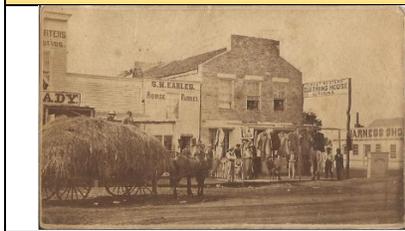


Chapter 121 -- We The People In 1840: Overview



Dates:
1840

Sections:
• A Changing American Landscape

Time: 1820-1840

A Changing American Landscape



Main St. in Small Town America

The American landscape has changed dramatically in the twenty years between 1820 and 1840.

The population has almost doubled and stands at 17 million. The average age is youthful, at twenty-two years old, and life expectancy is just under forty years for white citizens.

Fears of a foreign invasion disappear with General Andrew Jackson's victory over the British at New Orleans in 1815, and the financial depression which lingers for almost a decade is firmly over by 1825. With that, the time has come for a surge in domestic development.

Many of the new economic opportunities are fostered by Henry Clay, the long-term Kentucky Senator who promotes what he calls the “American System,” aimed at strengthening the nation’s infrastructure – and earning him another run at the presidency.

Clay’s “system” calls for increased tariffs on foreign imports aimed at protecting U.S. manufacturers, a national bank to help fuel capitalism, and federal spending, especially behind roads, canals and bridges to facilitate transportation of goods and settlers. Despite opposition from Presidents Jackson and Van Buren, at least some of Clay’s wishes are realized.

The result is an America suddenly on the move in every direction.

Primitive cart paths give way to upgraded macadam and plank roads and turnpikes, linking farms to small towns and on to growing urban centers. Steamboats convert a hazardous two month overland journey from Philadelphia to St. Louis into a two week sight-seeing adventure. The locomotive Tom Thumb appears on the scene in 1830 and sparks the nation’s love affair with trains and tracks. “Commodore” Cornelius Vanderbilt parlays his interests in steamboats, trains and real estate into a fortune that rivals the tycoon, John Jacob Astor.

By 1840, the great western migration is well under way.

In addition to the new modes of transportation, it is supported by Jackson’s harsh Indian Removal Act of 1830 driving the eastern tribes across the Mississippi, and generous congressional Land Acts enabling new settlers to buy the vacated sites for \$1.25 an acre. Fully one in every four Americans reside in the eleven states west of the Appalachian mountains barrier in 1840.

Back east a sharp divide is materializing between the five states below the Mason-Dixon line and the nine states up north.

The southern states remain rural and pre-industrial in character, according to Jefferson’s blueprint. They are dominated by small farmers, 70% of whom work their land without slaves, raising subsistence crops and livestock, along with cotton, tobacco or rice, dependent on their local soil and climate. The 30% who do own slaves tend to be wealthier, although only 10,000 families (less than one percent) across the entire South have the 50 or more slaves required to operate plantations comparable to Monticello.

Meanwhile in the original northeastern states, Clay’s American System initiatives are having a profound effect on the economy and on lifestyles. Cities like New York, Philadelphia and Boston begin to resemble their counterparts in Europe. Workshops and factories, “protected” by tariffs, turn out finished goods to be sold in Main Street storefronts and by itinerant countryside peddlers. Along with this commerce comes a host of new city jobs, often more lucrative than agriculture. Although eight in every ten northeasterners still live on farms in 1840, 37% now make their living from this diversified economy.

As more northern jobs rely on brainpower rather than physicality, the value of a formal education grows in importance. Pioneering research in teaching methods, undertaken by Horace Mann, Emma Willard, Catharine Beecher and Mary Lyon, begins to reshape K-12 schooling in Massachusetts and New York. Their work also opens up teaching as a second “suitable career path for women,” to go along with nursing, and provokes more early debates about female roles and rights in society.

The growing intellectual class, concentrated around New England's premier universities, is also intent on building America's worldwide reputation in philosophy, science, literature and culture in general. Leading voices here include Ralph Waldo Emerson, Frederick Hedge, Margaret Fuller and Henry David Thoreau, who together comprise the Transcendentalist movement.

Meanwhile the revivalist fervor surrounding the "Second Awakening" provokes a reexamination not only of personal salvation, but also of the nation's overall moral values -- which some see eroding in response to the rise of secularism and "grasping materialism."

These concerns lead to a string of "experimental communities" aimed at elevating American society to the Utopian level envisioned by Saint Thomas More in the 16th century. Robert Owen's New Harmony and George Ripley's Brook Farm are both modeled after the French socialist, Charles Fourier. Other attempts include the Oneida Institute and John Humphrey Noyes's Oneida Perfectionists, Fannie Wright's project at Nabosha, and the Amana colony in Iowa.

We the people of 1840 have escaped the threat of foreign conquest and are on the way to creating a new American landscape capable of surpassing any nation in Europe. Apparently nothing can stand in the way, or can it?

Chapter 121a -- Overall Population



Dates:
1840

Sections:
• Rapid Growth Continues

Time: 1840

Rapid Growth Continues



As Martin Van Buren's term ends and America moves into its sixth decade, its population has grown to 17.1 million people.

Total U.S. Population

	1790	1800	1810	1820	1830	1840
Total (000)	3,929	5,237	7,240	9,638	12,866	17,063
% Change		+38%	+33%	+34%	+33%	+33%

We The People

As such, it now out-numbers two of the three global powers of Europe, England and Spain.

European Population Trends (MM)

Year	France	England	Spain
1820	30.3	11.9	11.0
1840	34.1	15.7	14.0

Whites account for 83% of the total population, with blacks making up the other 17%.

U.S. Population By Race (000)

	1820	1840	% Chg
Whites	7,867	14,190	+80%
Enslaved Blacks	1,538	2,487	+62
Free Blacks	233	386	+66
Total	9,638	17,063	+77

The population is split about equally between males and females, and is quite youthful. For example, the average age of males in New York state in 1840 is 22.1 years old.

Population Of Males In New York -- 1840

Ages	Total	0-9 Yrs	10-19	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60-69	70+
#	1,206M	345	270	231	158	97	55	31	19
%	100%	29%	23%	19%	13%	8%	5%	2%	1%

Life expectancy is also brief by modern standards, and roughly one in three parents experience the loss of a child to disease. White infants born in 1840 live to be 39.5 years on average; for blacks the average is 23.0 years. Only 8% of all people reach their 50th birthday.

For A Child Born In 1840

Race	Life Expectancy
White	38.5 years
Black	23.0

Chapter 121b -- Overall Economy



Dates:
1840

Sections:
• The U.S. Economy Is Expanding

The U.S. Economy Is Expanding



A \$5 Note From The Bank Of Chattanooga

America's economy, like its people, is also on the move in 1840, and exhibiting a pattern that will be repeated over time – with periods of rapid expansion interrupted by over-the-top financial speculation, bank failures and slowdowns.

The 1819 panic and recession gives way to accelerating growth between 1825 and the end of Jackson's second term in 1836. At which time the upward momentum slows in response to his decisions to close the U.S. Bank and clamp down on speculation, driven by too many soft banknotes backed by too few hard gold/silver reserves.

But despite the Bank Panics of 1819 and 1837, America's total GDP remains on a quite consistent upward trajectory.

Total GDP more than doubles, from \$700 million in 1820 to \$1.56 Billion in 1840, with per capita GDP rising from \$73 to \$91 a year. And this roughly 5% per year growth in GDP is occurring before the full might of the industrial revolution has taken hold.

Long-term Overview Of U.S. Economy: Current Dollars

	Total GDP	% Change	GDP Per Capita	% Change
1790	\$ 190MM		\$48	
1800	480MM	152	90	88%
1805	560	17	90	Nc
1810	700	25	97	8
1815	920	31	110	13
1820	700	(24)	73	(34)
1825	810	16	73	Nc
1830	1,010	25	78	7
1835	1,330	32	89	14
1840	1,560	17	91	2

Measuring Worth: Prof. Louis D. Johnson and Samuel H. Williamson

The value of American exports also trends upward, although annual swings are much more volatile, owing to “shipping shocks” like Embargoes, and changing tariff rates.

Value Of US Exports: 1790-1815

Year	Total	% Ch	Shocks
1790	20.2	---	
1805	95.6	++%	
1810	66.8	(30)	1808 Embargo Act
1815	52.6	(21)	War of 1812
1820	70.0	33	Bank Panic of 1819
1825	90.7	30	
1830	71.7	(21)	1828 Tariff Jump
1835	115.2	61	
1840	123.7	7	Bank Panic of 1837

North p.221

By 1840, over half of the nation’s total exports are concentrated in Southern cotton shipments to England and other European nations.

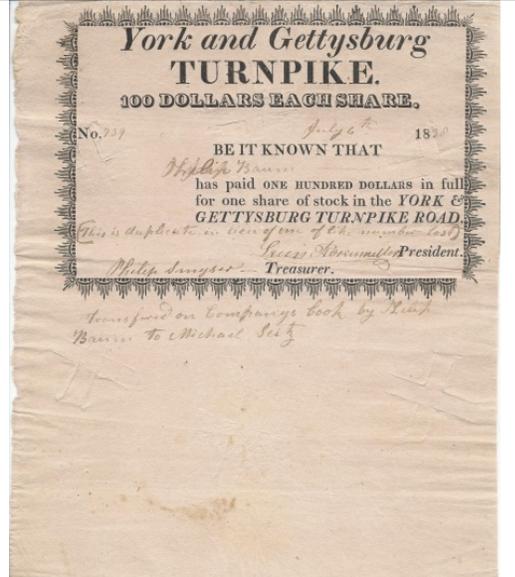
The dramatic interruption in growth of cotton sales between 1825 (\$37 million) and 1830 (\$30 million) shows the negative effect of the so-called 1828 Tariff of Abominations on Southern prosperity.

Value Of US Exports & Cotton As %

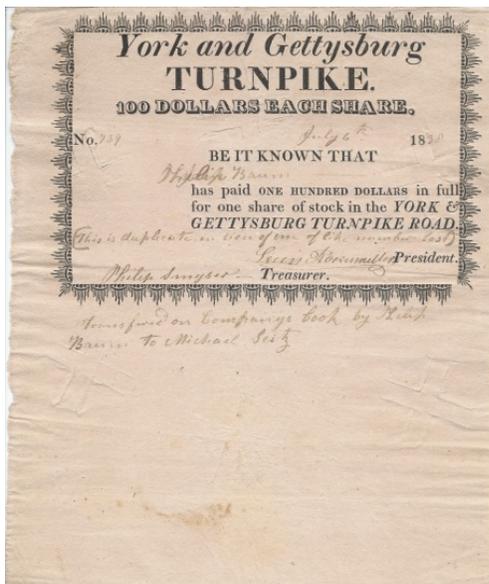
Year	Total	Cotton	% Cotton	Shocks
1815	\$52.6	\$17.5	33%	War of 1812
1820	70.0	22.3	32	Bank Panic of 1819
1825	90.7	36.8	41	
1830	71.7	29.7	41	1828 Tariff Jump
1835	115.2	65.0	56	
1840	123.7	63.9	52	Bank Panic of 1837

Along with all this economic growth comes some shifts in the way Americans make their livings.

Chapter 121c -- Infrastructure And Mobility

	<p>Dates: 1840</p>	<p>Sections:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • New, Improved Roads Dot The Landscape • Steamboats Enable Upstream Travel • The Boom In Railroads Is Under Way • Transportation Tycoon Cornelius Vanderbilt
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New Improved Roads Dot The Landscape



Stock Certificate For The York to Gettysburg Pike

The westward movement of the population and of commerce between 1820 and 1840 is accelerated by the transition from simple dirt cart paths to well-constructed macadam roads, costing \$1,500 to \$2,000 per mile to complete.

Once these improved roads are available, a farmer or a settler family in a wagon is able to cover a distance of about 15 miles in a day.

Because of the large capital requirements, the macadam roads tend to be built by corporations, sanctioned by state governments and operating as turnpikes, i.e. toll roads. To guarantee the collection of fees for use, toll booths are constructed every few miles.

But with the exception of lucrative pikes situated on bridges crossing rivers, most of these investments are break-even at best for stock-holders.

Still the building efforts flourish – largely because towns and cities with good roads tend to enjoy greater commercial success. Roads yield farmers and travelers, who spend their money on Main St. at local taverns, inns, storefronts, and other businesses.

Between 1800 and 1840, some 1355 corporations are sanctioned across eleven Atlantic coast states to build turnpikes. That represents roughly one in every four incorporations for all purposes.

Turnpike Corporations Sanctioned In America

1801-10	1811-20	1821-30	1831-40
398	362	230	365

* Klein & Majewski UCSB for 11 eastern states

Roads become so important that some communities, lacking capital, force their resident to work several days each year to construct and maintain local pikes, or pay a penalty tax.

The federal government also plays a role here, funding the “National Road” in 1806, with construction beginning in 1811 in Cumberland, Maryland and reaching its final destination in Vandalia, Illinois, in 1837. This macadam road, running 611 miles in length, will carry the lion’s share of travelers and commerce along the east-west axis through the 1840’s, when the era of trains begins.

As time passes, a cheaper alternative to the macadam construction materializes in the form of the plank road. Here lumber “sills” are laid down in parallel about six feet apart, and covered by eight foot long by three foot wide by four inch thick wood planks placed perpendicular to the sills and held down by their own weight. These plank roads tend, however, to wear out every 4-5 years, and they eventually fade out of popularity.

The development of serviceable roads throughout America is also supported by the desire of citizens and businesses to stay in touch via the U.S. Postal Service. In 1792 Congress designates that roads used to deliver mail be declared postal routes – and thereby eligible to be considered for permanent Post Offices, soon the mark of civic pride and connectivity.

By 1840, however, the population is bound together not only by the emerging road systems, but also by two technological advances – steamboats and trains.

Both will appeal to American’s growing desire not only to move about, but to do so at an ever faster pace.

Steamboats Enable Upstream Travel



A Brooklyn Ferryboat

Breakthroughs in steam engine technology during the 1760's and 1770's by the Scottish inventor and machine maker, James Watt, filter across the Atlantic and begin to impact America in a multitude of ways. The first involves steamboats.

