



712.4  
703

3-09447

外文书库

*A HISTORY*  
OF THE  
UNITED STATES  
[TO 1876]

---

T. HARRY WILLIAMS

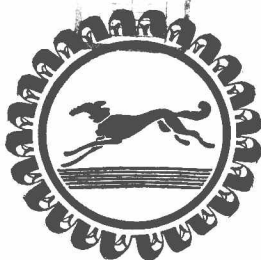
*Louisiana State University*

RICHARD N. CURRENT

*The Woman's College of the University of North Carolina*

FRANK FREIDEL

*Harvard University*



*New York   Alfred A. Knopf   1959*

*L. C. Catalog card number: 59-5580*

© *T. Harry Williams, Richard N. Current, and Frank Freidel, 1959*

THIS IS A BORZOI BOOK,

PUBLISHED BY ALFRED A. KNOFF, INC.

Copyright 1959 by T. Harry Williams, Richard N. Current, and Frank Freidel. All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reproduced in any form without permission in writing from the publisher, except by a reviewer who may quote brief passages and reproduce not more than three illustrations in a review to be printed in a magazine or newspaper. Manufactured in the United States of America. Published simultaneously in Canada by McClelland & Stewart Ltd.

FIRST EDITION

*A HISTORY*  
OF THE  
UNITED STATES  
[TO 1876]

---

*To*

William Best Hesseltine

# *Preface*

---

**T**HERE SHOULD BE no need to justify the study of history. The past is worth studying because it is not dead but very much alive. It lives about us in forms that are taken for granted—in laws, customs, institutions, and beliefs which, though intangible, provide an environment as real as the physical world. The past lives also in conscious memory, in a memory that is guided, or misguided, by books, articles, movies, television programs, monuments, restorations, and historical records of various kinds.

The complexity of history (whether history be considered as past conditions and events or as the means of finding out and reporting about them) makes the task of the student and the instructor much more interesting than it otherwise would be, but also much more difficult. If the past were really dead and also simple, a post mortem would be comparatively easy, or (to change the figure) the “bar of history” so often ap-

pealed to could render a final verdict on almost every disputed point. Actually, historians agree upon most of the “facts” of American history. But there are countless facts, and with regard to some of them historians disagree as to which are the more important and which should be picked out and emphasized. Hence historians differ about the meaning or significance of particular phases of the past.

One purpose of a history textbook is to provide, for the beginning student, a guide to an infinitely complex and often controverted story. Of necessity, any text is based upon the researches not of its authors alone but of thousands of historical scholars. In its choice of subject matter and in its handling of controversial issues the book should represent, so far as possible, the consensus of contemporary historical scholarship. At points where there is no clear consensus, the authors have no choice but to rely on their own tentative judgment, unless they are to

risk leaving the student in confusion. The student should always bear in mind, however, that the sum of American history is not contained in this or in any other book. Indeed, this book is intended to open the subject, not to close it. The book will have succeeded if, with the indispensable aid of the instructor, it arouses a desire to learn more about American history than is contained between these covers.

This volume includes a number of devices, some of them quite new, designed to make it a more useful and more interesting guide. Chapter bibliographies and a general bibliography provide selected lists of books for further reading. Maps have been conceived and drawn with a view to clarity. Graphs and charts reduce some of the statistical data to a form easily grasped. Other illustrations, which are numerous, have been chosen not as ornaments but as aids to understanding; these are placed near the text material they illustrate, and they are accompanied by rather full explanatory captions. A novel feature is the use of "boxes" which often contain excerpts from contemporary documents; these selections make the volume to some extent a book of readings as well as a textbook. Appendices contain additional documentary and statistical information. The student is urged to make himself familiar, at the outset, with the book as a whole and with all its special features.

One of the chief innovations included in this text is the repetition of the chapter on "The Postwar Nation." This chapter ap-

pears as number 31 in the first volume and again as number 1 in the second to accommodate the needs of individual courses, which at the present time exhibit some variation in division between the two terms. Repetition of this chapter affords either a quick review for continuing students or, for newcomers, a detailed treatment of the period of Reconstruction.

