We have a wolf by the ears"**
- b. **Eli Whitney's [Cotton Gin](#) (1793)**
 - (i) Impact: Cotton production now profitable; 50 times more effective than deseeding cotton by hand.
 - (A) Tobacco, rice, and sugar eventually eclipsed in production
 - (B) Most significantly, slavery reinvigorated
 - (ii) [Cotton Kingdom](#) developed into a huge agricultural factory
 - (A) Western expansion into lower gulf states resulted (Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama)
 - (B) Slaves brought into new regions to cultivate cotton.
- c. **Trade**
 - (i) Cotton exported to England; money from sale of cotton used to buy northern goods — Britain heavily dependent on cotton to feed its textile factories (80% came from U.S.)
 - (ii) For a time, prosperity of both North and South thus rested on slave labor
 - (A) [Cotton accounted for 50% of all American exports after 1840.](#)
 - (iii) South produced 75% of world's cotton.

2. Slavery

a. Definitions:

- (i) Involuntary arrangement entitling person A to assets/labor/body of person B, backed up by legal or illegal coercion
- (ii) Slavery has been very common throughout history
 - (A) Sometimes but not usually race-based
 - (B) Usually based on conquest
- (iii) Some countries had legal slavery well into 20th century
 - (A) Last country to end slavery was [Mauritania in 1981](#), but it still exists there and elsewhere on a de facto basis
- (iv) Different varieties (examples)
 - (A) Serfdom
 - 1. Inheritable bonding to the land
 - (B) Debt bondage/wage slavery
 - 1. The person himself as collateral for a loan
 - (C) Sex slavery/human trafficking
 - (D) Forced marriage
 - (E) Chattel slavery: this is the system of slavery that was in place in the united States
 - 1. System in which a human being legally an article of property

b. Slavery in the United States

- (i) Nature of U. S. slavery
 - (A) Race-based chattel slavery
 - (B) Source of slaves: African tribal war
 - (C) The Middle Passage
 - (D) The Caribbean connection
- (ii) Statistics
 - (A) By 1860, 4 million slaves in southern U.S.
 - (B) only 1/4 of white southerners owned slaves or belonged to slave-owning families
 - 1. Over 2/3 of these slave owners owned less than ten slaves each.
 - 2. Small slaveowners made up a majority of masters.
 - a. 75% of white southerners owned no slaves at all.
 - b. Located predominantly in the backcountry and the mountain valleys.
 - c. Mostly subsistence farmers; didn't participate in market economy.
 - d. 3. Raised corn, hogs
- (iii) Nevertheless, most white southerners fiercely defended slavery for racial and economic reasons
 - (A) Poor whites took comfort that they were "equal" to wealthy neighbors
 - (B) Social status was determined by how many slaves one owned: poor Southern whites someday hoped to own slaves and realize the "American dream."
 - (C) Slavery proved effective in controlling blacks; ending slavery might result in the mixing of the races and black competing with whites for work.

3. Discrimination in the North

- a. Northern blacks numbered about 250,000**
- b. Anti-black feeling frequently stronger in the North than in the South**
- c. Some states forbade their entrance or denied them public education**
- d. Most states denied them suffrage**
- e. Some states segregated blacks in public facilities.**
- f. Especially hated by Irish immigrants with whom they competed with for jobs.**
- g. Much of Northern sentiment against spread of slavery into new territories due to intense race prejudice, not humanitarianism.**

4. The Abolitionists

a. Definitions

- (i) "Anti-slavery" generally means opposition to the spread of slavery into new areas, not to slavery itself
- (ii) "Abolitionism" means the ending of all slavery everywhere in America

(iii) Generally, there were far fewer abolitionists than anti-slavery proponents

b. Early Abolitionism

(i) First abolitionist movements began around the time of the Revolution, especially Quakers — Some of these movements focused on transporting blacks back to Africa.

(ii) Possible solutions:

(A) Send slaves “back to Africa”

1. American Colonization Society

a. Founded in 1817 to create practical solution vis-à-vis free blacks if slavery was ended. — Recolonization was the solution: supported by many prominent Northerners and Southerners who were afraid that manumission would create a surplus of free blacks in American society.

b. Republic of Liberia established W. African Coast for former slaves in 1822.

c. 15,000 freed blacks transported over next four decades

d. Problems with this approach:

i. By 1860, virtually all southern slaves were native-born Americans

ii. Most blacks did not wish to be transplanted in an unfamiliar environment

iii. Believed they were part of America’s growth; had American culture

iv. Cost and logistical difficulties of transporting millions of people to another continent was prohibitive

- In the 1820s approximately 60,000 immigrants traveled to U.S.

- by 1830 2 million slaves would have had to be moved by ship to Africa

(B) Simply free all slaves

1. A slave was a major investment for a slaveowner, who would have no incentive to lose his money by simply freeing the slave

a. Average slave cost \$800 (\$23,000 in 2014 dollars)

2. Freed slaves would have no property or education

(C) Federal government could buy all slaves from slaveowners and free them

1. 1860, slaves were worth about \$3.2 billion—more valuable than any other asset in America except for real estate

2. 1860, total federal revenue was \$5.6 million

3. Thus, to buy all slaves from slaveowners, the federal government would have had to increase taxes by 57 times

4. Freed slaves would have no property or education

c. Radical Abolitionism 1830s-1860s

(i) A much more extreme version of abolitionism

- (ii) Based in a notion of universal human rights, based on Divine law
 - (A) What might this have to say about Westphalian-style state sovereignty?
- (iii) Generally opposed to compromise on the issue of slavery
- (iv) But offered few practical suggestions for ending it
- (v) Resulted from several forces
 - (A) Second Great Awakening convinced abolitionists of the sin of slavery.
 - (B) Abolitionists inspired that Britain emancipated their slaves in the West Indies in 1833
- (vi) Leading abolitionists
 - (A) [William Lloyd Garrison](#)
 1. Published 1st issue of his paper [The Liberator](#), a militant antislavery newspaper in Boston in 1831
 2. Denounced the Constitution (which protected and recognized slavery) as “a Covenant with Death, an Agreement with Hell
 3. Called for immediate abolition, but criticized by even some of his followers for offering no solution.
 - (B) Frederick Douglass
 1. Greatest of the black abolitionists — Published [The North Star](#), his own abolitionist newspaper.
 2. Former slave who escaped slavery at age 21.
 3. Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass — Depicted his life as a slave, his struggle to read & write & his escape to North.

d. Abolitionist impact in the North.

