



ERIC FONER

GIVE ME LIBERTY!

AN AMERICAN HISTORY

VOLUME 2

GIVE ME LIBERTY!

AN AMERICAN HISTORY



by ERIC FONER

*For my mother, Liza Foner (b. 1909), an accomplished
artist who has lived through most of the twentieth
century and into the twenty-first*

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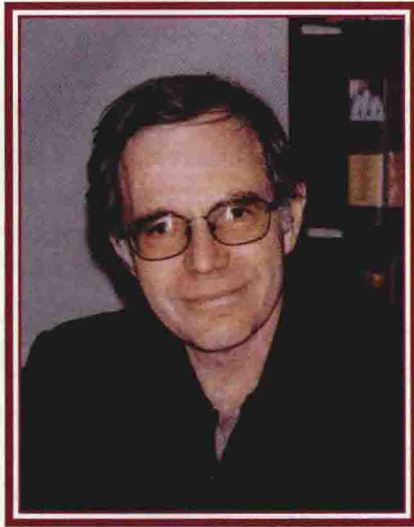
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ABOUT THE AUTHOR

ERIC FONER is DeWitt Clinton Professor of History at Columbia University, where he earned his B.A. and Ph.D. In his teaching and scholarship, he focuses on the Civil War and Reconstruction, slavery, and nineteenth-century America. Professor Foner's publications include *Free Soil, Free Labor, Free Men: The Ideology of the Republican Party Before the Civil War*; *Tom Paine and Revolutionary America: Politics and Ideology in the Age of the Civil War*; *Nothing But Freedom: Emancipation and Its Legacy*; *Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution, 1863–1877*; *Freedom's Lawmakers: A Directory of Black Officeholders During Reconstruction*; *The Story of American Freedom*; and *Who Owns History? Rethinking the Past in a Changing World*. His history of Reconstruction won the *Los Angeles Times* Book Award for History, the Bancroft Prize, and the Parkman Prize. He has been co-curator for two historical exhibits, "A House Divided" at the Chicago Historical Society, and "America's Reconstruction" at the Virginia Historical Society. He has served as president of the Organization of American Historians (1993–1994) and the American Historical Association (2000).



Preface

Give Me Liberty! An American History is a survey of American history from the earliest days of European exploration and conquest of the New World to the dawn of the twenty-first century. It offers students a clear, concise narrative whose central theme is the changing contours of American freedom.

Americans have always had a divided attitude toward history. On the one hand, they tend to be remarkably future-oriented, dismissing events of even the recent past as “ancient history” and sometimes seeing history as a burden to be overcome, a prison from which to escape. “The past,” wrote the novelist Herman Melville, “is the text-book of tyrants; the future is the Bible of the free.” On the other hand, like many other peoples, Americans have always looked to history for a sense of personal or group identity and of national cohesiveness. This is why so many Americans devote time and energy to tracing their family trees and why they visit historical museums and National Park Service historical sites in ever-increasing numbers. My hope is that this book will help to convince readers with all degrees of interest that history does matter to them.

The novelist and essayist James Baldwin once observed that history “does not refer merely, or even principally, to the past. On the contrary, the great force of history comes from the fact that we carry it within us, . . . [that] history is literally *present* in all that we do.” As Baldwin recognized, the force of history is evident in our own world. Especially in a political democracy like the United States, whose government is designed to rest on the consent of informed citizens, knowledge of the past is essential—not only for those of us

whose profession is the teaching and writing of history, but for everyone. History, to be sure, does not offer simple lessons or immediate answers to current questions. Knowing the history of immigration to the United States, and all of the tensions, turmoil, and aspirations associated with it, for example, does not tell us what current immigration policy ought to be. But without that knowledge, we have no way of understanding which approaches have worked and which have not—essential information for the formulation of future public policy.