The Pennsylvania native, Robert Fulton, travels to Europe in 1788 to further his dual careers as an artist and inventor, and becomes fascinated by the potential of steamboats to transform water travel in America by going upstream at speeds unimaginable to rowboats or canoes. While in England, he also works with the navy to build torpedoes and even submarines, designed to combat invasion threats from Napoleon's French fleet.

At the same time, another American, John Fitch, is making trial runs with early steamboat models on the Delaware River. But it is Fulton who builds the first commercially viable steamboat, named The Clermont, which in 1807 ferries passengers over 150 miles from NYC to Albany in some 32 hours.

Soon thereafter, the young entrepreneur, Cornelius Vanderbilt, begins to add steamboats to his fleet, and by 1838 his fabulously profitable Staten Island Ferry is transporting passengers to most points within Long Island Sound.

In 1837 the Western Transportation Line offers a range of steamboat trip between Philadelphia and St. Louis, some 1750 miles and 14 days away. Food is served onboard at a price of 37.5 cents per meal.

East – West Steamboat Travel In 1837

Philadelphia To:	Price	Travel Days
Pittsburgh	\$6.00	6.5
Cincinnati	8.50	8.5
Louisville	9.00	9.5
St. Louis	13.00	14.0

William Pooley 1905 PhD Thesis - UWisconsin

The Boom In Railroads Is Under Way

Meanwhile Watt's steam engine has also been adapted to overland travel, in the form of trains.



The first train is built by the Englishman, Richard Trevithick, in 1804, for travel on roadways. By 1825, however, one George Stephenson establishes the Stockton & Darlington Railway, in northeast England, the first public steam train set up to run on iron tracks.

George Stephenson (1781-1848)



Stock Certificate For Baltimore & Ohio Railroad

The notion of developing a similar system in America begins to take serious shape on April 24, 1827, when the B&O Rail Road Company is incorporated, to construct a common carrier line linking the port city of Baltimore to cities along the Ohio River, in competition with the seven year old Erie Canal.

In 1830, the inventor and entrepreneur, Peter Cooper, builds the locomotive, *Tom Thumb*, to convince the B&O owners to use his steam engines on their lines. Within a decade its successor is capable of hauling 50 tons at a speed of 15mph, twice that of a horse-drawn stagecoach.



Peter Cooper (1791-1883)

Profits from Cooper's engine fuels his subsequent investments in iron mills, New York city real estate, and the American Telegraph Company (after Samuel Morse's 1837 invention), making him one of the richest men in America. He is also a devout Christian who fights against slavery and for Indian rights, and runs for President in 1876, at age 85, on the Greenback Party ticket.

In 1831 Holmes Hinkley and his partner Daniel Child found The Boston Machine Works, which builds locomotives for America over the next three decades. One example is the locomotive "Muzzey," a 4-4-0 configuration (4 leading wheels, 4 driving wheels, 0 trailing wheels), which they complete around 1854.



Businesses see the benefits of rail transportation right away, and the race is on to lay track, especially across the industrializing northern states.

The Steam Locomotive “Muzzy,” In 4-4-0 Configuration

By 1840, track mileage has reached 2,755 miles in total.

Accumulated Miles Of Railroad Tracks By Region

Geography	1830	1840
Total U.S.	40	2,755
New England (Me,NH,Vt,Ma,RI,Ct)	30	513
Rem. North (Del,NY,NJ,MD,DC,Oh,Mi,In)	---	1,484
West (Il,IA,Wis,Minn,MO)		
South/Border (Va,NC,SC,Ga,Fl,Al,Ms,Ky,Tn,La)	10	758

Taken together, these improvements in transportation support the creation of more vibrant towns and cities across America.

Sidebar:

Transportation Tycoon Commodore Cornelius Vanderbilt



Cornelius Vanderbilt 1794-1877

Cornelius Vanderbilt's life is symbolic of "the American dream" – the individual man, rising from humble origins to achieve fabulous wealth and power based on his own ideas, his determination and his mastery of capitalism and its offspring, the "corporation."

He revolutionizes the transportation industry in America, first on the waterways with his steamboats, then on land with his railroads. He dominates real estate development in Manhattan and assures its place as the nation's financial capital. In his ability to create businesses that anticipate and efficiently meet the needs of the marketplace, and deliver steady profits to "shareholders," he emerges as America's first entrepreneurial giant.

Vanderbilt is born of Dutch settlers in 1794, and at age 11 begins to operate a small boat that transports local goods from his village on Staten Island across the Hudson to Long Island, in exchange for pennies. By 1828 he has expanded his "fleet," added steamboats, and ventured up the river to service the booming docks of Manhattan. He soon earns his nickname, The Commodore, with his Staten Island Ferry and other lines dominating water transit in and around Long Island Sound.

In the 1840's, he decides that his successes in transporting people and goods on water can be replicated on land, and he begins to invest his wealth in acquiring a string of railroads. By 1847 he has control of the Stonington Line, which links NY to Boston and Providence. Later he will acquire and turn around the Harlem Line, which runs through the middle of Manhattan, and then the NY Grand Central Line, which earns him his second name, The Rail King. During this period he is also acquiring real estate in Manhattan, for personal residences and for the Grand Central Station Depot, which he builds with his own money.

In the 1850's he launches an ocean-going fleet of vessels that links the booming "gold rush" state of California to the east coast, via transit routes in Central America. In the 1860's he contributes his personal steamship, *Vanderbilt*, and his transportation know-how to the North. And then he lives on, doing one Wall St. deal after another, until 1877, when he dies at 82 with an estate of \$100 million, arguably making him the richest man in U.S. history.

Along the way, Vanderbilt exhibits mastery over many of the tools of modern capitalism: vertical integration (building his own engines and vessels for his fleet); reframing (moving out from water to land transport); mergers and acquisitions (both ships and railroads); stock market plays (short-selling and buying back); an ongoing search for competitive advantage to achieve the pricing and profitability associated with monopolies; and constant efforts on behalf of laissez-faire policies that keep government out of “his” free market.

You Are There

1810	At 16 he is ferrying freight and passengers between Staten I and Manhattan
1814	Moves to Manhattan with wife, and begins to buy city land.
1817	Adds first steamboat and captains it between NY and NJ
1824	Breaks NY insider monopoly on routes via Supreme Court win (Gibbons vs. Ogden) – “states have no right to interfere in interstate commerce.”
1834	Expands routes across Long Island Sound
1838	In control of Staten Island Ferry, and given nickname “The Commodore”
1840	Sees potential to also dominate land transport; begins to acquire railroads
1847	Uses short-selling of stock to buy the Stonington rr (NY-Boston-Providence)
	Proposes canal across Nicaragua to link east with west
1848	Starts ocean-going steamship line to service California “gold rush” demand
1850	Proposes to carry US mail to west coast at low price via Nicaragua canal
1855	When Nicaragua stalls, gains control of Panama rr as overland solution
1857	Crushes William Walker filibuster in Nicaragua
1862	Donates personal steamship Vanderbilt to civil war effort
1863	Begins NY & Harlem rr turn-around and building Grand Central Depot
1867	Acquires NY Central rr and earns second nickname “Railroad King”
1869	Immense power of Wall St. on economy seen in Black Friday gold scandal
1877	Dies at 82, possibly richest ever with \$100MM (est. at \$143B in 2007 \$)

Chapter 121d -- The Westward Movement Accelerates



Dates:
1840

Sections:
• Homesteaders Relocate West To The Mississippi River

Time: 1840

Homesteaders Relocate West To The Mississippi River



A Sizable Wagon Train Heading West Toward The New Frontier

The 1840 Census shows that population gains have been recorded all five regions of the country since 1820 – with the greatest by far in the Northwest and Southwest regions.

U.S. Population Shifts By Region

	1820	1840	Growth
Northeast	4,360	6,761	55%
Northwest	793	2,968	374
Border	1,467	2,191	49
Southeast	2,558	3,288	29
Southwest	460	1,855	403
Total	9,638	17,063	77

This movement reflects what is soon called America's *Manifest Destiny*, the inexorable drive to occupy all of the continental land from the Atlantic to the Pacific coasts.

It begins with the "Indian Removal" policies of Presidents Jackson and Van Buren, driving the so-called "five civilized tribes" from their eastern homes and into the Oklahoma Territory – and replacing them with white settlers.

It will continue later, west of the Mississippi River, as pioneers occupy more of the Louisiana Purchase lands and those subsequently taken in the 1846-47 Mexican War.

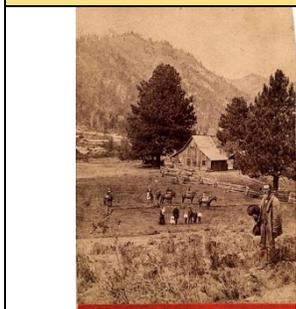
But as of 1840, more than one in four Americans is already living west of the Appalachian Mountains, from Ohio to Illinois and Alabama to Louisiana.

Geographical Distribution Of US Population

	1820	1840	Change
The Old East	87%	72%	(15 Pts)
The New West	13	28	+15
Total	100	100	

These shifts in "shares" of the total population will, of course, translate into a reallocation of the roughly 220 seats in the House of Representative, most obviously to the benefit of states in the North and West.

Chapter 121e --The Northern States Gradually Become More Urban



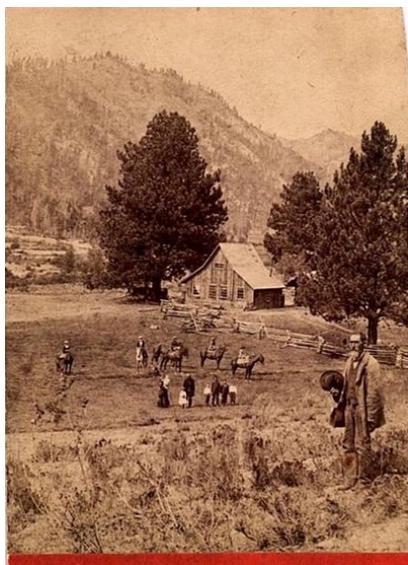
Dates:
1840

Sections:

- Life On The Farm Remains Dominant
- City Life Continues Its Slow Expansion Especially In The Northeast
- The Illinois Boom Town Of Galena

Time: 1840

Life On The Farm Remains Dominant



Despite the dramatic population shifts in the prior decades, nine out of ten Americans still make their homes in the countryside on family farms, as of 1840.

“Home” In 1840

	Urban	Rural
1820	7%	93%
1830	9	91
1840	11	89

Roger Ransom, U California

This outcome is driven in large part by the abundance of rich agricultural land in the public domain and the government’s wish to quickly create new western states and make them an integral part of the Union.

Farm Scene With People On Horseback

Thus a policy is developed to sell this land off at prices affordable to average white citizens.

The Land Act of 1820 is one example. It allows a settler to buy a minimum plot of 80 acres for as little as \$1.25 per acre, or \$120 in total. This is not “dirt cheap” at a time when unskilled laborers are earning 75 cents a day, but it is within reach for anyone able to work out an equitable bank mortgage.

In the 1830’s, various “Pre-emption Acts” are also passed in congress to accommodate “squatters” who have moved onto public domain property without a formal purchase. As long as they can prove they have “cultivated” the land, they are allowed to subsequently buy it at the \$1.25 per acre price.

Of course, actual prices paid for land vary dramatically over time. Location and prospects for production of both subsistence and cash crops make a difference. So too does speculation, where bankers and joint stock corporations see the opportunity to make a fortune by cornering land intended for new cities or pikes or railroads.

But still, as of 1840, the American dream for the vast majority of citizens lies in saving up enough money to purchase and live on and work their own 40-80 acre farms.

Time: 1840

City Life Continues Its Slow Expansion Especially In The Northeast



A Street Scene In Brooklyn

The one region of the country where city life is beginning to really catch on is in the Northeast.

% Of Population That Is Urban

	Total US	Northeast	South	West
1820	7%	11%	5%	2%
1830	9	14	5	3
1840	11	19	7	4

Roger Ransom, U California

One of its cities – New York – is on the way to rivalling the great metropolises of Europe. With a population over 300,000 in 1840, it already matches Berlin in size. Only Paris, counting 900,000 inhabitants, and London, with just over 2 million, remain larger.

But other U.S. cities have also grown rapidly since 1820. Most are located in major ports along the Atlantic coast, but there are exceptions. New Orleans’ population has grown five-fold over two decades. Cincinnati has flourished along with trade on the Ohio River. Even the inland city of Albany, some 135 miles north of NYC, on the Hudson River, joins the top ten list.

Top Ten Largest Cities In America -- 1840

1820	Pop.	1840	Pop.
New York	123,706	New York	312,710
Philadelphia	63,802	Baltimore	102,313
Baltimore	62,738	New Orleans	102,193
Boston	43,298	Philadelphia	93,665
New Orleans	21,176	Boston	93,383
Charleston	24,780	Cincinnati	46,338
No Philadelphia	19,678	Brooklyn	36,233
So Philadelphia	14,713	No Philadelphia	34,474
Washington DC	13,247	Albany	33,721
Salem	12,731	Charleston SC	29,261
Average	39,987	Average	88,429

In addition to Cincinnati, eight other cities in the original Northwest Ordinance territory fall into the top 100 on population – while only eleven cities across the entire South make the cut.

Northwest Ordinance Cities In Top 100

Rank	City	Pop.
6	Cincinnati, Ohio	46,338
40	Detroit, MI	9,102
67	Cleveland, Ohio	6,071
68	Dayton, Ohio	6,067
70	Columbus, Ohio	6,048
90	Zanesville, Ohio	4,766
92	Chicago, Illinois	4,470
99	Steubenville, Ohio	4,274
100	New Albany, Indiana	4,226

Sidebar: The Illinois Boom Town Of Galena



Main St. Running Horizontally Into The Town Of Galena, Illinois

The western state of Illinois joins the Union in 1818 and has a population of some 476,000 in the 1840 Census. One of its booming cities at that time is Galena.

This city takes its name from the mineral, “galena,” which is mined and converted into lead for use in making paints, ammunition, pipes, burial vault lines, and pewter.