- (i) Abolitionists, especially Garrison, were unpopular in many parts of the North.
 - (A) Northerners were brought up to revere the Constitution; slavery was protected and part of a lasting bargain.
 - (B) North dependent on the South for economic well-being
 1. Northern bankers owed by southern planters; about \$300 million
 2. New England mills fed by southern cotton.
- (ii) Ambitious politicians avoided abolitionists (e.g., Lincoln) – abolitionism was political suicide
- (iii) Nevertheless, by 1850, abolitionism had had a deep effect on the Northern psyche.
 - (A) Many saw slavery as unjust, undemocratic, and barbaric.
 - (B) Many opposed extending slavery to the newly acquired territories. —
 - (C) "Free-soilers" swelled their ranks during the 1850s

e. Southern reaction to radical abolitionism

- (i) In the 1820s, southern antislavery societies outnumbered northern ones.
- (ii) After 1830s, white southern abolitionism was silenced
- (iii) Causes of southern concern

- (A) Nat Turner's revolt coincided with Garrison's Liberator and southern whites saw a link between the two
 - 1. Increasing abolitionist literature flooded southern mails.
 - 2. Gave southerners haunting fears of northern federally supported abolitionist radicals inciting wholesale murder in the South.
 - 3. South sensed a northern conspiracy and called Garrison a terrorist.
 - 4. Abolitionist literature banned in the Southern mails — Federal government ordered southern postmasters to destroy abolitionist materials and to arrest federal postmasters who did not comply.
- (B) Pro-slavery white response:
 - 1. Launching of a massive defense of slavery not as a necessary evil but instead as a positive good.
 - a. It was good for barbarous Africans who were brought to the US and civilized and Christianized there
 - b. Master-slave relationships resembled those of a "family."
 - c. George Fitzhugh — most famous of pro-slavery apologists
 - i. Contrasted happiness of their slaves with the overworked northern wage slaves.
 - ii. Fresh air in the south as opposed to stuffy factories
 - iii. Full employment for blacks
 - iv. Slaves cared for in sickness and old age unlike northern workers.
 - 2. Heavy reliance on Westphalian arguments of state sovereignty
 - a. Argued that the Constitution and federalism prevented the national government from interfering in the southern states' "domestic institutions" (i.e., slavery)
 - b. Denounced the Abolitionists for refusing to accept this view

PART XIX. Manifest Destiny, 1820-1850 (Textbook Chapter 14 and Chapter 15 through page 660)

Central idea: As America rushed to expand west, often without regard for claims of other nations, it began to develop the basis for its emergence in the late nineteenth century as a world power; at the same time, its expansion raised the question of whether slavery, too, would expand, bringing the United States to the verge of a crisis.

Legacy for modern America: Today America is heavily involved in world affairs. Every major foreign policy decision may result, ultimately, in either a stronger nation or a more vulnerable one. How can we understand which decisions are best? What effect might these decisions have at home? Should we export American culture to other regions, even if these regions disagree with that culture?

A. Questions to think about:

- 1. What were the forces that caused Americans to seek westward expansion after 1820?**
- 2. How and why was westward expansion involved with the issue of slavery?**
- 3. How did the country seek to defuse the slavery issue as westward expansion continued?**

B. Possible essay questions:

- 1. Write a history of Manifest Destiny, 1820-1850.**
- 2. Write a history of the events leading up to the Mexican War, together with a military history of that war.**
- 3. Write a detailed description of the Compromise of 1850 beginning with California's petition for statehood.**

C. Possible short answer/ID questions

- 1. Manifest Destiny**
- 2. The Battle of San Jacinto**
- 3. James K. Polk**
- 4. Fifty-four Forty or Fight**
- 5. The Spot Resolutions**
- 6. The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo**
- 7. The Wilmot Proviso**
- 8. Popular sovereignty**
- 9. The Gold Rush**

D. Section outline

- 1. The Nature of Manifest Destiny**

- a. **An Outgrowth of American Exceptionalism: The special virtues of the American people and their institutions**
- b. **An inevitable, or Divinely-ordained, duty to redeem and remake the west in the image America**
- c. **The phrase was coined by journalist John L. O’Sullivan in 1845:**
 - (i) It is “our manifest destiny to overspread and to possess the whole of the continent which Providence has given us for the development of the great experiment of liberty and federated self-government entrusted to us.”

2. The Causes of Manifest Destiny

- a. **Growing Population**
- b. **Growing Immigration**
- c. **Exhaustion of soil of Cotton Lands in the East—required acquisition of new cotton land in west**
- d. **Mounting Pressure for Western Expansion**

3. The Dangers of Manifest Destiny

- a. **The only way to abolish slavery nationwide at one stroke was by amending the Constitution**
- b. **A constitutional amendment requires the approval of three-fourths of the states**
- c. **Southerners feared that if slavery didn’t expand west as new states joined the Union, then at some point slave states would be fewer than one-fourth of all the states and thus unable to block an emancipation amendment**
- d. **Thus, every time westward expansion took place, it was likely to turn into a major battle over slavery, as it had during the Missouri crisis**

4. Episodes

a. The Birth of Texas

- (i) Americans coveted vast expanse of Texas — Had abandoned it to Spain when acquiring Florida in 1819 ([Adams-Onis Treaty](#))
- (ii) 1823, a newly independent Mexico granted Stephen Austin what is today Texas.
 - (A) Immigrants were to be Catholic
 - (B) Mexico emancipated its slaves in 1830 and prohibited importation into Texas.
 - (C) Restrictions were largely ignored by Americans
 - 1. Texans refused to abide by Mexico’s decree—Kept slaves and new American settlers continued to bring slaves.
- (iii) In 1835, Mexican dictator Santa Anna erased all local rights and raised an army to suppress Texans.