Though this book has been put together with considerable care, we are under no illusion that we have managed to escape all errors of fact or interpretation. We will be grateful for suggestions of corrections or other improvements to be incorporated in future editions. Our errors—whatever they may prove to be—are our own. No one else is responsible for them. Certainly they are fewer than they would have been without the assistance of our editors and a number of generous scholars. We are deeply indebted to Roger Shugg, John T. Hawes, Jr., and especially Ray Ginger, who, as an editor at Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., had a truly creative part in the shaping of this book. We are also deeply indebted to the following scholars, who have read and criticized parts of the manuscript: Carl Bridenbaugh, Thomas D. Clark, Charles C. Griffin, Jane L. De Grummond, John Duffy, Holman Hamilton, William B. Hesseltine, Homer Hitt, Arthur S. Link, John Loos, Ernest R. May, J. Preston Moore, Roy F. Nichols, Charles G. Sellers, Jr., Wendell H. Stephenson, George B. Tindall, Joseph Tregle, and Frank Vandiver.

T. H. W.

R. N. C.

F. F.

## A NOTE ON THE TYPE

This book was set on the Linotype in Janson, a recutting made direct from the type cast from matrices made by Anton Janson some time between 1660 and 1687. Janson's original matrices were, at last report, in the possession of the Stempel foundry, Frankfurt am Main.

Of Janson's origin nothing is known. He may have been a relative of Justus Janson, a printer of Danish birth who practiced in Leipzig from 1614 to 1635. Some time between 1657 and 1668 Anton Janson, a punch-cutter and type-founder, bought from the Leipzig printer Johann Erich Hahn the type-foundry which had formerly been a part of the printing house of M. Friedrich Lanckisch. Janson's types were first shown in a specimen sheet issued at Leipzig about 1675. Janson's successor, and perhaps his son-in-law, Johann Karl Edling, issued a specimen sheet of Janson types in 1689. His heirs sold the Janson matrices in Holland to Wolfgang Dietrich Erhardt, of Leipzig.

This book was composed, printed, and bound by KINGSPORE PRESS, INC., Kingsport, Tennessee. Line and halftone engravings supplied by CAPPER ENGRAVING COMPANY, INC., Knoxville, Tennessee. The paper was manufactured by S. D. WARREN COMPANY, Boston. Designed by GUY FLEMING.



# Contents

---

<b>1. Europe and the New World</b>	<b>3</b>	Georgia	47
The First Americans	4	The Island Colonies	47
The Quickening of Europe	7		
Westward to the East	10	<b>3. The Colonists and Their Work</b>	<b>50</b>
The Spanish Colonies	14	Geographical Influences	50
Catholic and Protestant	18	The Labor Supply	52
England Against Spain	20	Population Growth	55
The English Heritage	22	Agriculture	58
		Industries	63
<b>2. Planting the English Colonies</b>	<b>26</b>	Money and Commerce	66
King and Parliament	26		
Englishmen Look Overseas	28	<b>4. Growth of American Ways</b>	<b>71</b>
Virginia and Maryland	31	Provincial Society	71
New England	34	Home and Family	74
The Carolinas	40	Religion: Decline and Revival	79
New Netherland: New York	43	Literature and Learning	87
The Quaker Colonies	45	Law and Politics: Toward Self-Government	94

<b>5. The Empire: Success and Failure</b>	<b>99</b>	<b>9. Beginnings Under the Constitution</b>	<b>182</b>
The French in America	99	Elaborating upon the Constitution	182
Anglo-French Conflict	103	Hamilton's Economic Planning	187
The Great War for the Empire	105	Rise of Political Parties	192
The Old Colonial System	109	Problems of the Frontier	194
The New Imperialism	112	Neutrality and Jay's Treaty	197
Inner Contradictions	114		
<b>6. Getting Ready for Revolt</b>	<b>117</b>	<b>10. Downfall of the Federalists</b>	<b>203</b>
Colonial Self-Interest	117	Election of 1796	203
The Stamp Act Crisis	119	X. Y. Z. and Hostilities with France	206
The Townshend Program	122	Repression and Protest	210
The Philosophy of Revolt	124	Election of 1800	213
The Tea Excitement	127	Packing the Courts	215
The Continental Congress	131		
Lexington and Concord	133	<b>11. Life in the Young Republic</b>	<b>217</b>
<b>7. Birth of the United States</b>	<b>137</b>	Education and the Professions	217
War Aims: Independence	137	Letters, Drama, and Music	221
The New States and the Confederation	142	The Churches and Religion	224
Mobilizing for War	146	Technology and Industry	228
The Fighting, to 1777	150	Transportation and Trade	233
Foreign Friends	153	City and Country	237
Victory at Yorktown	155		
Winning the Peace	157	<b>12. Jeffersonian Principles in Practice</b>	<b>240</b>
<b>8. A More Perfect Union</b>	<b>162</b>	President and Party Leader	240
Failures in Foreign Affairs	162	The Jeffersonians and the Judges	245
Planning for the West	165	Dollars and Ships	247
Debts, Taxes, and Daniel Shays	169	Jefferson and Napoleon	249
A New Government Needed?	170	The Louisiana Purchase	251
The Constitutional Convention	172	The Burr Conspiracy	254
Ratification: "Federalists" v. "Anti-federalists"	177	<b>13. Free Seas and the Frontier</b>	<b>259</b>
		Neutral Trade and Neutral Rights	259
		Impressment	261