By 1700 both native Sac and Fox tribes and French trappers have discovered and begun to mine the abundant lead deposits in the area. A century later, American pioneers arrive, and a trading post is established in 1819 to support transportation of lead ore down the Galena River and then over to the Mississippi. Once the port of Galena is opened, the city quickly becomes a key stopping off point along the great river, between St. Paul and St. Louis.

By 1840 Galena and surrounding Jo Daviess county are producing 70% of all the lead ore in America.

Agricultural production picks up, and surplus farm goods soon join lead ore on transport boats.

What was a frontier outpost has become an established and flourishing city, with a population of roughly 3,000 people.

The population has all the characteristics of a frontier mining town...with a mixture of peoples. Foreigners from all parts of the world and Americans from every state in the Union are thrown together indiscriminately. The miners get along well together. Some are men of questionable character, and all are adventurers, but in spite of these characteristics...little ‘claim jumping’ materializes, few infringements are made upon the law, and above all there seems to exist among

these people a thorough trust and goodwill toward everyone.

The only laws at first governing this part of the state are contained on a single sheet of foolscap paper posted up in most public places and dealing with disputes over mining claims. But as for ordinary transactions, the people rely among themselves entirely on the law of Honor.

Residents of Galena live in the 550 buildings that have been erected by 1840, with an estimated total value of \$1.6 million, or an average of about \$3,000 apiece.

They read local newspapers, *The Northwest Gazette* and *Galena Advertiser*. They make deposits and loans at a branch of the State Bank of Illinois. There are several churches in town, a fire department, a library of over 8,000 volumes. A temperance society springs up, as the religious reform movement gains support in the region. Entertainment arrives in the form of balls and theater.

For a time, Galena, like its Mississippi River neighbor, Quincy, 250 miles to its south, appears headed to becoming the dominant industrial city in Illinois. But this vision recedes in the late 1840's, when Chicago becomes the central railroad hub for the emerging west.

One enduring business in Galena is the Grant & Perkins tannery and leather goods store on Main St. A co-owner is Jesse Grant, who resides in Ohio and oversees such operations across several cities.



Jesse Grant (1794-1873) U.S. Grant (1822-1885)

In 1854, Jesse will offer a job in the Galena shop to his son, Ulysses, who has just resigned from a career in the military. But Ulysses initially turns down the offer to make his own way, first as a farmer and then as a bill collector. By 1860, however, these attempts have failed, and he is desperate for work to provide for himself, his wife, and their four children.

Thus former Captain U.S. Grant is working in his father's leather store in Galena on April 15, 1861, when Abraham Lincoln calls for 75,000 volunteers to suppress a rebellion. In time, the town once famous for lead, will be remembered for its favorite son.

Chapter 121f -- Many New Ways To Make A Living

	<p>Dates: 1820 to 1840</p>	<p>Sections:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Farming Becomes Less Dominant Especially In The North • Domestic Manufacturing Picks Up Steam • Educated Estimates Of Annual Incomes • Anecdotal Data On “What Things Cost” Around 1840
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Time: 1840

Farming Becomes Less Dominant Especially In The North



Farmers Harvesting Their Crops

As towns and cities develop across the landscape, some remarkable changes are already materializing in how Americans make their living.

At the aggregate level, the percentage of people classified as “in the labor force” is unchanged from 1820, at 33%, as is the much higher incidence among those enslaved (60%) than those who are free (28%).

Total Labor Force Participation (000)

Year	Total US Pop	In Labor Force	% In Labor
1820	9,368	3,135	33%
1830	12,860	4,200	33
1840	17,063	5,560	33

But a major shift is already evident in the character of this labor. The percentage of people working in the agricultural sector has dropped sharply from 79% in 1820 to 63% in 1840. This Census is the first to

examine the non-agricultural component of total labor, and it shows 9% employed in manufacturing, 6% in trade (the middlemen function of buying and selling goods), and the remaining 22% in the broad range of for-pay jobs available in the burgeoning towns and cities.

How People Make Their Living

Year	Agriculture	Manufacturing	Trade	All-Other
1820	79%	na	na	21%
1830	71	na	na	29
1840	63	9%	6%	22

This trend away from Jefferson’s yeoman farmers to Hamilton’s industrialized economy will continue steadily over time – resisted only in the South, where agricultural cash crops of cotton, rice, tobacco, sugar and indigo remain dominant.

Manufacturing growth results from the relentless American wish to make their homes and daily lives easier and more enjoyable. To deliver the goods needed, small “by-hand” workshops start up, typically around population centers. Over three-quarters of these manufacturing jobs are concentrated in the Northeast and Northwest regions.

Location Of Manufacturing Jobs

Region	1820	1840
Northeast	62%	63%
Northwest	7	14
Border	12	8
Southeast	16	11
Southwest	3	4
	100%	100%

Time: 1840

Domestic Manufacturing Picks Up Steam



By 1840 Adam Smith’s “invisible hand” of capitalism seems to be already pointing entrepreneurs toward rich pockets of gold in the American marketplace.

An integrated workshop system for producing shoes starts up in Massachusetts. Connecticut shops turn

The Brownell Carriage Manufacturing Factory

out tinware, household utensils, buttons and wooden clocks. The manufacture of glassware, initiated at Jamestown in 1608, flourishes in New York and New Jersey. Odiferous tanneries convert cattle hides into leather goods. A garment district materializes in major cities along the east coast run by middlemen, called “sweaters.” They acquire raw textiles, and oversee 12 hour a day “sweatshops,” where roomfuls of low paid women hand-sew finished clothing.

Other “cottage industries” pop up to fill in what are becoming necessities of everyday life, with many of these goods reaching their customers through street peddlers who roam the towns and countryside.



Lowell's Waltham Textile Mill

Meanwhile much more complex and larger scale manufacturing initiatives are developing, often modeled around the “factory principles” pioneered in 1812-14 at Frank Lowell's Waltham textile mills.



A Lumbering Operation

Sawmills turn lumber into boards needed by skilled carpenters to make furniture and build houses.



The “First” Grain Mill In Pennsylvania

Grain mills and presses provide needed food staples such as flour, rice, cornmeal, and sugar.

Demand for iron and steel accelerates, to make wagon wheels, horseshoes, a range of tools, firearms and the like. To meet it, miners dig raw ore from the ground, and convey it into huge furnaces or fired to 2000 degrees Fahrenheit. These forges “smelt,” or purify, the ore and enable it to flow into what look like feeding troughs, hence the name “pig iron.” From there it is either fed directly into pre-made molds to make “cast iron” objects, such as cannon balls and wheels, or cooled down into malleable bars, “wrought” by hammering into more refined goods.



Prior to the discovery of iron ore in the Lake Superior region and in Alabama, Pennsylvania produces almost 60% of the nation’s pig iron, with output rising in the 1830’s to meet new demand for railroads and cast iron heating and cooking stoves.

Iron Workers

Time: 1840

Average Annual Incomes Range From \$200-\$500



A Precious \$1 Bill

While it is more art than science to determine how much money average Americans earned from their labor during the antebellum period, several economists have attempted this. One version is based on examining payroll records over time and constructing aggregate trend data for three classes of workers, across the country as a whole.

This pegs the daily wages for common day laborers at 78 cents a day in 1831-40, with skilled laborers at \$1.51 and white collar workers at \$1.80. All three have shown modest increases since 1821-30.

Average Nominal Wages For Workers -- Daily

	Common Laborer	Skilled Artisans	White collar
1821-30	\$0.70	\$1.36	\$1.55
1831-40	0.78	1.51	1.80

Robert Margo, Vanderbilt U

These estimates translate to roughly \$200 per year for common laborers, \$400 for skilled craftsmen, and \$475 for the emerging white collar class.

Average Nominal Wages For Workers – Yearly (12 months)

	Common laborer	Skilled Artisans	White collar
1821-30	\$185	\$359	\$413
1831-40	206	399	474

Robert Margo, Vanderbilt U

Other economists have attempted a more granular analysis, breaking out additional classes of workers, by both gender and geographical regions, while ending up in the same general \$200-\$500 annual income range at the aggregate level. Their work leads to several observations:

- Income for urban workers (\$269) is already surpassing that of farmers (\$196).
- Women are considered cheap labor and earn far less than their male counterparts.
- Miners, soldiers and factory workers earn in the \$250-325 range.
- Skilled craftsmen earn \$400-450, roughly double the average farmer.
- Pay for men teachers and clergymen exceed the artisans by \$150 per year.
- Elite pay (3x all others) goes to lawyers, public officials, surgeons and judges.

Average Nominal Wages For Workers – Yearly (1840-50)

	Northeast	Mid-Atlantic	South Atlantic	Unwt Average
Farm Laborers	\$235	\$195	\$158	\$196
Urban Laborers	298	282	227	269
Female Domestics	135	100	103	113
Females In Manufacturing	162	179	161	167
Female Teachers	187	187	205	193
Miners	---	247	269	258
Seamen/Soldiers	298	282	227	269
Men In Manufacturing	334	369	273	325
Building Trade	412	412	418	414
Craftsmen/Artisans	444	444	451	446
Clergymen	600	600	500	567
Men Teachers	507	617	647	590
Lawyers	1320	1400	2350	1690
Public Commissioners	1275	1500	2647	1807
Surgeons	---	---	1912	1912
Judges	2081	2085	2025	2063

Lindert-Williamson, U California (Davis)

Time: 1840

Anecdotal Data On “What Things Cost” Around 1840



A Saddle Maker Shows His Wares

If the income for most Americans around 1840 is between \$200 to \$450 per year, the question becomes what can be purchased with this amount of money? Aside from the official price of public land – set at \$1.25 per acre with a minimum purchase of 80 acres for \$120 in total – all other data is anecdotal.

It is plucked from entries in personal journals, kept at various times and places, accompanied by often vague descriptions, and collected randomly. Still it provides some small perspective on the “cost of living” in the 1820-1860 timeframe.

For the hard-living men of the era, it appears that a tumbler of whiskey and a chaw of tobacco are easily affordable to all.

To Buy:	Price
33 oz of whiskey	\$.08
1 lb of tobacco	.10

The same can be said for coffee which, at 18 cents per pound of beans, should yield about 36 cups (8 oz size) or roughly a half-penny per serving. Tea is slightly more expensive, with one pound of leaves selling for 75 cents and yielding about 120 cups (8 oz. size).

To Make One:	Price
8 oz. cup of coffee	\$.005
8 oz. cup of tea	.006

The price per pound of sugar is about twice that of salt.

To Buy:	Price
1 lb of salt	\$.03
1 lb of sugar	.08

Eggs are a bit pricier, at 24 cents per dozen. Cheese and butter are also more precious, as is honey.

To Buy:	Price
1 dozen eggs	\$.24
1 lb of cheese	.14
1 lb of butter	.18
1 lb of honey	.25

While both are plentiful and cheap, milled flour costs more than corn meal.

To Buy:	Price
1 lb of corn meal	\$.02
1 lb of flour	.05

Beef prices range upward from 3 cents a pound for calf's veal to 9 cents for salted/preserved options. Pork brings roughly twice as much as beef, with hams and bacon at the top end on pricing. Codfish costs about the same per pound as fresh beef.

To Buy 1 Lb:	Price
Veal	\$.03
Fresh Beef	.05
Codfish	.06
Salted Beef	.09
Fresh Pork	.11
Lard	.12
Ham	.14
Bacon	.15

Rice is priced well above other traditional starches like potatoes.

To Buy:	Price
1 lb of sweet potatoes	\$.03
1 lb of rice	.10

Certain fruits appear to be in shorter supply and hence more expensive.

To Buy:	Price
A single lemon	\$.03
1 lb of dried peaches	.20

Raw yarn ranges from cotton at 8 cents a pound up to sheep's wool at 35 cents.

To Buy:	Price
1 lb of cotton	\$.08
1 lb of sheep's wool	.35

Finished clothing and bedding is considerably more expensive.

To Buy:	Price
1 handkerchief	\$ 1.08
1 flannel shirt	8.00
1 pair of trousers	18.00
1 bed blanket	25.00
1 soldier's jacket	32.00

A pair of shoes might run \$12.00 or boots at twice that much.

To Buy:	Price
1 pair shoes	\$ 12.00
1 pair of boots	24.00

A place setting of blue china runs about \$8.00, while a piano might go for \$195.

To Buy:	Price
1 place setting of blue china	\$ 8.00
1 piano	195.00

A routine doctor's visit is referenced at \$2.00, while a traveler lists one night for room and board at a hotel for \$2.29.

To Buy:	Price
1 routine doctor's visit	\$2.00
Room & board at hotel	2.29

Lumber is plentiful, with one board foot (1'x1'x1") going for 15 cents. Where building or paving involves bricks, they can be had for about 8 cents apiece.

To Buy:	Price
1 board foot of lumber	\$.15
A single finished brick	.08

A new home is recorded as sold in Brooklyn for \$2,500.

A prospector buys a mining pan for \$8.00.

A revolver brings \$15.00; a rifle \$25.00; a good horse \$125.00.

None of these prices should be thought of as "statistically sound or truly representative." Still they can be seen in the context of trying to live off of an income that ran around 75 cents per day for most people.

To buy that new \$12.00 pair of shoes you want will require 16 days of your hard labor.

Chapter 121g -- A Military-Industrial Complex Starts Up

 A portrait of Samuel Colt, a man with a beard and curly hair, wearing a dark coat and holding a hat. The name "Samuel Colt" is written at the bottom of the portrait.	Dates: 1840	Sections: <ul style="list-style-type: none">• An Early Arms Industry Forms Up In The North• The South Trails Far Behind On Weaponry• Manufacturing Round Shot
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Time: 1840

An Early Arms Industry Forms Up In The North



As always, it is demand for military weaponry that plays a leading role in manufacturing advances.

The arms industry in America begins in 1777, after the outbreak of the Revolutionary War, when George Washington commissions the first armory, in Springfield, Massachusetts. Two years later the facility, under General Henry Knox, is able to manufacture the nation's first flintlock musket. It fires a ½ inch lead ball, cradled in a paper cartridge, and rammed down the barrel on top of gunpowder loaded from a horn. The charge is ignited by a flint stone in the hammer that creates a spark when the trigger is pulled. The weapon takes 30 seconds to set up, misfires about half of the time, and is accurate to only 100 yards.