- (iv) Texas declared its independence in early 1836 — Sam Houston, commander in chief
 - (A) Santa Anna headed a 6,000 man army and swept through Texas.
 1. Killed 342 American volunteers at Goliad who surrendered.
 2. Trapped and killed all Americans at the Alamo (including Davy Crockett & James Bowie)
 3. Americans outraged: “Remember the Alamo”, “Remember Goliad”, “Death to Santa Anna.”
 - (v) Houston’s army victorious at Battle of San Jacinto
 - (A) Santa Anna signed two treaties: withdraw Mexican troops & recognize Rio Grande as Texas’ southern border (Nueces had been original border)
 - (B) Santa Anna repudiated treaties upon his release.
 - (vi) Jackson’s dilemma
 - (A) To recognize Texas was to touch off explosive slavery issue at a time he was supporting his hand-picked successor Martin Van Buren for president.
 - (B) Recognized Texas the day before he left office in 1837.
 - (C) Texas officially petitioned to be annexed
 1. Antislavery crusaders in the North opposed it.
 2. Southerners welcomed idea of annexation.
- b. Election of 1844 an expression of Manifest Destiny**
- (i) Expansionist Democrats supported "Young Hickory" James K. Polk
 - (A) Polk a Jacksonian (historians often extend Jacksonian democracy through Polk)
 - (B) Called for "the acquisition of all of Texas and all of Oregon to 54°40' line (“Fifty-four Forty or Fight”)
 - (ii) Polk’s victory caused Democrats to claim a mandate for annexation; moot with Tyler’s annexation of Texas
- c. Oregon Treaty (1846)**
- (i) Oregon Trail: 1840’s: flood of pioneers with came to Oregon on a trail blazed initially by Jedediah Smith.
 - (A) 2,000 mile trail; 17 deaths a mile for men, women, and children — Trail began at Independence, Missouri or Council Bluffs, Iowa
 - (B) By 1846, 5,000 settlers south of Columbia River; British only 700 north of river
 - (ii) British eager to negotiate in face of U.S. migration into region
 - (A) Disputed area between Columbia River and 49th parallel.
 - (B) — Proposed compromise of 49th parallel initially refused by Britain
 - (C) Polk abandoned campaign pledge of a 54°40' boundary; "54°40' or fight!"

1. Didn't want to ruin fragile north-south political balance with new additional northern states.
2. Southerners in face of Texas annexation & election accepted the 49th parallel
- (D) Early in 1846, Britain came around and proposed 49th parallel
 1. Senate ratified 49th parallel offer by Britain; U.S. received Oregon territory south of 49th parallel

d. The coming of The Mexican War, 1845-46

- (i) Mexico refused to recognize Texas independence since 1836.
- (ii) Threatened war if U.S. should try annexation
- (iii) 1844, Texas joins the Union
 - (A) Leading issue in 1844 campaign
 1. Opponents feared expansion of slavery into new region.
 2. Southerners strongly supported annexation
 - (B) In light of Polk's 1844 victory, Congress agreed to annex Texas
 - (C) Mexico charged U.S. had unjustly taken Texas; refused to recognize annexation
- (iv) Polk sought to buy California from Mexico but tensions prevented such a purchase
 - (A) California was seen as gateway to the Pacific
 - (B) Texas' annexation issue caused Mexico to sever diplomatic relations with U.S.
- (v) Boundary dispute: Original boundary was the northerly Nueces River;
 - (A) Texans claimed southerly Rio Grande
 1. Polk felt compelled to honor Texas' boundary
 2. Mexicans less concerned over boundary, wanted Texas back
 - (B) Jan. 1846 — Polk orders Gen. Zachary Taylor to march from Nueces River to Rio Grande, and orders naval forces in the Gulf of Mexico and California coast to get ready. — Polk was prepared to force a showdown but none occurred
 - (C) April 25 — Mexican troops crossed the Rio Grande and attacked Taylor; 16 casualties
 1. Mexico hoped U.S. involvement with Britain over Oregon would erupt into war — Wanted to humiliate U.S. for Texas issue
 - a. Settlement of the Oregon question meant that Mexico miscalculated
 - (D) Polk sent war message to Congress
 1. "Mexico has passed the boundary of the United States, has invaded our territory, and shed American blood upon the American soil"
 - (E) Congress overwhelmingly voted for declaration of war
 1. Southern expansionists eager to take more Mexican territory, hoping it would be good land for cotton and slavery.

2. Some Whigs, however, questioned if blood was spilled on U.S. territory
 - a. Spot Resolutions: Representative Abraham Lincoln sought the exact spot where American blood had been shed on American soil
- e. The Mexican War, 1846-48**
- (i) U.S. initiated 3-pronged attack; Polk sought a limited war
 - (A) California, 1846-47
 1. 1846 — Gen. Stephen W. Kearny captured Santa Fe and moved into California
 2. Commodore John D. Sloat seized Monterey & San Francisco.
 - (B) Northern Mexico, 1846-47
 1. Gen. Zachary Taylor victorious at Monterey and later at Buena Vista
 2. Taylor an overnight hero (became pres. in 1848)
 - (C) Mexico City Campaign, 1847-48
 1. Gen. Winfield Scott captures Vera Cruz by amphibious assault
 2. Then pushed inland from Vera Cruz and captured Mexico City
 3. This campaign prompted the Duke of Wellington to call Scott “the greatest living soldier”
 - (ii) Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo (Feb.2, 1848)
 - (A) Expansionists in South clamored for all of Mexico
 - (B) State Dept. clerk Nicholas Trist, negotiated treaty with Mexico despite being recalled by Polk
 - (C) Provisions:
 1. U.S. gained California, and modern-day New Mexico, Arizona, Utah, and Nevada
 - (D) Treaty approved by Senate 38-14 despite bitter debate
 1. Many northern Whigs disapproved of war & even threatened to cut off supplies to U.S. forces in Mexico;
 - (E) Results of war
 1. U.S. territory increased by 1/3 (including Texas) — Bigger than Louisiana Purchase
 2. Ugly turning point in U.S. relations with Latin America; "Colossus of the North"
 3. U.S. forces gain experienced in war; will effect scope of Civil War
 4. Most significantly, slavery issue aroused; Slavery or not in new territories?
- f. The Wilmot Proviso, California, and the slavery crisis**
- (i) The Wilmot Proviso
 - (A) An addition to an appropriations bill first introduced by U.S. Representative David Wilmot of Pennsylvania in 1846