"Peaceable Coercion"	264	Free-for-All of 1824	349
Red Men and Redcoats	266	"Corrupt Bargain!"	351
The War Hawks	269	The Second President Adams	352
The Course of Battle	271	Jackson Vindicated	354
New England Objections	277	New Patterns of National Politics	357
The Peace Settlement	279		
Free Seas Again	282	<b>18. Jackson and the Nullifiers</b>	<b>361</b>
<b>14. The West and the Sectional Balance</b>	<b>284</b>	Calhoun: His Theory	361
Postwar Economic Issues	284	Van Buren to the Fore	364
"Era of Good Feelings"	287	The Webster-Hayne Debate	367
Florida and the Far West	289	The Veto, the Indians, and Georgia	369
The Great Migration	292	South Carolina Interposes	371
The Panic of 1819	296	<b>19. Bank War and Panic</b>	<b>376</b>
The Missouri Compromise	298	The Bank and the Election of 1832	376
Sectional Feelings	301	The "Monster" Destroyed	380
<b>15. Reassertion of Nationalism</b>	<b>305</b>	Whigs and Democrats	382
Marshall and the Court	305	The Panic of 1837	385
Latin American Independence	309	<b>20. A Search for Heaven on Earth</b>	<b>390</b>
Origin of the Monroe Doctrine	312	Democracy and Civilization	390
Consequences of Monroe's Message	315	Literature: A Golden Age	393
The Heritage of Patriotism	317	Arts and Sciences	397
<b>16. Material Progress: The Canal Age</b>	<b>320</b>	Spirit of Social Reform	399
The People, 1820-1840	320	Toward Universal Education	401
New Waterways	325	Perfecting Society and Man	405
The First Railroads	329	Antislavery and Proslavery	409
Broadening of Business	332	<b>21. Democratic Defeat and Whig Division</b>	<b>415</b>
Workers and Unions	336	Composition of the Parties	415
Increasing Comfort	339	The Van Buren Program	417
<b>17. The Coming of Mass Politics</b>	<b>343</b>	Some Results of the Depression	419
Democracy: Old and New	343	Election of 1840	419
Changes in State Government	345	The Whigs in Power	422

The Fatal Whig Division	424	Crisis at Mid-Century	498
Foreign Affairs, 1837-1844	425	The Compromise of 1850	501
The Supreme Court, 1837-1844	429	Acceptance of the Compromise	507
<b>22. Expansion and Conflict</b>	<b>433</b>	Foreign Affairs Under Taylor and Fillmore	510
Reasons for American Expansion	434	<b>26. The Drift Toward Disunion</b>	<b>514</b>
Expansion in Oregon	436	America in the Fifties	515
Expansion in Texas	439	Election of 1852 and After	526
Expansion in New Mexico and California	441	Democratic Imperialism	531
Election of 1844	443	The Kansas-Nebraska Act	534
The Acquisition of Oregon	445	Bleeding Kansas	538
Polk's Plans for Expansion	447	<b>27. The Rush Toward Disunion</b>	<b>542</b>
The Mexican War	448	Election of 1856	543
Expansion in Utah	453	The Panic of 1857	545
Politics under Polk	454	The Supreme Court and Slavery	547
<b>23. The Bases of Sectionalism: The Northeast and the West</b>	<b>457</b>	Bleeding Kansas Again	549
The Character of Sectionalism	458	Elections of 1858 and Their Aftermath	550
The Northeast: Business	460	The Great Decision of 1860	557
The Northeast: Agriculture and Labor	464	The Secession of the South	561
The West	466	<b>28. The Civil War: The North</b>	<b>568</b>
<b>24. The Bases of Sectionalism: The South</b>	<b>473</b>	The Military Potential of North and South	569
The Determinants of Southernism	474	War Economics and Finance	572
Social Organization	476	Raising the Armed Forces	577
Southern Agriculture	482	Wartime Politics	579
Slavery	484	<b>29. The Civil War: The South</b>	<b>590</b>
The Mind of the South	488	The Diplomacy of South and North	590
<b>25. The Politics of Sectionalism</b>	<b>493</b>	The Confederate Government	596
Slavery and the New Territories	494	War Economics and Finance	600
Election of 1848	496		

