VOLUME 1

Building the American Republic

A NARRATIVE HISTORY TO 1877

Harry L. Watson

The University of Chicago Press  CHICAGO AND LONDON
Contents

Preface xvii

1 · First Americans, to 1550 1

Land, Climate, and First Peoples 2
From the Land Bridge to Agriculture 2
Puebloan Villagers, the First Townspeople 4
Mississippian Chiefdoms 5
Woodland Peoples of the East 6
The Empires of Central and South America 8

The Expanding Nations of Europe 9
Population Growth and Prosperity 10
Religious Rivalry and Trade 11
Portugal’s First Steps 13

The World of West Africa 14
The People of West Africa 14
Sugar and Slaves 15
The Early Slave Trade 16

Europe Comes to America 18
The Voyages of Columbus 19
Spain’s Rivals and Imitators 22
The Conquest of Mexico and Peru 23
Spain in North America 24

After Columbus 26
Modes of Conquest 27
The Columbian Exchange 29
Understanding America 30
2 · The First English Colonies, 1584–1676  35

England and the Atlantic  37
A New Atlantic World  38
Reformation and Empire  40
The Price Revolution and Its Consequences  42

The Enterprise of Virginia  43
Roanoke and Jamestown  44
Surviving in Powhatan’s Virginia  45
Tobacco  47
Plantations and Bond Servants  48

Stabilizing the Chesapeake  50
Indian Wars and Royal Government  50
Economic and Social Stability  52
Maryland Joins Virginia  53
Bacon’s Rebellion  54

Puritan America  56
The Puritan Faith  56
Plymouth’s Pilgrims  59
Massachusetts’s Great Migration  60

“God’s Commonwealth”  61
A Covenanted People  62
Town, Church, and Colony  63
The Challenge of Dissent  65

War and Transition  67
The English Civil War  67
The Second Generation  68
Indian Warfare  70

3 · The Emerging Empire, 1676–1756  75

Rivals for America  77
Spain and New Spain  77
The Dutch and New Netherland  80
New France and the “Middle Ground”  82
Caribbean Sugar Colonies  84
4 · Colonial Society and Culture, 1676–1756  111

A Changing Population  113
Immigrants from Europe  113
The Expansion of Slavery  115
Native Americans and Colonial Expansion  117

The South as a Slave Society  119
Life in Bondage  119
Masters in a Slave Society  121
The Backcountry South  124

Life in the Middle Colonies  124
Farms and Rural Life  125
Towns and Cities  127
Slaves and Free Blacks in the Northern Colonies  129

Changes in New England  130
The Tensions of Trade and Religion  130
Witchcraft in Salem  132

Social and Cultural Trends  134
Free Women and Families  134
Defining Race  137
Rank and the Social Order  139
Reason and the Enlightenment  141
The Great Awakening  143
Imperial War and Its Consequences
The Seven Years’ War 150
Pontiac Rises 150
A Standing Army and Revenue Reform 154

Imperial Crisis
Resisting the Stamp Act 157
A Revolution from Below? 158
Political Theory 160

The Contagion of Liberty
Protesting the Townshend Duties 164
Rural Protests 165
Daughters of Liberty 166
The Rhetoric and Reality of Slavery 168

The Conflict Escalates
The Boston Tea Party and the Coercive Acts 170
The First Continental Congress 171
Lexington to Virginia 172

Decision for Independence
The Second Continental Congress 176
Common Sense 176
The Declaration of Independence 177
Liberty, Equality, and Slavery 179

The Military Challenge
The Continental Army 182
The British Dilemma 182
The Loyalists 183

The Course of War
Fighting in the North 184
Diplomacy and the Frontier 185
War in the South 186
The African Americans’ War 188
Victory and the Treaty of Paris 189
John Adams and Party Conflict 248
The Quasi-War and Republican Dissent 248
“The Revolution of 1800” 249

The Jeffersonians in Power 251
“We Are All Republicans, We Are All Federalists” 252
A Changing Political Community 253
The Power of the Courts 254
Haiti and Louisiana 255

The Trans-Appalachian West 258
Whites and Indians beyond the Mountains 258
The Process of Settlement 259
The Great Revival 260

A Second War for Independence? 262
Commerce and Conflict 263
Tecumseh and the Red Sticks 265
The Road to War 267
The Course of Combat 269
Protests and Peace 271

8 · Market Revolution in the North, 1815–1860 275

Technology and the New Economy 277
The Household Economy 278
The Transportation Revolution 280
The Communication Revolution 282

Public Support and Private Initiative 283
The Role of Government 283
Money and Banking 286
Judicial Support 288

Markets and Production 289
Agricultural Improvements 289
From Artisans to Operatives 291
Textile Factories 293
Early Mass Production 294
Labor Protests 296
On the Move

Immigration 297
Urbanization 299
Moving West 300

Society in the Free States

Equality and Inequality 302
The Burden of Race 304
A New Middle Class 305
The Home as Woman’s Sphere 306

9 · Northern Culture and Reform, 1815–1860 311

The Fate of the Republic 314
The Postwar Mood 314
Troubling Symptoms 315
Revivals in the North 317

Revivals and Reform 319
New Denominations and Communities 319
The Benevolent Empire 321
Evangelical Reform 323
Opposing and Defending Reform 325