1. Provided that, “neither slavery nor involuntary servitude shall ever exist in any ... territory [gained from Mexico]” as a result of the war.
- (B) The proviso enraged southerners
 1. Would prevent any slavery expansion as a result of the war
 2. Was the first open northern attack on slavery since the Tallmadge Amendment
- (C) Brought the long-deferred debate on the issue of slavery in the territories into the open and made it the all-consuming issue
- (D) Democratic leaders responded with the concept of popular sovereignty
 1. The policy of letting the residents of a territory decide for themselves whether or not to have slavery
 2. This policy was designed to get Washington politicians out of the hot seat
- (ii) California and the Compromise of 1850
 - (A) 1848, gold discovered in California
 - (B) by 1849, the Gold Rush had drawn 60,000 Americans to California, which asked for statehood that year as a free state
 - (C) This provoked a major showdown between pro-slave and free soil forces in Congress
 - (D) Result: The Compromise of 1850
 - (E) Major provisions
 1. California enters the Union as a free state
 2. Rejection of the Wilmot Proviso: Popular sovereignty in the newly-created Utah and New Mexico Territories
 3. Banning of the slave trade in the District of Columbia
 4. Passage of a tough new fugitive slave law
 5. Adjustment of the Texas Border, enlarging Utah and New Mexico territories
 - (F) Initial attempt to pass the compromise, orchestrated by Henry Clay, fails
 - (G) Second attempt, by rising Democratic star Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois, succeeds
 1. Douglas engineers separate votes on each provision
 - (H) Compromise is hailed as having saved the Union and resolved the slavery issue forever
 - (I) In reality, the following decade is largely the story of how the compromise unravels

PART XX. The 1850s and the Coming of the Civil War (Textbook page 660 through end of Chapter 15)

Central idea: Political compromise, indispensable for the Union since 1787, began to break down in the 1850s in the face of the slavery issue. By 1860, a sizeable minority of the population favored its cultural ideas over the continued existence of the Union. The election of the first Republican president instigated the long-delayed crisis of secession.

Legacy for modern America: How easily can two (or more) radically different cultures/world views coexist within the same nation, if they can do so at all? If they can't, then what should be done about it? Who is to say which culture is "right?" If the answer to that is "the majority," then isn't anything the majority want therefore automatically right? How far may the majority go in constraining a minority?

A. Questions to think about:

1. Why did the Compromise of 1850 fail to solve the slavery issue?

B. Possible essay questions:

1. Write a history of the United States from early 1850 to early 1861.

C. Possible short answer/ID questions

1. Personal liberty laws
2. The Fugitive Slave Act of 1850
3. Uncle Tom's Cabin
4. Stephen A. Douglas
5. The Kansas-Nebraska Act
6. The Brooks-Sumner Affair
7. Pottawatomie Massacre
8. The Dred Scott Case
9. The Lincoln-Douglas Debates
10. Harpers Ferry

D. Section outline

1. The Fugitive Slave Act of 1850

a. The Fugitive Slave Clause

- (i) Found in Article IV, Section 2 of the Constitution
- (ii) Stated that “No person held to service or labour in one state, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labour, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labour may be due.”

b. Fugitive Slave Act of 1793 left enforcement/return of fugitive slaves mainly in the hands of the state governments

- (i) Prior to 1850, northern states could interfere in the return of fugitive slaves by requiring jury trials for alleged fugitive slaves and other safeguards, as specified in northern states’ “personal liberty laws”
- (ii) This angered southern slaveowners

c. The 1850 Fugitive Slave Act, passed as part of the Compromise of 1850, placed enforcement in hands of national government

- (i) allowed slaveowners and their agents (slavecatchers) to claim fugitives in proceedings before federal commissioners
 - (A) federal marshals must arrest alleged slaves on ex parte claim of master
 - (B) alleged fugitive could not testify on his own behalf
 - (C) alleged fugitive had no right to jury trial
 - (D) commissioners were awarded \$10 for finding that the alleged fugitive was a slave and returning him to his owner
 - (E) commissioners were awarded only \$5 for finding that the alleged fugitive was a free black and setting him free
 - (F) state interference in this process was rendered more difficult
- (ii) The 1850 Fugitive Slave Act resulted in a Northern outcry against it and greatly aided the abolitionist cause
- (iii) Some northern states applied the principle of nullification to attempt to interfere with federal enforcement of the law, with limited success

2. 1852: Uncle Tom’s Cabin

a. A novel published in 1852 by abolitionist Harriet Beecher Stowe

b. Sensationalized the plight of runaway slaves under the Fugitive Slave Act of 1852 as well as other slaves

c. Vilified slavery more than southerners (Simon Legree, an abusive Louisiana slaveowner who is one of the novel’s biggest villains, is originally from the North).

d. Also established black stereotypes (mammies, pickaninnies, etc.)

e. Sold hundreds of thousands of copies (rivalled only by the sale of Bibles) and greatly influenced northern public opinion against slavery

3. The Collapse of National Institutions

a. Religious splits

(i) Protestantism

(A) 1845, northern and southern Methodists split over the issue of slavery into separate denominations

(B) 1845, northern and southern Baptists split over the issue of slavery into separate denominations

(ii) Catholicism

(A) 1839, Pope Gregory XVI denounces slavery and the slave trade in the papal bull *In Supremo Apostolatus*

(B) Southern Catholics (principally in Maryland) downplay or ignore the denunciation

(C) Northern Catholics tended to be antislavery or even abolitionist

b. The Collapse of the Whig Party, 1852-1856

(i) Greatly weakened by an internal split on the slavery issue

(ii) Had dispensed little patronage (i.e., spoils system) due to having elected only a few presidents

(iii) Major leaders (Webster and Clay) were dead by early 1850s

(iv) Lost by a huge margin to the Democratic candidate (Franklin Pierce) in the election of 1852