Samuel Colt (1814-1862)

In addition to muskets, Washington's army also requires cannon to survive. Most of these are European models captured during battle. But gradually large forges in the iron rich regions of Pennsylvania begin to

cast reliable cannon in the two most widely employed size – one capable of firing an 18 pound solid iron ball, the other a 12 pounder, with accuracy up to roughly one mile.

The uncertain supply of arms during the Revolutionary War prompts the call for greater manufacturing capacity and efficiency in anticipation of further conflict.

In 1798, it is Eli Whitney, famous for patenting his cotton gin five years earlier, who steps up with the promise of supplying the government with 10,000 muskets from his factory in New Haven, Conn. The process he uses involves some 195 separate steps to produce and assemble 50 distinct parts, from woodstocks to hand-bored barrels, intricate triggers, and various mountings, each of which must work reliably on the battlefield. The task takes Whitney ten years to complete.

The Ft. Pitt Cannon Foundry in Pittsburg starts up in 1804 and turns out much of the heavy duty artillery used in the War of 1812, including 50 pound “Columbiads,” designed by Lt. Colonel George Bomford and placed in seacoast fortifications to thwart naval attacks. Some thirty years later, it becomes the Knapp Rudd & Company, famous for eventually producing the massive 100-200 pound Rodman guns used in the Civil War.

In 1816 twenty-three year old Eliphalet Remington II picks up where Whitney left off. His father runs a forge in Herkimer County, New York, which leads to his determination to craft a new, improved rifle that will win him prizes for marksmanship. After showing off his gun, orders pour in for duplicates from those who observe its accuracy. By 1828 the firm of E. Remington & Sons has mastered the know-how required to form and ream iron barrels and is shipping them to gunsmiths across the country.

In 1836 the foundry at West Point, New York, established after the War of 1812, hires Robert Parrott as its new Superintendent. He will remain in the post for four decades and perfect what is christened the Parrott Rifle, noted for a wrought iron band reinforcing the breech. His 30 lb. gun will become the largest infantry cannon in the Civil War.

The demand for hand-guns also grows, and, in 1836, twenty-two year old Samuel Colt starts up Colt’s Patent Fire-Arms Manufacturing Company in Hartford, Connecticut. Colt pioneers the concept of machining interchangeable parts for his guns and the “assembly lines” approach to insure efficiency and consistent quality. By the time Colt dies in 1862, his firm leads all competitors in the mass production of and he is one of America’s wealthiest men.

Other notable armament factories up North operating by 1840 include the Cyrus Alger & Co. works in Boston, and the Scott Foundry in Reading, Pennsylvania.

Time: 1840

The South Trails Far Behind On Weaponry

In 1840 the Southern economy is becoming even more concentrated on its cotton crop and on breeding excess slaves for sale in the west.

As such its interest in manufacturing, including armaments, remains low.

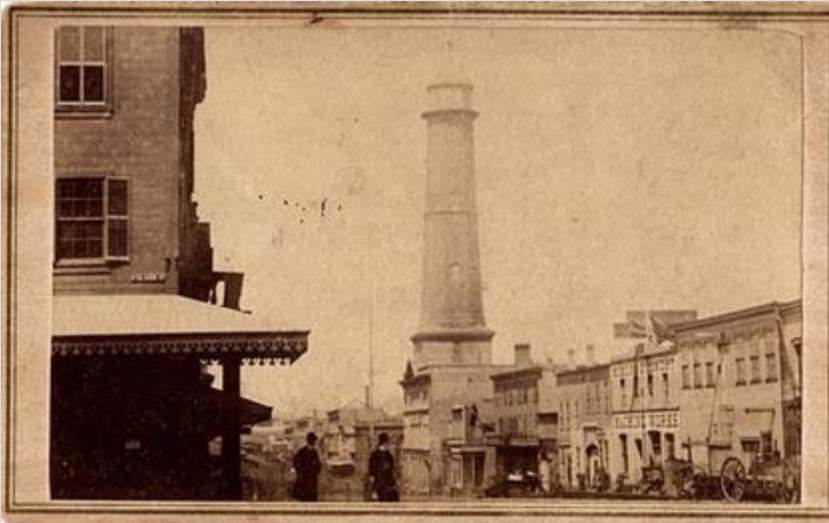
Some pig iron facilities are in operation by that time.

The Clarksville Foundry in Tennessee has been up and running since 1797. The Tannehill Ironworks open in 1830 to take advantage of the vast mineral deposits in Alabama. These two are joined by Moses Stroup's Ironworks (1831) in Georgia, and Catharine Furnace (1837) in Chancellorsville, Virginia.

But the only Southern factory capable of eventually making muskets and cannon is the Tredegar Iron Works, located on 22 acres in Richmond, which opens in 1837.

Its mission at the time, however, is not armaments, but rather to address the growing needs in the railroad sector. Under the guidance of superintendent, Joseph Reid Anderson, from 1841 forward, Tredegar will supply some seventy steam locomotives and thousands of miles worth of railroad tracks before it ever becomes the dominant supplier of cannon, rifles and munitions for the Confederate Army.

Sidebar: Manufacturing Round Shot

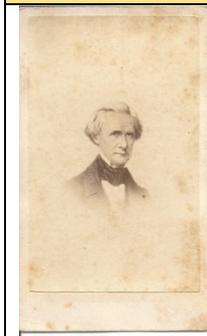


A "Shot Tower" Turning Out Ammunition

In 1782 William Watts of Bristol, England invents an improved method for producing the perfectly round and solid shot used as ammunition for muskets and cannon. Instead of the slow and costly use of moulds to cast the balls, Watts builds a 200 foot tall vertical factory known as a "shot tower." At the top of the tower, lead is heated to a molten state and then passed through various sized "sieves" and allowed to drop freely to ice water pools at the base. Gravity forms the lead into the desired roundness during the fall, and the water bath solidifies the lead and locks in the shape.

The "shot tower" in the photo stands at the corner of First and Howard St. just east of San Francisco Bay, around 1868. It is operated since 1865 by the Shelby Smelting & Lead Company, owned by one Thomas Shelby, the 13th Mayor of San Francisco.

Chapter 121h -- Major Strides Are Taken In Education

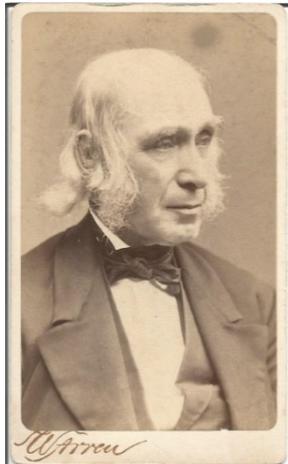


Dates:
1840

Sections:

- Bronson Alcott Challenges Orthodox Teaching Methods
- Horace Mann Becomes Board Of Education Secretary In Massachusetts
- Mann Lays Out Plans To Improve Public Schools
- Emma Willard And Catharine Beecher Advance Education For Women
- Mary Mason Lyon Founds Mount Holyoke Female Seminary

Bronson Alcott Challenges Orthodox Teaching Methods



Bronson Alcott (1799-1888)

By the 1820's America is recognizing that advances in education are required if the young nation is to outpace Europe both economically and culturally. In turn, the movement is on to experiment with new teaching methods and to provide a formal education to many more students. Much of the work here is concentrated among a band of intellectuals living in New England.

One of the early leaders in this regard is Amos Bronson Alcott, born in 1799 in Connecticut and largely self-educated, who enters the education arena after starting out as a traveling salesman.

Alcott's educational approach is influenced by an 1801 book, *How Gertrude Teaches Her Children*, written by the Swiss reformer, Johann Pestalozzi. It focuses on preparing students to think and to question, rather than simply to

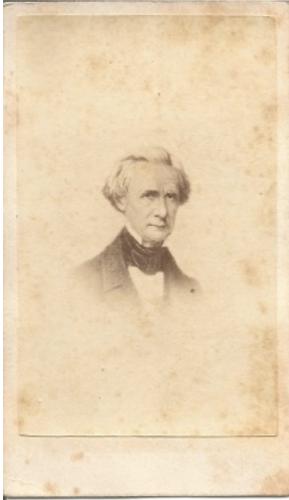
memorize material. To accomplish this, Alcott engages in "conversations" about the student's experiences and beliefs, often related to their spiritual development. For many parents this crosses a forbidden line, and attendance evaporates at Alcott's early schools.

In 1828 Alcott finds a supporter in the Unitarian minister, Dr. William Ellery Channing (uncle of the Transcendentalist poet, Ellery Channing), and in 1834 opens the Temple School at a Masonic Lodge in Boston. His assistants include Elizabeth Peabody, a pioneer in early childhood learning, and the women's right advocate, Margaret Fuller. Alcott decorates his classroom with paintings and sculpture, artifacts to prompt the Socratic dialogue he seeks. But it too fails by 1837, due to his controversial methods, along with his outspoken personal stances in favor of abolition, and his admission of a black student.

In later years, Alcott will join the inner circle of the Cambridge Transcendentalists, befriending Emerson, Thoreau, Theodore Parker, Nathaniel Hawthorne and others, and his daughter, Louisa May Alcott will become famous with the 1868 publication of her novel, *Little Women*. He sets up a Utopian community in 1843 called The Fruitlands, which disbands after seven months.

Bronson Alcott will live until 1888, advocating against the Fugitive Slave Law, in favor of women’s rights, in search of “moral perfection.” While many of his organizational schemes end in failure, he plays an important role in challenging the orthodox teaching methods of his time.

Horace Mann Becomes Board Of Education Secretary In Massachusetts



Horace Mann (1796-1859)

While Alcott is experimenting with upscale students, others in Massachusetts hope to establish a system of common (or public) schools that will benefit the masses.

The most prominent force behind this idea is Horace Mann, born May 4, 1796 on a modest farm in the town of Franklin, Massachusetts. His life tells the classical American tale of achievement and advancement through the power of education.

Horace is raised in a strict Calvinist household, with a mother who insists on “proper behavior...and narrow-path conduct,” and a father who instills in him a “reverence for learned men.” But his sudden death in 1853 leaves the family in dire financial straits and, at age thirteen, the boy is forced to focus on farm work rather than attending one of the “free schools” that have existed in Massachusetts since 1647.

To satisfy his natural inquisitiveness, he spends his free time at the local library reading a collection of books donated by founding father Benjamin Franklin, for whom the town is named. His persistence here pays off in 1816, when he is admitted to Brown University and goes on to graduate at the top of his class three years later.

His next four years find him teaching Greek and Latin at Brown and studying the law, eventually at the Tapping Read Law School in Litchfield, Connecticut, famous for graduates such as John C. Calhoun, Aaron Burr and a host of other national politicians and court justices.

He begins his law practice in 1823 and is elected to the state legislature from the town of Dedham in 1827, and then from Boston, in 1833. His work on behalf of education, religious liberty, public charities and temperance is recognized by John Quincy Adams, and he becomes President of the State Senate in 1836.

One year later, in June 1837, Mann is elected to the position which will secure his legacy as the “father of the common school movement” in America – Secretary of the Massachusetts’s Board of Education.

Mann Lays Out Plans To Improve Public Schools



A Typical Teacher And Her Students

Mann's position as Board Secretary represents the first attempt by any state to recognize the importance of education to the nation's future. The legislation which creates his office defines his duty to "investigate the moral and material conditions of the schools and discover the best methods for improving them."

Thirty years later he recalls his initial findings, gleaned from riding on horseback across the state and observing operations of both public and private schools:

- Statewide there were roughly 3,000 common schools serving 165,000 students.
- Another 12,000 upper class students were attending private schools.
- The gap in educational quality between the private and public schools was obvious.
- Pedagogy in common schools was marked by rote memorization, enforced by the rod.
- Calling out individual letters and then saying the word aloud was the norm exercise.
- But the vast majority of students were unable to explain the meaning of words memorized.

Mann set out to shift the way reading was taught by bringing the words to life in associated pictures and in conversations where they were converted into sentences related to everyday life experiences. This one methodological change alone had a huge effect on reading comprehension and on everyday fluency.

Throughout his travels, he records the "best practices" observed in classrooms and compiles these into teaching guides that he shares at conferences around the state. The tenacity of purpose Mann evidenced as a youth takes hold of his life as Education Secretary, and he foregoes all other legal and business practices in favor of the new mission.

In 1838 he launches *The Common School Journal* where he proposes a series of principles that will underlie the development of public education in America:

- The nation is well served morally and economically by a truly educated general public.
- Common schools should be paid for from public funds.
- Attendance should include children from all backgrounds and economic situations.
- Well-trained professional teachers are necessary to quality education.
- The curriculum should be broadened beyond the 3R's.
- Content should be secular in character, while inculcating Christian moral standards.
- Harsh corporal punishment should be abandoned.

- All children (both sexes) should stay in school up to the age of sixteen.
- School buildings should be upgraded along with teacher pay.

Resistance to these principles tend to come from those who feel that parents, not schools, should inculcate “values,” and from veteran teachers inclined toward “spare the rod and spoil the child.”

In 1843 Mann’s search for educational advances takes him to Europe, where he embraces the so-called “Prussian model,” which starts with mandatory kindergarten and progresses to eight grades of Volksschule, four of Hauptschule (for 14-17 year olds) and then, for top students, universities.

After a decade of service as Education Secretary, Horace Mann is elected to the U.S. House, upon the death of JQ Adams, and serves from 1848 to 1853. Once there he becomes a vigorous critic of slavery, arguing in favor of the Wilmot Amendment which would ban its expansion into the western territories. His words in this regard are unequivocal:

I consider no evil as great as slavery. Interference with (it) will excite civil commotion in the South. But it is best to interfere. Now is the time to see whether the Union is a rope of sand or a band of steel.

In 1853 he becomes the first President of Antioch College in Ohio, continuing his lifelong dedication to advancing the cause of education. He serves there until his passing in 1859, soon after delivering his famous commencement address admonishing students to:

Be ashamed to die until you have won some victory for humanity.