History, it has been said, is what the present chooses to remember about the past. Rather than a fixed collection of facts, or a group of interpretations that cannot be challenged, our understanding of history is constantly changing. There is nothing unusual in the fact that each generation rewrites history to meet its own needs, or that scholars disagree among themselves on basic questions like the causes of the Civil War or the reasons for the Great Depression. Precisely because each generation asks different questions of the past, each generation formulates different answers. The past thirty years have witnessed a remarkable expansion of the scope of historical study. The experiences of groups neglected by earlier scholars, including women, African-Americans, working people, and others, have received unprecedented attention from historians. New subfields—social history, cultural history, and family history among them—have taken their place alongside traditional political and diplomatic history.

Give Me Liberty! draws on this voluminous historical literature to present an up-to-date and inclusive account of the American past, paying due attention to the experience of diverse groups of Americans while in no way neglecting the events and processes Americans have experienced in common. It devotes serious attention to political, social, cultural, and economic history, and to their interconnections. The narrative brings together major events and prominent leaders with the many groups of ordinary people who make up American society. *Give Me Liberty!* has a rich cast of characters, from Thomas Jefferson to campaigners for women's suffrage, from Franklin D. Roosevelt to former slaves seeking to breathe meaning into emancipation during and after the Civil War.

Aimed at an audience of undergraduate students with little or no detailed knowledge of American history, *Give Me Liberty!* guides readers through the complexities of the subject without overwhelming them with excessive detail. The unifying theme of freedom that runs through the text gives shape to the narrative and integrates the numerous strands that make up the American experience. This approach builds on that of my earlier book, *The Story of American Freedom* (1998), although *Give Me Liberty!* places events and personalities in the foreground and is more geared to the structure of the introductory survey course.

Freedom and the battles to define its meaning have long been central to my own scholarship and undergraduate teaching, which focuses on the nineteenth century and especially the era of Civil War and Reconstruction

(1850–1877). This was a time when the future of slavery tore the nation apart and emancipation produced a national debate over what rights the former slaves, and all Americans, should enjoy as free citizens. I have found that attention to clashing definitions of freedom and the struggles of different groups to achieve freedom as they understood it offers a way of making sense of the bitter battles and vast transformations of that pivotal era. I believe that the same is true for American history as a whole.

No idea is more fundamental to Americans' sense of themselves as individuals and as a nation than freedom. The central term in our political language, freedom—or liberty, with which it is almost always used interchangeably—is deeply embedded in the record of our history and the language of everyday life. The Declaration of Independence lists liberty among mankind's inalienable rights; the Constitution announces its purpose as securing liberty's blessings. The United States fought the Civil War to bring about a new birth of freedom, World War II for the Four Freedoms, and the Cold War to defend the Free World. Americans' love of liberty has been represented by liberty poles, liberty caps, and statues of liberty, and acted out by burning stamps and burning draft cards, by running away from slavery, and by demonstrating for the right to vote. "Every man in the street, white, black, red or yellow," wrote the educator and statesman Ralph Bunche in 1940, "knows that this is 'the land of the free'. . . 'the cradle of liberty.'"

The very universality of the idea of freedom, however, can be misleading. Freedom is not a fixed, timeless category with a single unchanging definition. Indeed, the history of the United States is, in part, a story of debates, disagreements, and struggles over freedom. Crises like the American Revolution, the Civil War, and the Cold War have permanently transformed the idea of freedom. So too have demands by various groups of Americans to enjoy greater freedom. The meaning of freedom has been constructed not only in congressional debates and political treatises, but on plantations and picket lines, in parlors and even bedrooms.

Over the course of our history, American freedom has been both a reality and a mythic ideal—a living truth for millions of Americans, a cruel mockery for others. For some, freedom has been what some scholars call a "habit of the heart," an ideal so taken for granted that it is lived out but rarely analyzed. For others, freedom is not a birthright but a distant goal that has inspired great sacrifice.