(v) Effectively gone by 1856

(vi) The death of the Whig party leaves the Democratic Party as the only national political institution in the United States

4. 1854: The Kansas-Nebraska Act

a. Sponsored by Democrat Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois

b. Designed to help bring about the construction of a transcontinental railroad from the Atlantic to California

c. Repeals the Missouri Compromise Line of 36°30'

d. Organizes two new territories: Kansas and Nebraska

e. Applies principle of popular sovereignty to the new territories

f. Results:

(i) Denounced by antislavery forces as a capitulation to slavery since it allowed slavery into an area north of 36°30'

(ii) Led to a stampede of proslavery forces into Kansas

(iii) Brought about a bloody war between free soil and proslavery factions in Kansas ("Bleeding Kansas") that would continue until Appomattox, ten years later

- (iv) The Brooks-Sumner Affair, 1856
 - (A) Senator Charles Sumner, an abolitionist from Massachusetts, defies senatorial courtesy and grossly insults the absent Senator Andrew Pickens Butler of South Carolina
 - 1. Sumner states that Butler “has chosen a mistress to whom he has made his vows, and who, though ugly to others, is always lovely to him; though polluted in the sight of the world, is chaste in his sight—I mean the harlot, slavery.”
 - a. This statement is an insinuation that Butler rapes his slaves
 - 2. Sumner also makes fun of the elderly Butler’s speech infirmity/drooling
 - 3. Butler’s nephew, South Carolina Representative Preston Brooks, responds by beating Sumner unconscious with a cane in the Senate chamber while another South Carolina representative covers him with a pistol to prevent interference from other senators
 - 4. Brooks later stated that a duel wouldn’t have been fitting since Sumner was no gentleman
 - 5. The Brooks-Sumner affair shows the dangerous increase of hostility over the slavery issue and the decreasing likelihood of compromise; afterwards many congressmen regularly arm themselves
- (v) [John Brown](#)
 - (A) A violent abolitionist
 - (B) Possibly mentally unstable; certainly a zealot
 - (C) Pottawatomie Massacre, 1856
 - 1. Brown and his party kill five proslavery men in Kansas with broadswords as part of a terrorist campaign

5. 1854-56: The Rise of the Republican Party

- a. Begins forming by 1854**
- b. The direct ancestor of today’s Republican Party**
- c. Formed by antislavery former Whigs and free soil Democrats in response to the Kansas-Nebraska Act**
- d. Major unifying idea is opposition to slavery, ranging from antislave to all-out abolitionist**
- e. Also tends to have whiggish/Hamiltonian ideas, but, this is secondary to its position on slavery**
- f. Is greatly strengthened by events relating to Bleeding Kansas**
- g. Unlike the Democratic Party, it is NOT a national party: is purely sectional, being limited to the north and northwest; it has no support in the slaveholding South**

- h. Nevertheless, does very respectably in the 1856 elections, barely two years after its formation
- i. Seen as a major threat by the South because of its antislavery position
- j.

6. 1857: The Dred Scott Case (Scott v. Sandford (1857))

- a. One of the most notorious Supreme Court decisions in history
- b. [Dred Scott](#), a slave, was taken by his master north of 36°30' prior to the repeal of the Missouri Compromise
- c. Scott later files lawsuit, claiming that going to a place where Congress had outlawed slavery had made him free
- d. The Supreme Court retroactively sides with Scott's master
 - (i) The Court retroactively declares the Missouri Compromise to have been unconstitutional because it illegally denied slaveowner's property rights
 - (ii) The Court states that blacks have "no rights which the white man [is] bound to respect"
 - (iii) The Court thus indicates that Congress can never ban slavery in the territories—apparently a massive victory for the South

7. 1858: The Lincoln-Douglas Debates

- a. A series of debates that take place during a race in Illinois for the U.S. Senate, 1858
- b. Candidates are:
 - (i) Democrat [Stephen A. Douglas](#), the country's best-known politician, and
 - (ii) [Abraham Lincoln](#), a Republican who isn't very well-known
- c. The Dred Scott ruling becomes a centerpiece of the debates
- d. Douglas, hoping to be elected president in 1860, has to find a position on slavery in the territories that both northern and southern Democrats will accept
 - (i) Waffles by arguing that just because Dred Scott prevents Congress from outlawing slavery in the territories doesn't mean that local communities in the territories must pass pro-slavery laws (the [Freeport Doctrine](#))
- e. Lincoln, on the other hand, states clearly and simply that the Supreme Court wrongly decided the Dred Scott case and that slavery itself is wrong
- f. Lincoln loses the race, but the debates turn him into a major national figure and leading antislavery/Republican spokesman

8. 1859: John Brown's Raid on [Harpers Ferry](#)

- a. **Backed in secret by several prominent and respectable abolitionists, Brown and a small band of followers attacks a federal government arsenal in Harpers Ferry, Virginia (today West Virginia)**
- b. **Brown believes that when word of the raid spreads, blacks will flock to Harpers Ferry, arm themselves, and begin a slave revolt/war of black liberation**
- c. **The slave uprising doesn't occur**
- d. **Closest U.S. military forces, based in Washington, U.S. marines, commanded by U.S. army officers Robert E. Lee and J.E.B. Stuart, go to Harpers Ferry and capture Brown's party**
- e. **About 20 deaths and 10 injuries**
- f. **Brown tried, convicted, and hanged by Virginia for treason**
 - (i) During his trial, Brown appears sane and reasonable, scaring white southerners into believing that the entire north is made up of Browns
 - (ii) Some abolitionists praise Brown
 - (A) E.g., Ralph Waldo Emerson calls Brown "the new saint awaiting his martyrdom, and who, if he shall suffer, will make the gallows glorious like the cross."
 - (iii) This reaction further scares the South into believing that huge numbers of northern whites support forcible abolition and even race war
 - (iv) In response to the raid, southern militia units begin drilling much more seriously: this is the beginning of the Confederate army