As more northern jobs rely on brainpower rather than physicality, the value of a formal education grows in importance. Pioneering research in teaching methods, undertaken by Horace Mann, Emma Willard, Catharine Beecher and Mary Lyon, begins to reshape K-12 schooling in Massachusetts and New York. Their work also opens up teaching as a second “suitable career path for women,” to go along with nursing, and provokes more early debates about female roles and rights in society.

Emma Willard And Catharine Beecher Advance Education For Women

While Mann is busy strengthening the public schools, three women in particular are making conspicuous efforts to support higher education for females.

Emma Willard is one. She is a precocious child, sixteenth in line among her farming family in Berlin, Connecticut. In 1802, at age fifteen, she finally enrolls in a formal school, tears through the curriculum, and is hired as a teacher there at seventeen. After a short stint as principal of a female seminary in Vermont, where she meets and marries her doctor husband, Willard opens a boarding school of her own in 1814. From then on her goal is to offer women students the same kind of rigorous educational experiences historically limited to men. As she later says:

We too are primary existences...not the satellites of men.

Her efforts to receive public funding for such a venture are met by resistance from legislators who argue that women don't need higher education to perform their allotted role in society. But Willard persists and finally discovers a supporter in New York Governor DeWitt Clinton, a transformative political figure, who also sponsors the controversial Erie Canal after losing a bid for the Presidency in 1812.

In September 1821, Emma Willard opens her Troy Female Seminary, the first school in America to offer a higher education degree to women. By 1831 the college is thriving, with some 300 students, mostly from wealthier families. Willard is also a prolific author, publishing books that range from American history to biology, geography and poetry. She turns leadership of Troy over to her son and his wife in 1838 and spends the rest of her life traveling, writing and speaking on behalf of education for women. After her death in 1870, Troy will be renamed The Emma Willard School in her honor.

Unlike Willard, Catharine Beecher grows up in a prominent and highly educated family. Her father is Lyman Beecher, graduate of Yale Divinity School, and the fiery Calvinist minister of a Congregationalist church in Litchfield, Connecticut, where Catharine, her sister, Harriet Beecher (Stowe), and twelve other siblings, grow up.

As a youth she attends a private school until her mother dies in 1816, at which time she is called upon, at age sixteen, to take over domestic duties for her family. From her early experience she concludes that to accomplish their God-given role as homemakers, women must become better educated themselves so they can, in turn, educate their children. As she says:

Woman's great mission is to train immature, weak, and ignorant creatures to obey the laws of God; the physical, the intellectual, the social, and the moral.

When her fiancée, a Yale professor, dies at sea, she throws herself into founding a series of academies to educate women. She constructs a curriculum that emphasizes mastery of mathematics, theology and philosophy, and develops her own textbooks and materials for use in the classroom.

Her focus soon shifts to studying how children learn and translating her insights into training programs to develop superior teachers. In the 1850's she relocates to Ohio and works tirelessly to upgrade the education of women, teachers and children across the emerging western states. She founds the American Women's Educational Association and promotes the idea that females by nature make the best teachers.

Owing in large part to her efforts, young women are henceforth able to add teaching to nursing as a viable path to enjoying a paid career.

Unlike her more controversial siblings – the author, Harriet Beecher Stowe, the firebrand abolitionist preacher, Henry Ward Beecher and the suffragette, Isabella Beecher Hooker – Catharine Beecher's heart is forever devoted to a woman's role within the home. In 1869 she joins Harriet in co-authoring a widely read book, *The American Woman's Home*, offering advice to homemakers on raising children, physical fitness, proper dieting, budgeting and other family duties. She dies in 1878.

A third contemporary to Willard and Beecher in the cause of women's education is Mary Lyon.

Time: 1797-1849

Mary Mason Lyon Founds Mount Holyoke Female Seminary

Mary Lyon's youth mirrors that of Horace Mann in many ways. She is born in 1797 on a small farm in Massachusetts. She is only five when her father dies and thirteen when her mother remarries and moves away. Rather than attending school her early years are devoted to helping her brother work the land in order to survive.

But she is drawn to learning and makes her way to Byfield Seminary, where she experiences her wish for disciplined study embedded in an intensely Christian ethos. During this period her Baptist roots give way to the Congregationalist beliefs of the Puritan, Jonathan Edwards.

Henceforth she dedicates her life to educating young women, especially those held back by poverty. She teaches at a series of academies before being recruited by one Laban Wheaton to start up a seminary in Norton, Massachusetts. She creates the curriculum for the Wheaton Female Seminary and sees it open before moving on at age forty to fulfill her own destiny, Mount Holyoke Female Seminary.

Mount Holyoke admits its first class of fifty young women on November 8, 1837. From there, Mary Lyon crafts a university that reflects her core educational principles:

- Intellectual pursuits should be aligned with moral purpose.
- Tuition must be affordable to those with modest means.
- To help defray costs, students will work to maintain the campus.
- Daily exercise will be mandatory to build healthy bodies as well as minds.
- The academic curriculum will rival that offered at universities for men.
- Seven courses in science and mathematics will be required for graduation.
- Science study will include hands-on laboratory experimentation.

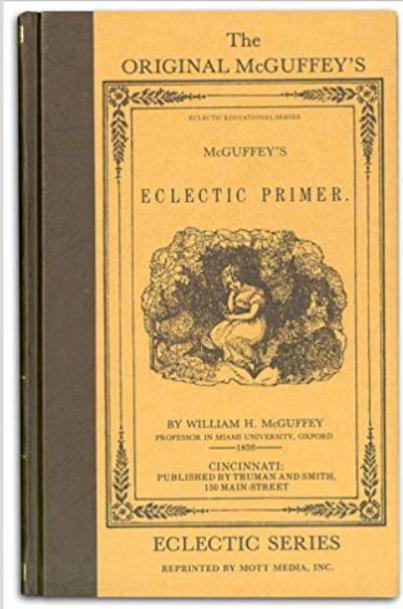
Mount Holyoke sets a new standard for female seminaries springing up in her time. Its purpose goes far beyond that of "finishing schools," with their emphasis on manners and marriage and managing a household. Instead, Mary Lyon is intent on offering women the same intellectual challenges and knowledge reserved historically for men and then sending them off into the world to achieve the good works and reforms being touted by her revivalist contemporaries.

The model she sets in motion with Mount Holyoke will become the norm at other destined to be renowned women's colleges such as The Western College For Women (1855), Vassar (1861) and Wellesley (1870).

Mary Lyons oversees her academy for twelve years, before succumbing to a strep throat infection probably contracted while caring for a sick student.

Sidebar: McGuffey's Reader

Starting in 1836 and lasting for more than a century, schoolchildren across America achieve literacy with the aid of a series of six graded textbooks known as “McGuffey’s Readers.”



The principal author of these works is William Holmes McGuffey, second of eleven children, born in 1800 to a deeply religious Scottish family living on a farm along the southwestern edge of Pennsylvania.

From early youth onward McGuffey is drawn to education, and at age fourteen earns a certificate to act as a “roving teacher.” He begins in Calcutta, Ohio, where he works eleven hours a day, six days a week, in the winter, trying to cram basic literacy skills into 48 students from 6 to 21 years old, before they depart for their summer farming chores.

The frustrations he experiences with this first job convince him to seek more formal training for himself, and he eventually enrolls at Washington College, graduating in 1826. But intermingled with his own studies are further ventures into hands-on teaching, most notably in Paris, Kentucky. There his classes are held in a retired smokehouse, using the Bible as his primary textbook.

For McGuffey, however, the choice of the Bible is not merely a matter of availability. Instead it reflects his deep roots as a Presbyterian Calvinist and his conviction that the driving purpose behind learning to read is to be able to explore the Scriptures and embrace the values they profess.

His reputation as a teacher wins him an invitation to join the faculty of Miami University in Ohio. It is there that he marries, preaches in church, is ordained a minister, and approached in 1835 by the Truman & Smith publishing company to author the six soon to be famous “Readers” that bear his name. He is accompanied in this effort by his brother, Theodore, who completes the Levels five and six works.

What McGuffey has learned from his teaching experience is that young children are drawn into reading through exposure to stories which fascinate them and follow-up questions that engage their intellects.

Thus his Level 1 “Eclectic Primer” offers simple tales that a teacher reads out loud and then breaks down into letters, sounds and words, all associated with pictures. After this establishes a primitive vocabulary – “boy, girl, farm, hen, run...” – the stories graduate into greater complexity, up to Level 6 which includes poems, essays and other narratives, often drawn from authors such as Milton, Byron and other famous men. The narratives are also accompanied by suggested “discussion guides” for teachers, aimed at stimulating lively discussions and debate.

But, true to his greater purpose, McGuffey draws the bulk of the content in the Readers from the Bible and its moral admonitions.

As in the final story from the Level 1 Primer which reminds the pupils that:

God sees and knows all things. He sees me when I rise from my bed. He sees me when I go out to work or play, and when I lie down to sleep. If God sees me, and knows all that I do, He must hear what I say. Oh, let me speak no bad words, nor do any bad act; for God does not like bad words or bad acts.

And elsewhere:

All who take care of you and help you were sent by God. He sent His Son to show you His will, and to die for your sake...Never forget, before you leave your room, to thank God for His kindness.... If you are not diligent in the improvement of your time, it is one of the surest evidences that your heart is not right with God.. You are placed in this world to use your time well. In youth you must be preparing for future usefulness. If you do not improve the advantages you enjoy, you sin against your Maker.

While this didacticism fits with America's roots in Christianity, it is tempered in revised additions that become more secular and civil and less theological in nature. But still, for many decades to follow, reading and religious instruction will go hand in glove in primary schools across the nation, thanks to McGuffey.

After ten years at Miami, his conservative brand of Calvinism is out of step with his more reform-minded colleagues and he move on to become president of Cincinnati College, Ohio University and the Woodward Free Grammar School before closing out his career at the University of Virginia, dying there in 1873. Records show that his Readers have sold over 122 million copies and still counting to the present.

Chapter 12i – Utopian Socialist Communities Spring Up And Fold

 <p>Ralph Waldo Emerson</p>	<p>Dates: 1840</p>	<p>Sections:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Concerns Arise About America’s Core Values • Robert Owen’s “New Harmony” Experiment • Fannie Wright’s Nashoba Community • The Transcendentalists • Brook Farm • Walden Pond • The Oneida Institute • The Oneida Perfectionist Community • The Amana Colonies
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Time: 1840

Concerns Arise About America’s Core Values

Among the many other reform movements associated with the awakening spirit of the 1820’s is a search to organize a “perfect community,” an American version of the imaginary island society conjured by the Catholic saint, Saint Thomas More, in his 16th century work, *Utopia*.

This quest springs from concerns that:

- The growing focus on material wealth is eroding the drive for moral perfection.
- Competition to get ahead has left some with too much and others with too little.
- Abject poverty among factory workers and other manual laborers is on the rise.
- The promise of equality continues to be denied to women and blacks and other minorities.
- Not enough attention is being paid to improving the way children are educated.
- An overreliance on logic and reason has drowned out the power of man’s intuition and the senses.
- Traditional religious institutions are failing to foster genuine spirituality.
- Cities and factories are isolating men from important connections to the natural world.
- Too much daily time and energy is devoted to labor and too little to the intellect and the arts.

In response, a series of new experimental communities appear, each offering its own “solutions,” and each experiencing its own successes and failures.

Some Utopian Communities In Early America

Name	Where	When	Key Figures
New Harmony	Harmony Indiana	1825-27	Robert Owens
Nashoba	Germantown, Tenn	1826-28	Francis “Fannie” Wright
Transcendentalism	Boston area	1836-on	Ralph Waldo Emerson, Fred Hedge
Brook Farm	West Roxbury, Mass	1841-46	George Ripley
Fruitlands	Harvard, Mass	1842	Bronson Allcott, Charles Lane
Oneida	Oneida, New York	1848-81	John Noyes
Amana Colony	Buffalo/Iowa City, IA	1855-on	Christian Metz, Barbara Heinemann

Date: 1825-1827

Robert Owen’s “New Harmony” Experiment

Robert Owen is born in Wales in 1771, migrates at sixteen to Manchester, England, where he learns to operate a cotton mill. He is then off to Glasgow, to marry Caroline Dale, whose father sets him up in the family’s textile business in the town of New Lanark.

From early on, Owen is appalled by the living conditions endured by factory workers, and dedicates his life to running mills that balance the drive for commercial success with insuring a decent life for his employees. He initiates a series of social reforms at his mills to improve working conditions and wages for laborers, housing and education and healthcare for their families, and “company stores” offering them quality goods at fair prices.

As an atheist, Owen arrives at his own formula for creating a “Moral World” similar in many ways to the “socialism” espoused by two French contemporaries, comte de Saint-Simon (1760-1825) and Charles Fourier (1772-1837). All share a belief that poverty is the root cause of mankind’s afflictions and that it can be ameliorated through new forms of communal living, emphasizing early education and guidance, shared labor and rewards, equal rights and duties for all, cooperation and caring.

Their vision is of a society where personal self-interest is subjugated to the common good of all.

To achieve this end, Owen invents a new “formula” for community living, down to the details one might expect from a successful mill operator. He pegs the proper size of his communities at 500-2500 people; designs the proper quadrangular buildings for housing and work; identifies the proper industrial machinery needed; establishes his own currency, based on hours of work, and a store where it could be redeemed for goods; and decides that each day should be divided into eight hours of labor, eight of recreation and eight for rest. He also elaborates on the “pattern of life” appropriate for members of his ideal community:

Owen's Life-Stage Formulation

For Ages	Focus On:
1-5	Being cared for
6-9	Education and light labor
10-11	Housework and gardening
12-14	Technical training
15-20	Additional education
21-30	Oversee production and teaching
31-40	Govern one's own home
41-60	Travel and promote community order
over 60	Provide wise counsel

In 1824, at age fifty-three, Robert Owen sails to America, intent on founding his utopian community.

He settles on an already developed village located on the extreme southwestern tip of Indiana, along the banks of the Wabash River. The site is called Harmonie, founded by Father George Rapp and currently occupied by 700 German Lutherans who have decided to move back east to Pennsylvania. Owen pays Rapp some \$125,000 for roughly 20,000 acres of land, together with the 180 log or brick buildings that housed the villagers. Soon after opening "New Harmony" in January 1825, Owen departs for Washington, where he discusses his plans with Jefferson, Monroe, J.Q. Adams, and issues a blanket call for additional recruits.