Raising the Armed Forces	603
Confederate Politics	605
<b>30. The Civil War: The Battles</b>	<b>611</b>
Northern and Southern Strategy	612
The Command Systems of North and South	614
The Opening Battles: 1861	618
The Year of Testing: 1862	621
The Year of Decision: 1863	633
1864-1865: The End	640
<b>31. The Postwar Nation</b>	<b>647</b>
The North and South at War's End	648
Reconstruction: Its Meaning and Motivation	652
Conservative Reconstruction	656
Radical Reconstruction	662
Reconstruction in the South	667
The Aftermath of Reconstruction	672

<b>Appendices</b>	<b>677</b>
The Declaration of Independence	677
The Constitution of the United States of America	681
Sovereigns of England and Great Britain, 1485-1820	692
Admission of States to the Union	693
Presidential Elections, 1789-1876	694
Presidents, Vice-Presidents, and Cabinet Members, 1789-1877	696
Chief Justices of the Supreme Court, 1789-1888	698
Speakers of the House of Representatives, 1789-1876	698
Population of the United States, 1790-1880	699
<b>General Bibliography</b>	<b>701</b>
Paperback Editions	706
<b>Index</b>	<b>follows page 707</b>

# *List of Illustrations*

---

<p>Tenochtitlán—The Aztec Capital 5</p> <p>Natives of the New World 6</p> <p>Mission San Xavier del Bac 17</p> <p>Arrival at Roanoke 30</p> <p>Housing the First Settlers 37</p> <p>A City in the Wilderness 42</p> <p>An Eighteenth-Century Indenture 53</p> <p>Charleston in 1740 58-9</p> <p>Tobacco Preparation: Eighteenth Century 62</p> <p>A Slave Ship 69</p> <p>John Crump House 74</p> <p>The John Ward House 75</p> <p>The John Ward House: Kitchen 76</p> <p>The Powel House 77</p> <p>Westover 78</p> <p>Christ Church, Cambridge, Massachusetts 82-3</p> <p>Harvard College, about 1740 91</p> <p>Benjamin Franklin, by Duplessis 93</p> <p>The Need for Colonial Unity 97</p> <p>Champlain Fights the Iroquois 101</p> <p>Parlange, Point Coupée Parish, Louisiana 103</p>	<p>The Taking of Quebec 108</p> <p>Samuel Adams 123</p> <p>The "Bloody Massacre" 125</p> <p>Taking the Pledge 129</p> <p>The Battle of Lexington 134</p> <p><i>Common Sense</i> 139</p> <p>The Declaration of Independence 141</p> <p>Continental Currency 146</p> <p>George Washington 148</p> <p>Steuben at Valley Forge 149</p> <p>The Peacemakers of 1783 158</p> <p>The Philadelphia State House (Independence Hall) 173</p> <p><i>The Federalist</i>: Title Page 178</p> <p>A Federalist Cartoon 179</p> <p>Federal Hall, New York 183</p> <p>Alexander Hamilton 185</p> <p>The First Bank of the United States 191</p> <p>Fashions in Dress, 1776-1812 195</p> <p>John Adams 206</p> <p>Building the Navy 208</p> <p>A School in Session About 1800 219</p> <p>Brooklyn, New York, in the Early 1800's 222</p>
---	---