9. The Presidential Election of 1860

- a. **The most important election in American history**
- b. **Will see the breakdown of compromise and the splitting of the Democratic Party, the last remaining national political institution**
- c. **Democratic National Convention, Charleston, South Carolina, summer 1860**
 - (i) Douglas seeks the nomination
 - (ii) Southern Democrats:
 - (A) See Douglas's Freeport Doctrine as waffling on Dred Scott
 - (B) Demand a proslavery platform plank explicitly endorsing Dred Scott
 - (iii) Northern Democrats:
 - (A) Refuse to accept a proslavery platform plank
 - (iv) Result: Southern Democrats walk out of the convention
- d. **Northern Democrats adjourn and later reconvene in Baltimore, where they nominate Douglas**
- e. **Southern Democrats nominate their own candidate, Kentucky Senator John C. Breckinridge, with an explicit proslavery platform**
- f. **Republicans nominate Lincoln with an explicit antislave platform**

- (i) Lincoln remains silent during campaign, leading southern whites to imagine/fear the worst about him (i.e. that he will prove to be another John Brown)
- g. A “third party,” the Constitutional Union Party, nominates John Bell of Tennessee with a plea for compromise to save the Union**
- h. Results:**
 - (i) Lincoln wins
 - (ii) Republican victory is due to Democratic split and decreased Democratic turnout
 - (iii) Lincoln doesn’t get a single vote in the southern states; is not even on the ballot in most of them
- i. The election signals to the southern states that antislavery forces have achieved dominance in the federal government and that secession is now the only way to protect slavery**
- j. South Carolina passes ordinance of secession in December 1860; other states of the Deep South secede in the following weeks**

PART XXI. The Civil War, 1861-1865 (Textbook Chapter 16)

Central idea: in 1861 the direct clash of two irreconcilable points of view—state sovereignty/secession and perpetual Union—produced the bloodiest war in American history before or since. Because no compromise between the two was possible, the war’s outcome would shape the United States in fundamental ways that profoundly effect the country’s future in terms of race relations, economy, politics, and many other ways. In the end, the United States emerged as a truly united sovereignty for the first time, poising it for a dramatic rise to world power in the following century.

Legacy for modern America: Wars and societal conflicts are expensive in economic and human terms, and people often stumble into them thinking that they won’t be nearly as bad as they turn out to be. What is worth the use of force in modern America? What good and bad social effects might it have? What are the irreconcilable ideas in today’s United States and how should we handle them? Have we learned from history at all?

A. Questions to think about:

- 1. Why did attempts at further compromise fail in 1861?**
- 2. Why did the South fight?**
- 3. Why did the North fight?**
- 4. Why did the North beat the South?**

5. What were the immediate and long-term results of the war and the northern victory?

B. Possible essay questions:

1. Write a history of the election of 1860 and its aftermath down to the attack on Fort Sumter.
2. Write a history of the Civil War, 1861-1865.
3. Write a detailed discussion of the Battle of Antietam (Sharpsburg). Why was it fought? What did Robert E. Lee hope to accomplish? What were the actual results?

C. Possible short answer/ID questions

1. Lincoln's First Inaugural Address
2. The Anaconda Plan
3. The First Battle of Bull Run (First Battle of Manassas)
4. The Emancipation Proclamation
5. The Battles of Vicksburg and Gettysburg
6. Appomattox

D. Advance reading assignment: Before class, carefully read [Lincoln's First Inaugural Address](http://avalon.law.yale.edu/19th_century/lincoln1.asp) at http://avalon.law.yale.edu/19th_century/lincoln1.asp (link is on course web page)

E. Section outline

1. Prelude to War, December 1860-April 1861

a. Secession and the formation of the Confederacy

- (i) Secession occurs in two broad waves: the Deep South (Lower South) and the Upper South
- (ii) December 1860, the first wave begins when South Carolina secedes from the Union
- (iii) January and February, 1861: The other states of the Lower South Secede (Mississippi, Florida, Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, and Texas)

- (iv) By the time Lincoln becomes president, seven southern states have seceded and the first wave of secession is complete
- (v) February 1861: representatives from the seceded states meet in Montgomery, Alabama and form the Confederate States of America
- (vi) The new country adopts a constitution extremely similar to the United States Constitution, with some major differences:
 - (A) Unlike the United States Constitution, the Confederate Constitution explicitly endorses state sovereignty/state supremacy
 - (B) Unlike the United States Constitution, the Confederate Constitution requires the Confederate national government to protect slavery in the territories

b. Attempts at compromise

- (i) Several attempts at compromise take place from December 1860 to February 1861
 - (A) Crittenden Compromise: In the Senate, John J. Crittenden proposes a constitutional amendment reinstating and extending the Missouri Compromise line
 - (B) Other plans suggest a constitutional amendment permanently protecting slavery in the states where it already exists
- (ii) All of the compromise attempts fail for lack of support
 - (A) Lincoln refuses to back compromise efforts
 - (B) The seceded states already have what they want—a new national government dedicated to protection of slavery—and the proposed compromises offer them nothing better

c. Lincoln’s First Inaugural Address, March 1861

- (i) Secession is an impossibility
- (ii) The Southern States are still in the Union
- (iii) There is no Confederate States of America
- (iv) Lincoln has the constitutional duty to enforce federal law throughout the United States (including in the supposedly seceded states of the South)
- (v) This duty extends to the laws of slavery (i.e., Lincoln states that he has no plan to interfere with slavery laws)
- (vi) The duty also extends to the defense of federal property and military installations (e.g., Fort Sumter)
- (vii) Lincoln appeals for union and patient deliberation

d. Fort Sumter

- (i) Between December 1860 and February 1861, southern forces occupy federal military installations in the Confederacy
- (ii) Fort Sumter, in Charleston Harbor, refuses to surrender
 - (A) Federal forces in Fort Sumter only have enough supplies to last until mid-April: after that, they will have to vacate the fort