The result is a diverse collection of about 800 people, across the economic and cultural strata, who are expected to quickly coalesce into a unified community. One woman enrollee expresses her reservations about this hoped-for bonding as follows:

Oh, if you could see some of the rough uncouth creatures here, I think you would find it rather hard to look upon them exactly in the light of brothers and sisters.

With Owen gone, the actual start-up operation for the village is left in the hands of his twenty-three year old son, William, whose diary soon records dismay over the realities he encounters:

The enjoyment of a reformer is much more in contemplation, than in reality ...I doubt whether those who have been comfortable and contented in their old mode of life, will find an increase of enjoyment when they come here.

From the beginning, the community is plagued by a shortage of food and other essential household goods. Robert Owen recognizes this problem when he returns in April 1825. At that point he attempts to rally the troops, and sets up a new leadership council, before departing again for Scotland in June.

But little has changed when he returns six months later to find an endangered community begging him to personally take over all aspects of its daily administration. Despite the problems, Owen remains forever optimistic about a successful outcome, and is momentarily buoyed when the famed Philadelphia educator and scientist, William Maclure, moves to New Harmony and becomes a financial investor. Some notable victories follow in the spring of 1826: a solid K-12 school system begins for all, a trade school, a public library, a drama club, a women's organization.

These gains are not sufficient, however, to offset production shortfalls on food, clothing and other basic supplies. When internal dissension intensifies, Maclure convinces Owen to divide the community into three groups: Agriculture & Pastoral; Mechanics & Manufacturing; Schools & Education. The result is even more finger pointing and animosity, with manual laborers criticizing “mind workers” as lazy idlers, and the conscientious upset by “free riders” who take more than they contribute.

Owen’s “Village of Cooperation” soon retreats into the self-centered factions he set out to eliminate.

By 1827 several groups of farmers have gone off on their own, further threatening the food supply. Owen tries to prop up his community, but most of his fortune has bled away and he and Maclure have fallen out over finances and philosophies. On June 1 of that year, Robert Owen abandons New Harmony for good and returns to Scotland.

While his experiment fails, Owen is remembered as a kind soul who gambles his fortune on creating a society which eradicates poverty, treats all men and women as equals, and maximizes each person’s potential through education, rewarding employment and caring community support.

Critics of his attempt point to a host of tactical errors: his many departures during the start-up phases; poor screening of recruits; delegation blunders; blind optimism in the face of shortages in supplies; off-putting accounting systems to monitor work and payments; bans on religious meetings; inability to recognize the added complexities of running a community vs. running a cotton mill.

But in hindsight, the barriers to Owen’s “utopian socialist society” seem more profound.

His messianic vision demands that human nature be re-engineered, that self-interest and competition be harnessed in the way people think and behave in their daily lives. Even in a world of abundance – which the New Harmony experiment never achieves – Owen’s aspirational Moral Order would seem quixotic, out of touch with reality. Especially so in a new nation, with self-reliant people on the make, intent on realizing The American dream, for their own families.

Robert Owen lives for thirty-one more years after New Harmony closes. His career as industrialist is over, but not his public lobbying on behalf of the working poor and “socialism,” an idea that gains currency in the mid-1830’s in London.

It will soon be picked up and extended by two Prussians, Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, who argue that Owen’s error lay in trying to unite the two classes (bourgeoisie and proletariat) rather than totally abolishing class distinctions. To accomplish the latter, they found the Communist League which, over time, will utilize totalitarian violence, rather than pleading, to root out self-interest and competition.

Date: 1826-28

Fannie Wright’s Nashoba Community

One resident of New Harmony will go on to start up her own social experiment, in this case seeking a solution to the plight of slaves in America.

Fannie Wright is born in 1795 in Scotland, orphaned at three years old, but left with a large fortune from her factory owner father. She is raised and well educated by relatives, including first hand contact with political economists such as Adam Smith, David Hume and Jeremy Bentham. In her early twenties she is already an outspoken reformer, attacking the excesses of capitalism, the negligence of organized religion toward poverty, the lack of universal education, the repression of women and, worst of all, the practice of slavery.

In 1824, Wright makes her second visit to America, in the company of the French icon, the Marquis de Lafayette, and discusses slavery with both Jefferson and Madison. She then visits the New Harmony colony, founded by Robert Owen, her fellow Scotsman and supporter of Fourier's plans for a moral society. She becomes a U.S. citizen in 1825, and decides to see if the Fourier approach might provide a viable path to ending slavery.

Wright publishes her initial thoughts in *The New Harmony Gazette* in an article titled *A Plan for the Gradual Abolition of Slavery in the United States without Danger of Loss to the Citizens of the South*.

Like those in the Colonization movement, she is convinced that blacks will never be successfully assimilated into white society, and therefore they must return to Africa for their freedom. But two other things must precede their departure: first, they must be purchased at a price deemed fair by Southern owners; and second, they must be given the education and tools they will need to thrive once they return home.

Wright decides to put her theory into practice in 1826. With support from Andrew Jackson, she locates 2,000 acres in the southwest corner of Tennessee and sets up a small village. She names it Nabosha, the Chickasaw word for the nearby Wolf River. She purchases fifteen slaves, who are joined by nine whites, to farm the land – the premise being that the profits generated will be used by the Africans to buy back their own freedom from their owner, Wright.

But as with almost all of the experimental communities, Nabosha is barely able to sustain itself, much less generate excess income.

When the financial problems become clear to Wright, she adjusts her sights to at least learn if an assimilated society of blacks and whites might be feasible after all. A trustee council is set up to oversee further operations. It is, however, limited to whites only, which produces racial friction. It also adopts a policy of "free love" and interracial marriage, which stigmatizes Nabosha and dries up all outside financial support.

Wright is stricken with malaria and departs for Europe in 1827 to recover. When she returns in 1828, she closes the settlement down for good, frees the slaves she has continued to own throughout the experiment, and returns them by boat to Haiti.

Fannie Wright continues to be a flamboyant figure after Nabosha. She marries and then divorces a French physician she meets at New Harmony, and remains on the lecture circuit as a "free thinker," supporting greater rights for women and the working classes to her death in 1852.

Date: 1836-on

The Transcendentalists



Ralph Waldo Emerson (1803-1882)

The 1830's are also a time of great restlessness among the New England religious and intellectual community, especially on the Harvard campus in Boston. Much of it revolves around two men, Frederick Hedge and Ralph Waldo Emerson, who meet at the Divinity School in Cambridge, become Unitarian ministers, and organize what is known as The Transcendental Club, in 1836.

Their inner circle includes two other Unitarian pastors, George Ripley and George Putnam, along with Margaret Fuller – a teacher at Bronson Alcott's Temple School and later a journalist and women's rights advocate – and three prominent writers, Henry David Thoreau, Nathaniel Hawthorne and Ellery Channing.

Their first agenda lies in establishing a uniquely American body of literature, across the full range of academic disciplines, capable of rivaling that found in Europe. It falls to Emerson to articulate this goal, and he does so in his famous August 1837 address to the Phi Beta Kappa society in Cambridge, titled *The American Scholar*:

Perhaps the time is already come, when... the sluggish intellect of this continent will look from under its iron lids, and fill the postponed expectation of the world with something better than the exertions of mechanical skill.... Our day of dependence, our long apprenticeship to the learning of other lands, draws to a close.

The second priority for the Transcendentalists is to fundamentally rethink the meaning of, and path to, spirituality in the rapidly changing world around them.

As mostly Unitarians and Universalists they have already broken away from the religious traditions of the Trinitarian churches, and from Calvinism, with its beliefs about predestination and the harsh division between those “elected” versus those deprived of salvation.

From there, however, they begin a new quest for spiritual fulfillment. They are stimulated here by a variety of external material: challenges to conventional Biblical interpretations emerging in Europe; translations of Buddhist and Hindu scriptures marked by a circular view of existence, reincarnation and mysticism; and the contemporary German philosopher, Immanuel Kant, who concludes that knowledge comes to man not only through logic but also through intuition.

It is time, the Transcendentalists argue, to break past the “corpse cold” constraints of “rationality” and activate mankind's God-given power of intuition to understand the universe. The answers we seek about

life reside in our minds. We see them manifested in the imaginative leaps of insight present in great works of art, literature and science, which “transcend” the narrow bounds of deductive logic.

Beethoven doesn't merely reason his way to the Ninth Symphony nor Shakespeare to King Lear. Instead, these are acts of transcendence.

The capacity to “transcend” exists in every man. It is activated, according to Emerson, through “self-reliance” – taking control over our own lives and discovering what matters most.

We will walk on our own feet; we will work with our own hands; we will speak our own minds...A nation of men will for the first time exist, because each believes himself inspired by the Divine Soul, which also inspires all men.

According to the Transcendentalists, the path to achieving this break-out lies in reconnecting with Nature. The routines of our daily lives divert us from our spirituality and make us small. Immersion in nature expands our horizons, makes us large, enables us to find and express the meaning of our existence.

The first in importance of the influences upon the mind is that of nature ...so entire, so boundless... Its laws are the laws of his own mind. Nature then becomes to him the measure of his attainments. So much of nature as he is ignorant of, so much of his own mind does he not yet possess. And, in fine, the ancient precept, "Know thyself," and the modern precept, "Study nature," become at last one maxim.

The themes of “learning from nature” and “self-reliance” play into two famous “social experiments” associated with the Transcendentalist movement – one at Brook Farm, the other at Walden Pond.

Date: 1841-46

Brook Farm



Charles Dana (1819-1897)

Brook Farm is the brainchild of the Transcendentalist couple, George Ripley, and his wife Sarah. In 1841, Ripley's letter of resignation as Unitarian pastor of his church captures his dismay over the “selfish competition” driving mankind, and the failure of organized religion to confront it.

I cannot witness the glaring inequalities of condition, the hollow pretensions of pride, the scornful apathy with which many urge the prostration of man, the burning zeal with which they run the race of selfish competition, with no thought for the elevation of their brethren, without the sad conviction that the spirit of Christ has well-nigh disappeared from our churches, and that the fearful doom awaits us, 'Inasmuch as ye have not done it unto the least of these, ye have not done it unto me.

Ripley's answer lies in creating a new community he calls the Brook Farm Association For Industry And Education. Its goal will be that of true Christianity:

To redeem society, as well as the individual, from sin.

To fund this, he forms a joint stock corporation, with eleven investors buying in for \$500 apiece, and more cash added through borrowing at 5% interest. This enables him to buy a 200 acre farm along the Charles River, just nine miles from Boston, for \$10,500.

Ripley knows nothing about farming, but he plunges ahead, confident of success. He attracts seventy people to Brook Farm, promising "industry without drudgery," a proper balance between labor and leisure, equal respect for physical and mental work and equal rewards for the thirty women and forty men in residence. Most residents are young and single, creating a campus-like environment.

The cost of housing and board are carried by the Association, with the hope that these expenses will be off-set by income from the sale of excess farm produce, hand-crafted goods, and fees paid by those attending their community school.

But the economics are soon failing. The boarding school earns an excellent reputation and generates profits, but these are insufficient to offset losses from the farming operation, and \$6,000 in new debt for three more buildings. When resident Nathaniel Hawthorne departs in 1842, the Association owes \$15,000 and is unable to pay back his \$500 investment.

The cerebral George Ripley eventually recognizes his financial plight:

The purely democratic, Christian principles (in) the community wouldn't provide even a single meal for seventy Brook Farmers living on a dairy farm in West Roxbury, Massachusetts.

In early 1844, with input from Charles Dana, who edits the Farm's *Harbinger* periodical, Ripley proposes adoption of the utopian model defined by Charles Fourier and utilized by Robert Owen at New Harmony.

This "regimented" approach, however, proves anathema to the "individualistic" Transcendentalists, like Hawthorne, who concludes that farming is no better than industry for enhancing the soul or the creative act of writing:

I think this present life gives me an antipathy to pen and ink. In the midst of toil, or after a hard days work, my soul obstinately refuses to be burned out on paper. It is my opinion that a man's soul may be buried and perish under a dung heap, just as well as under a pile of money.

Those who depart are soon replaced by a more "manual labor-oriented" set of recruits. This renews confidence, and Ripley and Dana decide on further investments – first, to construct a Philanstery, a giant rectangular building devoted to housing and work, which Fourier prescribes for societal success, and second, to acquire a steam engine to improve their milling operation.

But finances go from bad to worse in 1845. Parents who associate Fourier with "free love" and sexual depravity pull their children out of the boarding school. A smallpox outbreak quarantines a third of the

residents and interrupts both labor and income. Then the final straw, in early 1846, when a party to celebrate completion of the Philanstery ends in a fire that destroys the uninsured edifice.

Within a few months of the fire, only thirty people remain at Brook Farm, and the school closes down. In May 1846, the Association comes to its final end.

To his credit, Ripley is determined to pay off the accumulated debt which totals \$17,445. He begins by selling off his remarkable library collection, and then goes to work as a journalist – first for *The New York Tribune's* Horace Greeley, a Fourier enthusiast, than as editor of *Harper's Weekly*, and later as co-editor with Dana of *The American Encyclopaedia*, which allows him to cover all of his creditors in 1862 and leaves him wealthy to his death in 1880.

It will up to his friend and colleague, Charles Dana, to record the accomplishments of the five year Brook Farm experiment:

In the first place we abolished domestic servitude. In the second place we secured thorough education for all. And in the third place we established justice to the laborer, and ennobled industry.

Date: 1845

Walden Pond

A second Transcendental experiment will be more anti-social than social in character.

It involves Henry David Thoreau, who graduates from Harvard in 1837, teaches school, works in his family's pencil factory, then moves into Emerson's house to tutor his mentor's children and to write essays for the group's periodical, *The Dial*.

Thoreau lives briefly at Brook Farm, and is characteristically acidic in assessing his stay:

As for these communities, I think I had rather keep a bachelor's room in Hell than go to board in (that) Heaven.