Farm Life About 1800	225	The Bloomer Costume	408
A Camp Meeting	229	William Henry Harrison	420
Whitney's Gun Factory	232	John Tyler	422
Fulton's <i>Clermont</i> in 1810	234	Jacksonian Jurist	429
On the National Road	237	Migrants Crossing the Plains	438
The Unfinished Capitol, 1800	241	James K. Polk	445
Thomas Jefferson	243	General Winfield Scott	451
John Randolph of Roanoke	244	Entrance of Scott's Army into Mexico	
The Lewis and Clark Expedition,		City	452
1804-1806	254	Calico Printing in a New England	
Aaron Burr	255	Textile Mill	461
Seaman's Protection Paper	263	Charles Goodyear Discovers Rubber	462
James Madison	270	St. Louis in the 1850's	467
Victory at Sea	272	First Demonstration of the McCor-	
The Battle of New Orleans, January 8,		mick Reaper	470
1815	276	A Plantation Home of the Old South	478
James Monroe	287	Slave Scenes	485
From Forest to Farm	294	Zachary Taylor	497
The University of Virginia	302	Washing for Gold	499
John Marshall	306	William H. Seward	504
The United States Capitol, 1824	316	Millard Fillmore	506
Fourth of July, 1819	318	Western Democrat	507
New York Port, 1828	324	Two Views of Immigration	518-19
The Erie Canal	326	The Overland Mail	520
An Early Locomotive	331	The Pony Express Meets the Tele-	
The Whale Fishery	334	graph	521
The Ice Industry	335	Railroads in the 1850's	524
Cotton Mills, Lowell, Massachusetts	337	Franklin Pierce	527
Election Day	348	An Abolitionist View of the Fugitive	
John Quincy Adams	352	Slave Act	530
Andrew Jackson	358	John C. Frémont	543
"Fort Hill": Calhoun's Home	362	James Buchanan	545
Calhoun's Study at "Fort Hill"	363	The Panic of 1857	546
Martin Van Buren	365	Lincoln and Douglas in Debate	551
Mrs. Eaton and Jackson's Cabinet	366	The Last Hours of Congress, March,	
Webster Replying to Hayne	368	1859	554
The Second Bank of the United States	377	Lincoln Arriving in Washington,	
Nicholas Biddle	378	1861	580
King Andrew the First	381	An Anti-Copperhead Cartoon	583
Thomas Hart Benton	386	Lincoln and His Cabinet Reading the	
The Panic of 1837	388	Emancipation Proclamation	585
Dancing the Quadrille	391	A Northern View of Emancipation	586
<i>The Spy</i> on the Stage	394	Jonathan Tells Off England and	
Fanny Kemble	398	France	594
A Lyceum Lecture	405	Jefferson Davis and His Cabinet	599
The "Cold Water" Pledge	407	The Impact of War on the South	600-1

## *List of Illustrations*

xvii

Creole Critic of Davis	606	Pickett's Charge at Gettysburg	638
The Beginning of the Civil War	608	Storm Center of the Confederacy	642
The North's Greatest General	616	The Apostle of Modern War	644
First Battle of Ironclads	622	Architect of the Reconstruction	654
Problem General of the North	626	Charles Sumner	656
A Civil War Balloon	629	Andrew Johnson	659
The South's Greatest General	631	The Impeachment of Andrew Johnson	666
Confederate Dead in the Bloody Lane at Antietam	632	The Ku Klux Klan: A Southern View	670
The South's Good Soldier	634	The Ku Klux Klan: A Northern View	671



# *List of Maps*

DESIGNED BY THEODORE R. MILLER

---

The World in 1492 as Known to Europeans	9	British Campaigns, 1777	152
Early Voyages of Discovery	10	Route of George Rogers Clark, 1778-1779	155
The Lands That Columbus Saw on His Four Voyages	12	The Road to Yorktown, 1780-1781	156
Spanish Explorers in America	13	State Claims to Western Lands, 1781	166
Some English Voyages in the 16th Century	14	Land Survey Under the Ordinance of 1785	167
Virginia and Maryland	33	Election of 1800	214
New England, 1660: Settled Areas and Land Grants	39	States and Territories in 1802	236
The Carolinas and Georgia	41	The National Road	238
The Middle Colonies, 1700	44	Louisiana Purchase and Explorations	253
One of the "Triangular" Trades	68	Battle of Tippecanoe, 1811	268
The French in America: Explorations and Settlements	100	Election of 1812	271
Start of the French and Indian War	107	The War of 1812	274
North America in 1700	109	Boundary Settlements, 1818, 1819	291
North America After 1713	109	Missouri Compromise, 1820-1821	301
North America After 1763	110	The Ohio-Mississippi Outlet	325
English Mainland Colonies, 1763	115	Canals in the Northeast, 1840	327
Quebec, 1774	130	Railroads, 1840	330
The War in the North, 1775	150	Election of 1824	351
Washington's Retreat, 1776	151	Election of 1828	355
		Election of 1836	385
		Webster-Ashburton Treaty	428
		Western Trails	434