- (B) Late March, Lincoln decides to send ships to re-supply Fort Sumter, but only with provisions, not troops, weapons, or ammunition
- (C) Jefferson Davis, president of the Confederacy, believes that he has the constitutional duty to use force to protect the Confederacy
- (D) On 12 April 1861, shortly before arrival of the relief expedition, Southern units begin a three-day bombardment of Fort Sumter, which end with the Union troops ‘ surrender on 14 April
- (iii) Mobilization: As a result of the attack on Fort Sumter, Lincoln calls for 75,000 volunteers to subdue the South
 - (A) • LINCOLN’S GOAL IS MERELY REUNIFICATION OF THE NATION—NOT THE DESTRUCTION OF SLAVERY
 - (B) • (cf. southern position is that is no longer part of the USA; it is an independent country, the CSA)
 - (C) Kentucky, North Carolina, and other non-seceded slave states immediately refuse to supply troops
- (iv) Second wave of secession: Between April and June, four slave states in the Upper South secede in response to Lincoln’s call for troops (Virginia, Arkansas, North Carolina, and Tennessee)
 - (A) These states promptly join the Confederacy, and the Confederate capital moves to Richmond, Virginia
 - (B) Compare secession in 1860-61 with the actions of the Thirteen Colonies in July 1776. How is it similar? How is it different?
- (v) Some slave states remain in the Union (Maryland, Missouri, Kentucky, and Delaware,) although there is strong pro-Confederate sentiment in the first three, and factions in both Missouri and Kentucky claim to secede and join the Confederacy

2. Overview of resources and strategy

a. **No compromise is possible: war will win either with Southern independence or with reunion**

b. **North:**

(i) Advantages

(A) Resources: North has overwhelming resource advantages: more (sometimes far, far more) of all of the following

1. • Population
2. • Industry
3. • Money
4. • Railroads
5. • Nearly all of the navy

(ii) Disadvantages

- (A) The North isn't on a war footing, so the above resource advantages are potential rather than actual; if the South wins the war quickly, the resources won't come into play
- (B) The North is in the same position England was in the war of Independence: it has to achieve the positive goal of beating the Confederacy

c. South

- (i) Advantages
 - (A) The South has a disproportionately high number of good military leaders
 - (B) The South is in the same position as the U.S. was in the War of Independence: while the North has to win, the South merely has to survive until the North gives up
- (ii) Disadvantages
 - (A) The South is large, with long borders, easy to invade (especially in the west)
 1. In the War of Independence, England was fighting the U.S. from across 3000 miles of ocean; in the present war, the enemy is merely across the Potomac and the Ohio Rivers

d. Northern strategy: The Anaconda Plan

- (i) Designed by Gen. Winfield Scott, USA, just before he retires
- (ii) Designed to take advantage of North's greater resources
 - (A) Blockade entire Southern coastline
 - (B) Seize Mississippi River
 - (C) These steps will seal off the South from outside resources and crush it the way an anaconda crushes its prey
 - (D) But this plan will take a few years to have full effect, and Northern public is clamoring for immediate action

e. Two main areas, or theaters, of operations

- (A) Western Theater, between Mississippi River and Appalachians
 1. Open spaces, good for maneuver
 2. Big sources of Southern supplies
- (B) Eastern Theater, from Appalachians to Atlantic Ocean
 1. Narrower, especially in Va., Md., and Pa., where mountains come closer to the ocean—less maneuvering room
 2. Both capitals but both hard to get at by direct assault because of intervening rivers—flanking attacks are easier

3. 1861: opening gambits: the shock of war

a. • Eastern Theater: “On to Richmond” (not)

- (i) • July 1861: First Bull Run (First Manassas) CS victory
 - (A) • Union army moves to capture important rail junction in Va. just south of DC as a preliminary to moving towards confederate capital of Richmond—Confederate army moves to block it
 - (B) • First major battle of the war
 - (C) Chaotic—“a clash of two armed mobs”
 - (D) • CS wins but both armies in a shambles; CS unable to finish off US forces
 - (E) • Size of battle and number of casualties make both North and South realize for the first time that this will be a major war

4. 1862: The war turns serious

a. • Western Theater: Union victories; Anaconda begins to tighten

- (i) • Feb. 1862: Forts Henry and Donelson US victory
 - (A) • US forces under Ulysses S. Grant capture important river forts in Tennessee, forcing CS forces out of Nashville. Grant’s star begins rising.
- (ii) • April 1862: Shiloh US victory
 - (A) • Large CS attempt to destroy Grant’s ultimately fails, but not before causing frightful casualties on both sides
 - (B) • More combat casualties at Shiloh than in all previous US wars combined—and Shiloh will be relatively small in terms of later Civil War battles

b. • Eastern Theater: US tries in vain to capture Richmond while beating off Southern offensives

- (i) • Peninsula Campaign/Seven Days Battles
 - (A) • April-June: Peninsula Campaign
 1. • Gen. George B. McClellan, commander of all Union armies and field commander of the Army of the Potomac (100,000 + men), advances up the Virginia Peninsula from Atlantic Ocean towards Richmond; opposed by Army of Northern Virginia (ANV), 75,000 men
 2. • McClellan constantly drags his feet and asks for more troops, but does manage to come within a few miles of Richmond
 3. • 31 May: Gen. Joseph E. Johnston, commander of ANV, wounded
 4. • 1 June: Robert E. Lee takes command of ANV
 5. Lee’s background
 - (B) • June: Seven Days’ Battles CS victory
- (ii) • September: Antietam (Sharpsburg) tactical draw but US strategic victory

- (A) Lee invades Maryland, threatening Washington, and thus luring the Army of the Potomac into a position where he can destroy it
- (B) Lee's goals:
 - 1. Move war away from Virginia to give farmers the chance to get their crops in
 - 2. Draw support of Maryland and encourage secession there
 - 3. Influence mid-term U.S. Congressional elections
 - 4. Win a decisive battle on Northern soil that will convince England to recognize the Confederacy
- (C) • McClellan forces Lee to retreat without achieving any of these goals, but ANV still intact afterward
- (D) • The bloodiest single day of the war: 25,000 casualties
- (E) • Lincoln finally fires McClellan for chronic refusal to be more aggressive
- (F) • Major diplomatic and domestic results
 - 1. • Lee's broken-off invasion fails to become the Confederate "Saratoga"—Great Britain continues to wait for a truly decisive southern victory before recognizing the CSA, and as things turn out, that victory will never occur
 - 2. • The respectable performance of the Army of the Potomac heartens northern voters; in the 1862 elections, they tend to vote against northern candidates favoring peace
 - 3. • Lincoln seizes this lukewarm northern victory as the occasion for issuing the Emancipation Proclamation, which would have looked like pure desperation if McClellan had lost outright
 - a. The Emancipation Proclamation announces the freeing of all slaves in the rebelling areas as of January 1863
 - i. Question: Approximately how many slaves does this free?
 - ii. Question: Where does Lincoln get the authority to do this?
 - b. Lincoln issues the Proclamation
 - i. because of his own opposition to slavery
 - ii. as a means of winning support for the Union cause from countries (especially England) that had already ended slavery, and
 - iii. to energize the Union war effort among slavery opponents in the North
 - c. • THE EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION MEANS THAT THE NORTHERN GOAL IS NOW REUNIFICATION OF THE NATION AND THE DESTRUCTION OF SLAVERY