Indeed, aside from his outspoken opposition to slavery, Emerson's young protégé shows absolutely no interest in reforming society. Instead his actions and beliefs bespeak an almost Buddhist-like intent to detach himself from the corrupting influences of everyday life.

The mass of men lead lives of quiet desperation.

From this blanket dismissal of his fellow man, Thoreau decides that he will retreat into nature to make sense out of what life should be – a classical theory for the Transcendentalists.

We need the tonic of wildness...we can never have enough of nature....live in each season as it passes; breathe the air, drink the drink, taste the fruit... We must learn to reawaken and keep ourselves awake.

In 1845, at age twenty-seven, he moves from Emerson's home in Concord, Massachusetts to Walden Pond, located just two miles south of town. The pond reaches a depth of 100 feet, and is surrounded by a sandy shoreline that extends for 1.7 miles and an encircling forest. In the summertime, it is a popular site for swimmers and sightseers. Thoreau builds a one room wood hut along the northern edge, on property owned by Emerson. He lives there for two years, wandering the trails, visiting his parent's home nearby and keeping a detailed diary, which he eventually turns into his book, *Walden, Or Life In The Woods*. He explains the reason for his journey as follows:

I went to the woods because I wished to live deliberately, to front on the essential facts of life, and see if I could not learn what it had to teach, and not, when I came to die, discover that I had not lived... I wanted to live deep and suck out all the marrow of life.

In addition to nature, he looks to the eastern scriptures for personal inspiration:

In the morning I bathe my intellect in the stupendous and cosmogonical philosophy of the Bhagvat Geeta, since whose composition years of the gods have elapsed, and in comparison with which our modern world and its literature seem puny and trivial.

What Thoreau appears to find in the woods is the capacity to separate body from spirit.

All things of the body that divert man away from the spirit are to be minimized or scorned as "the beginning of evil." In Thoreau's case, the list is long, and it includes most trappings that common men hold dear: good food, drink, household adornments, sensuality, marriage, organized religion -- and even companionship, which he tends to equate with "annoyance."

The result is a state of Buddhist-like detachment, Thoreau's version of the Eight-fold path, aimed at simplification, purification and spiritual enlightenment. He preaches this path in his memoirs:

I say let your affairs be as two or three and no hundred or thousand. Simplicity, simplicity, simplicity...My greatest skill in life has been to want but little.

A host of other nostrums follow from Thoreau's pen over time. They sing a song of supreme self-confidence, of civil disobedience in the cause of what one deems justice, of keeping one's head in the clouds while seeing heaven under our feet, living in the present and finding eternity in each moment, of maintaining a broad margin of leisure, launching one's self on every wave, finding eternity in the snowflake and the smallest leaf.

Herein lies the intellectual Transcendentalist marching to his own drummer, discarding the shallow distractions of materialistic striving, using nature as his guide to a higher order spirituality.

On one hand, Thoreau's journey offers a breathtaking vision and achievement. But, unlike Ripley's attempt at Brook Farm, it often seems intensely self-centered, elitist and anti-communal in character, and devoid of many of the simple pleasures that add joy to everyday life.

Years later, the author Edgar Alan Poe casts a skeptical eye toward the Transcendentalist and Thoreau, and dismisses them all as “Frogpondians.”

Still they remain a force – particularly in the universities and intellectual circles of New England – for expanding America’s participation in creating new knowledge to benefit mankind, and new options to personal spirituality in a nation on the make and drifting toward materialism.

Date: 1848-81

The Oneida Institute

Another hotbed of social reform during the “awakening” decades is the “burned over (with religious fervor) district” in central New York. Two separate communities will form there, around the town of Oneida.

In 1829 a Presbyterian minister, George Gale founds his Oneida Manual Labor Institute on 115 acres in nearby Whiteboro. The Institute offers a university education that includes a heavy dose of manual labor, needed, according to Gale, to balance the development of both mind and body, and also to help fund the college. Graduates include the reformer, Theodore Dwight Weld, who preaches at Oneida and then conducts speaking tours on its behalf.

The Oneida program peaks the interest of the philanthropists, Lewis and Arthur Tappan, who decide to set up a similar “manual labor institute” twenty miles to the south, in Peterboro, NY. But their focus lies on advancing their abolitionist agenda by recruiting free blacks, who will learn how to farm as a path to assimilation into white society. The Tappans soon hire Weld to manage their initiative and tour the country on behalf of promoting an end to slavery.

In 1833, another fierce abolitionist, Beriah Green, becomes President of the Oneida Institute. Green opposes all efforts to re-colonize slaves in Africa, and spends the next decade admitting blacks into Oneida and preparing them to succeed in America.

Green also drives a wedge into the Presbyterian Church by forming a pro-abolition congregation in Whiteboro – before joining up with the Tappans, Weld, James Birney and Gerritt Smith to form the abolitionist Liberty Party in 1839.

Date: 1848-81

The Oneida Perfectionist Community

The Oneida area will also be home to a very controversial utopian community which opens up in 1848.

It is assembled by John Humphrey Noyes, born in Vermont in 1811 to a businessman father, who operates Noyes, Mann & Hayes, one of America's earliest chain stores. After graduating from Dartmouth in 1831, the youth experiences a religious conversion that shifts his interest from the law to enrolling at the Yale Theological Seminary.

Once there, Noyes throws himself into a personal analysis of the Bible and makes what he considers a startling insight – namely, that Christ's "second coming" actually occurred in 70AD. From there, he concludes that living a life of "moral perfection" is possible on earth, not just in Heaven, and he sets out to achieve that standard. In 1834 he amazes his colleagues by declaring that he is "free from all sin." He then establishes the Putney Bible School in Vermont with a congregation eager to follow in his footsteps.

In many ways the "heavenly society" Noyes envisions is similar to that attempted by Robert Owen at New Harmony and George Ripley at Brook Farm. To achieve a truly virtuous community, one must first purge all members of the corrupting influence of self-interest, which leads to competition rather than cooperation. For Noyes, however, competition begins not with labor and its rewards – rather with mating, monogamous marriage and the formation of family units that exist apart from the holistic community. His "solution" to this divisiveness lies in doing away with traditional marriage:

God did not intend that love between men and women be confined to the narrow channels of conventional matrimony.

In its place Noyes invents what he calls "complex marriage," whereby sexual encounters across partners become the norm, albeit controlled by strict male abstinence guidelines to limit pregnancies. Permission to have children lies with Noyes himself, and those born are raised on a communal rather than parental basis. When the citizens of Putney learn of these "free love" practices at Noyes's Bible School, they brand him an adulterer and drive his followers out of their presence in 1847.

One year later, Noyes and his band have moved west, to settle on 265 acres of farmland in Oneida, New York, their permanent home over the next thirty-three years. During that time, their numbers will grow from eighty-seven to just over three hundred members.

Unlike New Harmony and Brook Farm, the Oneida Perfectionists are bonded by deep religious convictions and kept financially viable by the organizational and business skills Noyes learned from his father's chain store successes. He creates nearly fifty administrative functions, each headed by a community member. To insure accountability for both business and spiritual progress, he holds regular "mutual criticism" sessions where each person is subjected to often harsh observations about their recent failings, and offered a "cure." These failings can range from "selfish love and exclusive intimacy" to shirking one's duties on the farm or factory. Absent corrective actions, they may lead to expulsion.

A breakthrough on the business front occurs early on when a new member from Minnesota arrives with an innovative steel trapping device that the community manufactures and that fur hunters, especially in the Hudson Bay firm, buy in abundance. From this foundation, other enterprises follow: a silk factory, orchards and a fruit cannery, a foundry, and the production of fine Oneida-branded silverware.

The community thrives over thirty years, held together by the firm hand of Noyes and the intense "covenant with God" felt by the members. But the perpetual charges of "sexual depravity" from outsiders

finally wear him down. In 1879 he flees to Canada to avoid arrest for “statutory rape,” and from there advises the community to end the principle of “complex marriage.”

Absent his leadership, the original utopian experiment ends in 1881, with some \$600,000 in the bank. Pierrepont Noyes, the founder’s son, uses the money to form a joint stock corporation, Oneida Limited Silversmiths, which prospers to the present day.

Noyes himself remains in Canada until his death at age 74 in 1881. His body is eventually returned to America and is buried on the original Oneida Perfectionist’s property.

Date: 1855-on

The Amana Colonies

The most enduring utopian community from the “awakening era” is the Amana Colony that begins in 1855 near Iowa City, Iowa.

Its roots are in the German religious movement called Pietism, which preaches that certain individuals are blessed with the gift of Inspiration and are chosen to act as “Instruments” to communicate God’s word to their communities. Two of these Instruments are Christian Metz and Barbara Heineman, who migrate to the U.S. in 1842, start their first community in Buffalo, and then head west to establish Amana, comprising seven villages and 300 members, spread across some 26,000 acres of land.

The Amana colony embraces many of the “socialistic” principles attempted by its predecessors. Schooling is mandatory for all boys and girls up to age fifteen; housing is provided for all; communal kitchens deliver three meals a day; every person is expected to share in a labor of their choice; each individual is allocated \$25-50 a year to be spent in the village stores; any persons who failed to prudently budget their expenditures could be asked to leave; hospitality is offered to all visitors who are in need.

Unlike the “Fourier-based” experiments, Amana is a tightly knit community bonded by a shared belief in Pietism and a willingness to conform to behavioral guidelines set down by the church elders and the acknowledged “Instruments.” For example, at Amana, marriage is delayed until age twenty-four and requires council approval; large families are discouraged; eleven religious services per week are mandatory; men and women are separated during worship and music is banned; prayers in German proceed every meal, where conversation is frowned up.

From the beginning, Amana is marked by the virtues that make it succeed up to the present – an expectation that all members will work hard and spend frugally to insure the community’s financial viability and then share the fruits of their labor in a selfless fashion in accord with their spiritual convictions.

Date: 1825-1850

Reflections On These Social Experiments

Taken together, the many utopian communities which spring up during the “second awakening” signal a growing concern that the nation is drifting away from its idealistic origins – with the simple pastoral life on the farm giving way to faster paced urban centers, with their more materialistic and secular outlook, and behaviors that violate the old Puritan norms.

In response comes not only the Evangelicals being re-born on behalf of “personal salvation,” but also a band of reformers, some religious others not, whose province becomes the community at large. To save the individual one must also reshape their environment. Or, as George Ripley says about Brook Farm, the need is:

To redeem society, as well as the individual, from sin.

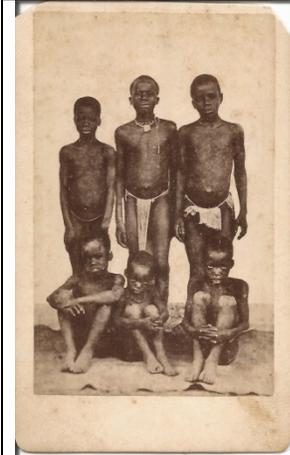
As the outcomes of these utopian experiments demonstrate, reforming an entire society is easier said than done. The businessman Robert Owen’s attempt to run New Harmony according to Fourier formulas collapses in its third year. The Transcendentalist George Ripley’s Brook Farm is bankrupt after five years of constant struggle. Fannie Wright’s mixed race colony at Nabosha closes quickly. John Humphrey Noyes Oneida Perfectionists maintain their “covenant with God” for thirty years, despite constant public shunning for their “free love” practices. The lone enduring survivor in the group is the Amana colony in Iowa, held together by the shared values of German Pietism.

The messages here seem clear. Americans in 1840 are not about to sign on for any socialist systems that infringe on their personal freedoms, their competitive spirit, or their drive to secure what they deem best for themselves and for their families.

Still the utopian experiments are not total failures. They recognize genuine shortcomings that have kept America from realizing its full potential, and they make several moves in the right direction:

- Remarkable advances in the education of young children materialize at both New Harmony and Brook Farm.
- The role and power of women in society is expanded, along with greater recognition of their achievements.
- Models to relieve poverty and improve the treatment of factory workers and other manual laborers are explored.
- The Transcendentalists do spark America’s contributions to literature, science and culture.
- Long-term viability of the Amana colony reveals that some blend of socialism and capitalism might succeed, if overlaid with a strongly shared religious commitment.
- The cause of abolishing slavery and supporting assimilation is inched forward by initiatives at Nabosha and the Oneida Institute.

Chapter 122 -- The Experience Of Those Enslaved In 1840



Dates:
1840

Sections:

- The Black Population
- The South's Four Great Cash Crops
- The Practice Of Breeding Slaves
- Testimonials Of Slaves And Masters About "Breeding"
- The Increase In Slave Pregnancies
- Shipment Of Slaves To The West

Date: 1840

The Black Population



A Family Huddled In Front Of A Slave Cabin

The black population in 1840 has grown to 2.87 million people in total, with 87% still enslaved, all living in the South.

Black Population (000)

	1820	1840	% Chg
Total	1,771	2,873	+62
% Free	9%	13%	

While slave owners are overwhelmingly white men and women, a small number are free blacks. In South Carolina, for example, data from 1840 show 402 free blacks owning 2,002 slaves, or an average of five per family. The highest ownership among free blacks traces to three sugar plantations in Louisiana, with 215 slaves belonging to Nicholas Metoyer and his family, 152 to a widow, Ciprien Richards and her son, and another 70 to Antoine Dubuclet and his wife, Claire.

About 30% of all white families across the early southern states own slaves – with the incidence ranging from a high of 70% in Georgia to a low of 18% in Maryland.

	%Total
“Old South”	30%
Maryland/DC	18
Virginia	33
North Carolina	27
South Carolina	48
Georgia	70
Kentucky	29
Tennessee	26

US Census

If one starts with the white population of the entire South in 1840 (4.8 million), and assumes roughly 6 people per household on average, that translates to 800,000 families in total. If 70% do not own any slaves, that leaves 30% or 240,000 families that do.

Of this 240,000, some 88% own fewer than 20 slaves, below the minimum needed to run a plantation.

The remaining 28,000 families or so qualify as “planter” elites, and they own 52% of all slaves.

Within this exclusive group, about 21,000 have 20-49 slaves, enough for a small plantation.

This leaves only 7,000 families (3%) owning the 50+ slaves required to efficiently run large or mega-plantations.