Give Me Liberty! draws attention to three dimensions of freedom that have been critical in American history: (1) the *meanings* of freedom; (2) the *social conditions* that make freedom possible; and (3) the *boundaries* of freedom that determine who is entitled to enjoy freedom and who is not. All have changed over time.

In the era of the American Revolution, for example, freedom was primarily a set of rights enjoyed in public activity—the right of a community to be governed by laws to which its representatives had consented and of indi-

viduals to engage in religious worship without governmental interference. In the nineteenth century, freedom came to be closely identified with each person's opportunity to develop to the fullest his or her innate talents. In the twentieth, the "ability to choose," in both public and private life, became perhaps the dominant understanding of freedom. This development was encouraged by the explosive growth of the consumer marketplace (a development that receives considerable attention in *Give Me Liberty!*), which offered Americans an unprecedented array of goods with which to satisfy their needs and desires. During the 1960s, a crucial chapter in the history of American freedom, the idea of personal freedom was extended into virtually every realm, from attire and "lifestyle" to relations between the sexes. Thus, over time, more and more areas of life have been drawn into Americans' debates about the meaning of freedom.

A second important dimension of freedom focuses on the social conditions necessary to allow freedom to flourish. What kinds of economic institutions and relationships best encourage individual freedom? In the colonial era and for more than a century after independence, the answer centered on economic autonomy, enshrined in the glorification of the independent small producer—the farmer, skilled craftsman, or shopkeeper—who did not have to depend on another person for his livelihood. As the industrial economy matured, new conceptions of economic freedom came to the fore: "liberty of contract" in the Gilded Age, "industrial freedom" (a say in corporate decision-making) in the Progressive era, economic security during the New Deal, and, more recently, the ability to enjoy mass consumption within a market economy.

The boundaries of freedom, the third dimension of this theme, have inspired some of the most intense struggles in American history. Although founded on the premise that liberty is an entitlement of all humanity, the United States for much of its history deprived many of its own people of freedom. Non-whites have rarely enjoyed the same access to freedom as white Americans. The belief in equal opportunity as the birthright of all Americans has coexisted with persistent efforts to limit freedom by race, gender, class, and in other ways.

Less obvious, perhaps, is the fact that one person's freedom has frequently been linked to another's servitude. In the colonial era and nineteenth century, expanding freedom for many Americans rested on the lack of freedom—slavery, indentured servitude, the subordinate position of women—for others. By the same token, it has been through battles at the boundaries—the efforts of racial minorities, women, and others to secure greater freedom—that the meaning and experience of freedom have been deepened and the concept extended into new realms.

Time and again in American history, freedom has been transformed by the demands of excluded groups for inclusion. The idea of freedom as a universal birthright owes much both to abolitionists who sought to extend the blessings of liberty to blacks and to immigrant groups who insisted on full

recognition as American citizens. The principle of equal protection of the law without regard to race, which became a central element of American freedom, arose from the antislavery struggle and Civil War and was reinvigorated by the civil rights revolution of the 1960s, which called itself the “freedom movement.” The battle for the right of free speech by labor radicals and birth control advocates in the first part of the twentieth century helped to make civil liberties an essential element of freedom for all Americans.

While concentrating on events within the United States, *Give Me Liberty!* also situates American history in the context of developments in other parts of the world. Many of the forces that shaped American history, including the international migration of peoples, the development of slavery, the spread of democracy, and the expansion of capitalism, were worldwide processes, not confined to the United States. Today, American ideas, culture, and economic and military power exert unprecedented influence throughout the world. But beginning with the earliest days of settlement, when European empires competed to colonize North America and enrich themselves from its trade, American history cannot be understood in isolation from its global setting.