The Assault on Slavery 327
Early Efforts 327
Black Abolitionists 328
Immediatism 330
Antislavery Politics 331

Women and Reform 332
From Domesticity to the Public Sphere 332
Antislavery Women 333
Women’s Rights 336
Seneca Falls 337

A Cultural Renaissance 338
Rural and Urban Frontiers 339
Romanticism 341
Transcendentalism 342
Darker Voices 344
Democracy’s Advocates 345
The Free Labor Ideal 347
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>The World of the South, 1815–1860</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Southern Contours</strong></td>
<td>353</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Upper South</td>
<td>353</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Cotton Kingdom</td>
<td>355</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Slave Economy</td>
<td>357</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>The Peculiar Institution</strong></td>
<td>360</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Working like a Slave</td>
<td>360</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Slave Families</td>
<td>363</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Slave Discipline</td>
<td>364</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Slave Resistance</td>
<td>365</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>The South's Free Society</strong></td>
<td>367</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Masters</td>
<td>368</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Mistresses</td>
<td>369</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nonslaveholders and Poor Whites</td>
<td>372</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Free People of Color</td>
<td>373</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Slavery and Culture</strong></td>
<td>374</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Race</td>
<td>374</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Religion</td>
<td>376</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Equality and Inequality</td>
<td>378</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Liberty, Honor, and Violence</td>
<td>380</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Political Defense of Slavery</td>
<td>381</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>The Transformation of Politics, 1815–1836</td>
<td>387</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>An Era of Good Feelings?</strong></td>
<td>389</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>New Leaders, New Challenges</td>
<td>390</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Florida and the First Seminole War</td>
<td>392</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Panic and Its Remedies</td>
<td>393</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Conflict Returns</strong></td>
<td>395</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Missouri Compromise and Monroe Doctrine</td>
<td>395</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Election of 1824</td>
<td>397</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>“The Spirit of Improvement”</td>
<td>399</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Jackson Takes Charge</strong></td>
<td>400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Reviving the Democratic Party</td>
<td>400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Spoils System</td>
<td>402</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Indian Removal</td>
<td>403</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Internal Improvements and Nullification</td>
<td>405</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
12 · Wars for the West, 1836–1850 423

Democrats, Whigs, and the West 425
Martin Van Buren and the Panic of 1837 425
“Tippecanoe and Tyler Too” 428
The Emergence of Manifest Destiny 430

The Great West 431
Geography and Early Peoples 432
First Colonies 433
The Arrival of Anglo-Americans 436
Independent Texas 438

War with Mexico 439
Texas Annexation 439
Polk Takes Charge 441
Fighting Mexico 442

The Poisoned Fruits of Manifest Destiny 446
The Wilmot Proviso Controversy 447
The Election of 1848 449
Deadlock Follows Peace 450
Contending Responses 452
The Compromise of 1850 455

13 · The House Dividing, 1850–1861 457

Old Parties Decline 459
The Fugitive Slave Act 460
The Election of 1852 462
The Kansas-Nebraska Act 463
New Parties Arise 465
Immigrants and Know-Nothings 465
The Republican Challenge 467
The Fire-Eaters Respond 469
“Bleeding Kansas” 470
Republicans Reach for the Presidency 472

Buchanan’s Frustrations 474
The Case of Dred Scott 474
Back to Kansas 476
The Failure of Distractions 477

Disunion Approaches 480
Rival Sectional Visions 480
The Lincoln-Douglas Debates 481
John Brown’s Raid 483
The Election of 1860 485
Secession Winter, 1860–1861 488

14 · “A New Birth of Freedom,” 1861–1865 493

“And the War Came . . .” 495
Lincoln’s Inauguration 495
Fort Sumter and the Rush to War 498

Fighting Begins 500
Resources for Combat 500
Geography, Strategy, and Diplomacy 503
Bull Run 504
McClellan in Charge 506

The War on Slavery 507
Union Dissent 508
The Contrabands Move 509
Proclaiming Emancipation 510

The Home Fires Burning 512
The Economy of Victory 513
The Confederate Home Front 515
Confederate Dissent 518
Union-Held Dixie 519
“This Mighty Scourge of War”  522
“Grant Is My Man”  523
The Tide Slowly Turns  526
“To Finish the Work We Are In”  527

15 · Reconstructing the Republic, 1865–1877  531

Binding Up the Nation’s Wounds  534
Freedom and Destruction  534
Planning for Reconstruction  537
Land and Labor  540
Family, School, and Church  542

Andrew Johnson’s Approach  544
The Tennessee Unionist  544
Johnson’s Policies  545
Republicans React  547

Congress Takes Charge  548
The Fourteenth Amendment  549
The Reconstruction Acts  550
The Impeachment and Trial of Andrew Johnson  551

Reconstruction and Resistance  552
The Republican Experiment in the States  552
White Violence and the Ku Klux Klan  555
The Fifteenth Amendment  556

Constructing the West  559
War in the West  559
New Settlers  561
Race and Government  563

Redeemers Triumphant  564
“Grantism”  564
Wavering Republicans  565
The Compromise of 1877  568

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS  571
FOR FURTHER READING  573
INDEX  585