5. 1863: The high tide of the Confederacy: the Union effort hits its stride

a. • Western Theater: Completion of the Anaconda Plan

- (i) • 4 July: Vicksburg US victory
 - (A) • by early 1863, Vicksburg, Mississippi is the only place on the Mississippi River that US forces don't yet control
 - (B) • Capture of Vicksburg would thus cut the Confederacy in two and be huge step towards completion of the Anaconda Plan
 - (C) • mid-1863, Grant conducts masterful maneuvers in Tenn. and Miss. that bring his army to outskirts of Vicksburg despite fierce CS resistance
 - (D) • May, Grant lays siege to Vicksburg
 - (E) • On 4 July, with Vicksburg starving, CS forces there surrender to Grant

b. • Eastern Theater

- (i) • 1-3 July: Gettysburg CS loss
 - (A) • The bloodiest battle of the war: 50,000 casualties in three days of fighting
 - (B) • Lee invades Pennsylvania to gather supplies for his army and threaten Washington, hoping to force Army of the Potomac into a decisive battle
 - (C) • 3 July, Lee tries to split the Union center and destroy the Army of the Potomac with a massive frontal assault (Pickett's Charge); the assault fails, killing and wounding 7,500 of the South's finest soldiers, who can't be replaced due to lower southern population
 - (D) • ANV still capable of strong resistance, but no longer has offensive capability; from here on out, ANV will be totally on the strategic defensive

6. 1864: The beginnings of modern American warfare

a. • New Union strategy: the “blunt instrument” approach

- (i) • Beat and bleed southern armies and war effort to death with superior numbers of men, superior weaponry, and better supply
- (ii) • Coordinate large-scale offensives in Western and Eastern Theaters
- (iii) • Grant becomes General-in-chief of all Union armies; travels with and directs Meade and Army of the Potomac in Va. personally
- (iv) • Grant replaced in Western theater by his main lieutenant, Gen. William Tecumseh Sherman
- (v) Spring 1864, Grant carries out the Overland Campaign against Lee's army and Richmond

b. • Eastern Theater: bloodbath—the Overland Campaign

- (i) Grant repeatedly attacks Lee, who must take losses he can't replace or afford in order to protect Richmond
 - (A) • May 1864: The Wilderness CS victory
 - (B) • May: Spotsylvania Court House CS victory
 - (C) • June: Cold Harbor CS victory
 - (D) • Petersburg:
 - 1. • A town just south of Richmond, protecting the only remaining rail line into the capital—ANV must hold it or Richmond will fall
 - 2. • Grant lays siege to the ANV in Petersburg—and settles down to wait. Meanwhile . . .
- c. • Western Theater: the emergence of modern total war**
 - (i) • Spring 1864, Gen. William T. Sherman, commanding the Army of the Cumberland, sets out from Tennessee, [marching towards the major east/west rail junction of Atlanta](#)
 - (A) • Confederate hope: to forestall capture of Atlanta until after 1864 elections in hopes that the growing peace party in the North will vote Lincoln out of office
 - (ii) • August: Army of the Cumberland captures Atlanta
 - (iii) • November-December: [The March to the Sea](#)
 - (A) • Sherman and the Army of the Cumberland make a cross-country march from Atlanta to Savannah, living off the land and destroying all food, supplies, and dwellings they encounter in an attempt to weaken the confederate war effort and demoralize southern civilians.
 - (B) • December, Sherman captures Savannah and offers it to Lincoln as a Christmas present
- d. • TOGETHER, GRANT'S AND SHERMAN'S CAMPAIGNS SHOW THE BEGINNING OF THE MODERN AMERICAN MILITARY DOCTRINE OF ANNIHILATION: USE OF OVERWHELMING FIREPOWER (NOT COMPLEX MANEUVER) AND WARFARE AGAINST ALL OF AN ENEMY'S RESOURCES (NOT MERELY ITS ARMY) TO BRING ABOUT A DECISIVE DEFEAT-THIS IS THE FIRST TRUE EXPERIENCE OF TOTAL WAR IN US, AND POSSIBLY WESTERN, HISTORY**

7. 1865: Coda—Union victory

- a. • Western Theater: The West come east in a strategic pincer movement**
 - (i) • Jan-April: Sherman marches through the Carolinas nearly unopposed, performing an encore of his march through Ga., burning Columbia S.C., and moving north towards Petersburg to help prevent ANV's escape
- b. • Eastern Theater: [The surrender](#)**

- (i) • March 1865, the stretched Confederate lines around Petersburg, held by starving soldiers, breaks; US forces capture Richmond
- (ii) • Lee retreats southwest, hoping to rendezvous in N.C. with what's left of the Army of Tennessee under Gen. Johnston and continue to offer resistance
- (iii) • Grant cuts him off near Appomattox Court House
- (iv) • Lee, now out of food and vastly outnumbered, surrenders to Grant
 - (A) Lee's surrender to Grant signifies the passing of the torch:
 1. From slavery to free labor
 2. From southern political power to northern political power
 3. From aristocracy to the common man
 4. From agriculture to industry
 5. From state sovereignty to nationalism
- (v) • Although Johnston doesn't surrender to Sherman for a few more weeks, and a few other inconsequential CS forces continue fighting in the far West until June, Lee's surrender signals the real end of the war and any hope of significant resistance
- (vi)