Readers will find a number of recurring elements in *Give Me Liberty!*, intended to make the book accessible and to highlight the theme of freedom. The book is divided into six parts, each of which opens with a brief introduction and a portfolio of visual images of freedom taken from the chapters of that part. Each chapter begins with a specific historical moment or incident that illuminates some of the major themes that follow. Each contains a brief documentary excerpt called “Voices of Freedom” that illustrates how Americans at various times have understood the idea of freedom. These excerpts are taken from the companion volume to *Give Me Liberty!*, also called *Voices of Freedom*, a documentary history of American freedom. All these documents, as well as a selection of documents included in the Appendix to the textbook, are what historians call “primary sources”—that is, they were written or spoken by men and women enmeshed in the events of the past, rather than by later historians. They therefore offer students the opportunity to encounter ideas about freedom in the actual words of participants in the drama of American history. Also included with every chapter is a brief Suggested Reading list. These lists are meant to direct students to the most important works of historical scholarship on that period.

Freedom is the oldest of clichés and the most modern of aspirations. At various times in our history, it has served as the rallying cry of the powerless and as a justification of the status quo. Freedom helps to bind our culture together and exposes the contradictions between what America claims to be and what it sometimes has been. American history is not a narrative of continual progress toward greater and greater freedom. As the abolitionist Thomas Wentworth Higginson noted after the Civil War, “rev-

olutions may go backward." While freedom can be achieved, it may also be taken away. This happened, for example, when the equal rights granted to former slaves immediately after the Civil War were essentially nullified during the era of segregation. As was said in the eighteenth century, the price of freedom is eternal vigilance.

In the early twenty-first century, freedom continues to play a central role in our political and social life and thought. It is invoked by individuals and groups of all kinds, from critics of economic globalization to those who seek to secure American freedom at home and export it abroad. I hope that *Give Me Liberty!* will offer beginning students a clear account of the course of American history, and of its central theme, freedom, which today remains as varied, contentious, and ever-changing as America itself.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

All works of history are, to a considerable extent, collaborative books, in that every writer builds on the research and writing of previous scholars. This is especially true of a textbook that covers the entire American experience over more than five centuries. My greatest debt is to the innumerable historians on whose work I have drawn in preparing this volume. The Suggested Reading list at the end of each chapter offers only a brief introduction to the vast body of historical scholarship that has influenced and informed this book.

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Many students may have heard stories of how publishing companies alter the language and content of textbooks in an attempt to maximize sales and avoid alienating any potential reader. In this case, I can honestly say that W. W. Norton allowed me a free hand in writing the book and, apart from the usual editorial corrections, did not try to influence its content at all. For this I thank them, while I accept full responsibility for the interpretations presented and for any errors the book may contain. Since no book of this length can be entirely free of mistakes, I welcome readers to send me corrections at efr17@columbia.edu.

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Eric Foner
New York City
July 2003

FROM THE PUBLISHER

The aim of *Give Me Liberty! An American History* is to give students an accessible, concise, and authoritative narrative of American history that fully integrates the social and the political realms. *Give Me Liberty!* achieves an unusual cohesion through the vision and voice of a single author and the presence of a strong theme: That theme—freedom and the continuing efforts of Americans to define it and achieve it—goes to the core of American history. As important today as it has ever been, the theme of American freedom gives students an immediate point of contact with the history they will read in this book. *Give Me Liberty!* also aims to provide students with an introduction to the field of history as it is broadly written and taught today.

TEXT FEATURES

Give Me Liberty! includes the following features to help students master the material it presents:

Chapter Outlines: Each chapter begins with an outline that provides a preview of the topics covered.

Focus Questions: The chapter openers include a list of questions that help focus the students' reading. Each question is repeated above the relevant text in the running heads of right-hand pages. These questions keep students on track by reminding them, at a glance, of the larger issues at stake in the discussion on the page.

Voices of Freedom boxes: Every chapter includes a brief excerpt from a primary source that addresses the theme of American freedom. (See the Contents for these boxed excerpts.) Fuller versions of these documents appear in the companion reader, *Voices of Freedom*.

Suggested Readings: These end-of-chapter lists include sources for the chapter discussions and recommended readings for students.

Chapter Review page: Each chapter ends with a review page that includes a chronology of major events, a series

of review questions, and a review table of major events or developments discussed in the chapter.

Appendix with documents and tables: The Appendix to *Give Me Liberty!* includes a small collection of primary documents, ranging from the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution to Frederick Douglass's speech "What, to the Slave, Is the Fourth of July?," the Seneca Falls Declaration of Sentiments and Resolutions, the Omaha Platform of the Populist Party, and Martin Luther King, Jr.'s "I Have a Dream" speech. For a full list of these documents and the Appendix tables, see the Contents. *Give Me Liberty!* also includes a helpful Glossary of terms, major events and developments, legal decisions, and so on.

TEXT SUPPLEMENTS

FOR THE STUDENT:

Student Web Site (www.wwnorton.com/foner)

The *Give Me Liberty!* Sources of Freedom Digital History Center provides review materials to reinforce the students' reading of the textbook's chapters and to help them prepare for exams and papers. In an interactive format, the Web site offers students chapter objectives, multiple-choice questions, chapter outlines, and flash cards for key terms, dates, and historical figures. This media center also expands the book's theme of American freedom, exploring freedom documents, speeches, audio and video material, an interactive timeline, and images. Over 350 multimedia elements are presented for students to examine and comment on, using the Digital History Center media analysis worksheets.

Study Guide in Two Volumes

Prepared by Daniel Letwin (Pennsylvania State University), the Study Guide accompanying *Give Me Liberty!* includes chapter objectives; detailed chapter outlines; chronologies; study questions in multiple-choice, true/false, and essay form; and lists of suggested readings, film, video, and Web resources.

Voices of Freedom: A Documentary History

Edited by Eric Foner, this companion reader to *Give Me Liberty!* includes 137 primary-source documents that touch on the theme of American freedom. In chapters that correspond to the textbook's chapters, the freedom theme is fleshed out in the words of well-known historical figures and ordinary Americans. Each document is accompanied by an introductory headnote and study questions.

FOR THE INSTRUCTOR:**Instructor's Manual and Test Bank**

Prepared by Valerie Adams (Embry-Riddle Aeronautical University), the Instructor's Manual includes descriptive chapter summaries; detailed chapter outlines suitable for use in PowerPoint as lecture outlines; discussion questions; and guides to print, visual, and Web resources.

The Test Bank and Computerized Test Bank, prepared by Valerie Adams, include more than 2,000 questions that range from factual, objective questions to interpretative essay questions. The Computerized Test Bank is available in the Norton TestMaker system on a dual-platform CD-ROM.

Norton Media Library CD-ROM to accompany Give Me Liberty!

This dual-platform CD-ROM offers instructors a wealth of multimedia materials to draw on for PowerPoint lecture demonstrations. It includes most of the textbook's illustrations, all of the maps, tables, and figures, as well as rich audio, archival, and author video chosen to amplify the theme of freedom in American history. Lecture outlines for each chapter, which may be customized by the instructor, provide a framework for PowerPoint presentations. Each media type is also presented in a separate image, audio/video, or map library.

Transparencies

Full-color acetates of all of the maps in *Give Me Liberty!*

Norton Resource Library

This online resource offers Web-ready materials for your WebCT, Blackboard, or personal course page. Contents include test and study questions, chapter outlines, images, tables, maps, and figures from the textbook.



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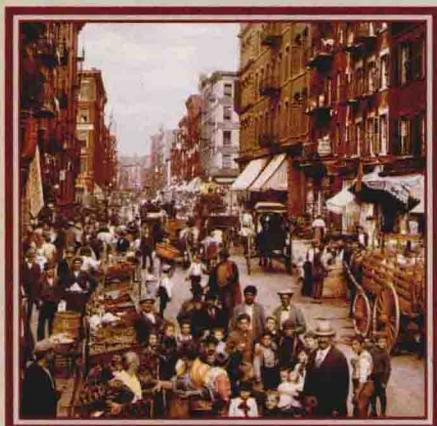
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