Herein lay the tycoon capitalists of the South – some 7,000 white planters overseeing the lives of the roughly 575,000 black persons they own.

# Slaves Owned	% of all Families	% of all Owners	% of all Slaves	Likely “Use” Of Slaves Owned
0	70%	--	--	
1	5	17%	2%	Small farm
2-4	9	30	8	Small farm
5-9	7	24	15	Mid-sized farm
10-19	5	17	23	Larger farm
20-49	3	9	29	Small plantation
50-99	**	2	14	Large plantation
100+	***	1	9	Mega-plantation
Total	100%	100%	100%	

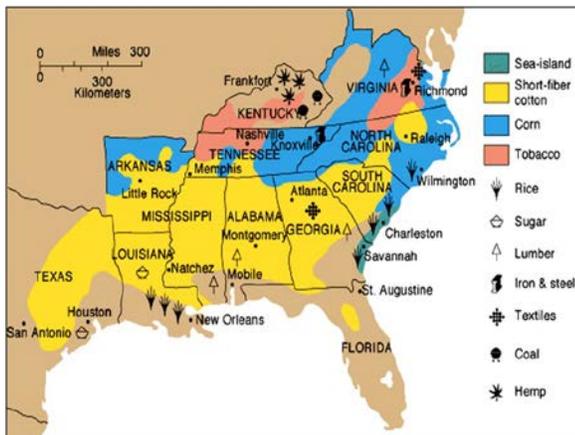
US Census

Ch122-2

The destinies of those enslaved on these plantations hinge on their owner’s search for new opportunities to increase their personal wealth, typically through participation in the region’s four crucial cash crops – tobacco, rice, sugar and cotton.

Date: 1840

The South’s Four Great Cash Crops



The two dominant Southern crops of the 18th century are tobacco and rice, and together they account for most of the aristocratic planter families of colonial America.

Tobacco production is concentrated early on in Virginia and parts of North Carolina, with Kentucky and Tennessee coming on later. But growing tobacco is a complex and labor intensive undertaking, from transplanting seedling into the soil to proper fertilization and then harvesting. The tobacco leaves are heavy and dirty and, after cutting into “hands” (packets), they must be hung over five foot long poles to properly dry and cure. Getting all of this right is not easy.

Map Of The “Agricultural Belts” Across The South

Tobacco is also an “exploitive” plant, sucking nitrogen out of the soil and depleting its capacity to replenish needed nutrients year after year. The early growers are also either ignorant of the need for crop rotations or are too eager for short-term profits to care. Thus by 1840 much of the tobacco land is played out, and the Virginia planters in particular are searching for new options to protect their fortunes. One ominous answer will lie in “breeding” slaves for sale.

Some of Virginia’s Elite Tobacco Families

Names	Dates
Richard Lee	1617-1664
Robert “King” Carter	1663-1732
Benjamin Harrison III	1673-1710
William Byrd II	1674-1744
William Fairfax	1691-1757
William Beverley	1696-1756
Mann Page II	1716-1780
William Fitzhugh	1741-1809

Further south, along the coast of South Carolina and Georgia, the gentry is built on the production of rice, ironically using methods taught them by their African slaves. Success is predicated on the presence of swampland, fed by non-saline freshwater rivers and lakes, and temperatures that are reliably warm during the 5-6 month growing season. Preparing and managing a rice field is an arduous task, first to drain and level the swamp, then to plant seedlings in the mud, finally to carefully add back water needed to support

growth and fight off weeds. Between April and September, stalks will reach about 18 inches, at which time they are cut down, left to dry in the sun for two weeks, then “flailed” to capture pods and milled to arrive at the desired rice kernels.

The entire process is fraught with risks. Inland swamps are subject to flooding after heavy rains, while coastal swamps are forever threatened by the ocean’s salt water. Losing a crop to water damage is not uncommon and severe financial losses can follow. Swampland is also the breeding ground for mosquitos and the two main killing diseases they transmit – malaria and yellow fever. Still, the mega-rice planters, scions like Joshua Ward at “Brookgreen” and William Aiken, Jr. on Jehossee Island, thrive in 1840, while searching westward toward swampland in Louisiana for the chance to expand.

Some Of Carolina’s Elite Rice Families

Names	Dates
Joseph Blake	1663-1700
Arthur Middleton	1742-1787
Nathaniel Heyward	1766-1851
Joseph Alston	1779-1816
William Aiken, Sr.	1779-1831
Joshua Ward	1800-1853

Cotton of course becomes the South’s dominant cash crop in the 19th century. It originates along the east coast from Virginia to Florida, as “sea island cotton,” noted for its remarkably long strands of fiber. It then moves inland after Eli Whitney invents his “(en)gine” in 1794, which efficiently sorts seeds from bolls and opens the door to growing “short strand/staple cotton.” Seeds are planted in the Spring; three foot high shrubs bearing flower buds (“bolls”) appear during the summer; and the back-breaking task of harvesting occurs in the autumn.

The crop tends to be hearty as long as droughts are avoided, weeding is completed, and the two key pests (bollworms and boll weevils) are contained. Once plantations open up from Alabama to Texas, cotton becomes the dominant source of wealth across the South.

Some Of The South’s Elite Cotton Families

Name	State	Dates
Dr. Stephen Duncan	Miss	1787-1867
John Manning	La	1815-1889
Joseph Acklen	La	1816-1863
John Robinson	Miss	1811-1870?
Jeremiah Brown	Ala	1800-1863
Elisha Worthington	Ark	1808-1873
Dr. John C. Jenkins	Miss	1809-1855

The fourth great Southern crop – sugar – takes off in Louisiana in the 1790’s, as a replacement for lagging sales of indigo dye. Advanced know-how in raising sugar cane arrives along with immigrants from plantations in Santo Domingo. It is a form of grass that develops into bamboo-like stalks which grow to 10-14 feet in height. Planting of seedling stalks occurs in the Fall, with fresh shoots appearing the following Spring, leading to summer growth and Fall harvesting. Then begins the elaborate process by which the stalks are crushed to give up their sugar juice, which is concentrated by repeated boiling into

“cane syrup” (or blackstrap molasses). Once cooled and further purified the syrup is converted into crystalized granules, first as brown sugar and, after more processing, as white sugar.

Credit goes to one Etienne de Bore (1741-1820), a Creole living on a plantation above New Orleans, and Haitian emigres, Antoine Morin and Antonio Menendez, for creating the first profitable operation to produce granulated sugar, around 1795. From there, Louisiana becomes the home of American sugar production and of some of the wealthiest planter families. The one main threat to success lies in the Louisiana weather where, unlike the Caribbean clime, a sudden frost can wipe out both a current sugar cane crop and future seedlings.

Some Of Louisiana’s Elite Sugar Families

Names	Dates
Steven Minor	1760-1815
James Brown	1766-1835
Lewis Stirling	1786-1858
Michel Bringier	1789-1847
Wade Hampton II	1791-1858
John Burnside	1810-1881
Meredith Calhoun	1805-1869

Each of these four crops requires a minimum of 600 acres (1 square mile) of land and 20+ slaves to prosper. Then come the mega- plantations with over 100 slaves, which vary widely in acreage. Jefferson’s Monticello property spans 5,000 acres or 8 square miles. Washington’s Mount Vernon is larger, at 7600 acres. One of Joshua Ward’s rice plantations, “Brookgreen, ” extends over 9,000 acres, while William Aiken’s Jehossee Island is 33,000 acres, or an almost unimaginable 55 square miles.

But one thing they all have in common: success rests on owning enough slaves and then working them to near exhaustion, especially during the critical planting and harvesting seasons.

Sidebar: The Southern Planter Tycoons



Planter James Marshman

Twenty Largest Slave Owners Across The South

# Own	Name	Location	Mainly	Profile
2,340	Nathaniel Heyward (1766-1851)	Colleton, S.C.	Rice	"The Bluff." A shrewd businessman who acquires 19 plantations over time. Dabbles in politics and signs "Nullification" doc. Nearly \$1 million estate at death in 1851.
1,130	Joshua J. Ward (1800-1853)	Georgetown, S.C.	Rice	"Brookgreen." Known as "king of the rice planters." Born on plantation, leads development of premium "Carolina gold long rice," SC Lt Gov 1850-52.
858	Dr. Stephen Duncan (1787-1867)	Issaquena, Miss.	Cotton	"Saragossa." Born in Pa, MD degree, to Natchez, efforts to re-colonize Africans, later anti-secession.
753	John Burnside (1810-1881)	Ascension, Louisiana	Sugar	"Houmas House." Belfast, Ireland native, buys from Wade Hampton for \$1million.
709	Meredith Calhoun (1805-1869)	Rapides, Louisiana	Sugar	"Calhoun's Landing." From Pa to Red River estate, editor of <i>National Democrat</i> .
700	William Aiken, Jr. (1806-1887)	Colleton, S.C.	Rice	"Jehossee Island." Other businesses are canals and railroads, SC Gov '44-46 then US House '51-57.
670	John Manning (1816-1889)	Ascension, Louisiana	Cotton	"Millford." SC Gov son, Princeton, marries Hampton daughter, politics, SC Gov '52-54, moderate secessionist, Beauregard staff in war, refuses oath to secure Senate seat.
659	Joseph Acklen (1816-1863)	W. Feliciana, Louisiana	Cotton	"Angola." Lawyer, marries plantation heiress and widow of

				mega-slave trader Isaac Franklin, lawyer, link to Texas Republic, and triples value of estate.
631	R.F.W. Allston (1801-1864)	Georgetown, S.C.	Rice	“Chicora Wood.” West point grad, marries into elite JL Petigru family, scientific work on rice, SC Gov '56-58, opposes secession.
575	Joseph Blake (???)	Beaufort, S.C.	Rice	“Bonnie Hall.” One of three Blakes, all heirs of colonial era Gov of Carolina, own slaves in England also. Little known.
550	John Robinson (1811-1870's)	Madison, Miss.	Cotton	“Annandale.” Aristocratic life with little interest in farming operations.
540	Jeremiah Brown (1800-1863)	Sumter, Alabama	Cotton	“Lowden.” Son of wealthy Baptist minister, SC College, law, large donations to Howard College (later Samford), equips CSA troops
538	Arthur Blake (???)	Charleston, S.C.	Rice	“Blake’s Plantation.” Related to Joseph and Daniel. Little known.
530	John I. Middleton (1800-1877)	Beaufort, S.C.	Rice	“Middleton Place.” Family from Barbados, father was SC Gov and Amb to Russia, he supports re-opening global slave trade and secession.
529	Elisha Worthington (1808-1873)	Chicot, Arkansas	Cotton	“Sunnyside.” Little know beyond reported romance with slave and children attending anti-slavery Oberlin College.
527	Daniel Blake (???)	Colleton, S.C.	Rice	“Board House.” Related to Joseph and Arthur Blake. Little known.
523	Dr. John C. Jenkins (1809-1855)	Wilkinson, Miss.	Cotton	“Elgin.” Father a wealthy Pa. iron mfr, MD from Dickinson, inherits from uncle, scientific experiments, dies along with wife and many slaves in yellow fever outbreak.
511	J. Harleston Read (1815-1866)	Georgetown, S.C.	Rice	“Rice Hope.” Born on plantation and inherits from his MD father. Little known.
505	John Mease Butler (1808-1863)	McIntosh, Georgia	Rice Cotton	“Butler Plantation.” Inherits via mother, Sarah Meese, daughter of Rev War and founder, Pierce Butler, changes name to Butler, deplorable conditions, his brother (Pierce) even a worse master.
491	Charles Heyward (1802-1866)	Colleton, S.C.	Rice	“Rose Hill.” Grandfather signs Dec. of Independence, attends Princeton, keeps extensive illustrated diary about property.

Partially from Tom Blake (2001)

Date: 1840

The Practice Of Breeding Slaves



Six Young Boys

From early on, astute planters understand that “breeding” more slaves is both a necessity and a crucial opportunity for financial growth.

With the 1787 Constitution banning further importation of Africans as of 1808, owners must rely on their current slaves to reproduce sufficiently to offset workers lost to aging or death. Beyond that, however, they also recognize that any “excess” slaves sold will bring handsome profits in the auction market.

Thomas Jefferson, who sells 110 slaves in his lifetime, announces the cold calculations associated with “breeding” excess slaves in his *Farm Book* entries:

I consider a woman who brings a child every two years as more profitable than the best man of the farm... What she produces is an addition to the capital, while his labors disappear in mere consumption.

So slave children become “additions to the capital!” The numbers are stark and revealing:

- Twenty-six child-bearing years per woman, from age 18-44;
- A minimum of thirteen potential pregnancies, with early weaning to restart ovulation;
- Perhaps 8-10 children each, given the 66% survival rate at birth;
- At an average sale price of \$300, these offspring add \$2500-\$3000 in capital;
- All from the womb of one woman slave, before even counting her likely next generation females.

Despite these forecasted “returns,” the harsh conditions of slave life – between hard work, physical punishment, and unhealthy housing and diets – seldom lead on to 8-10 surviving offspring per female.

Jefferson, for example, only records one instance (Minerva Granger and her husband, Bagwell) of nine maturing children among his 175 slaves at Monticello.

By 1840, however, the ex-President’s economic insights are becoming apparent to more and more plantation owners, especially as growth from the tobacco and rice crops along the Atlantic coast states tapers off, and cotton sales begin to boom to the west. Production of the “white gold” jumps four-fold between 1820 and 1840, and the dollar value more than doubles, even at lower unit prices.

Value Of Cotton

Year	Cotton Lbs	Price/Lb	Total \$	% Ch
1820	142MM	\$16.58	\$235MM	
1840	587	9.00	526	+224%

Ransom estimates

Like clockwork, the demand for more cotton triggers the demand to “breed” more slaves, as attested to later recollections of freed blacks and owners alike.

Date: 1840

Testimonials Of Slaves And Masters About “Breeding”

Recollections of “slave breeding” abound in letters and diaries from the pre-war period, collected from both victims and perpetrators.

The ex-Georgia slave, William Ward, compares the practice to breeding livestock:

Durin’ slavery if one marster had a big boy en ‘nuther had a big gal, de marsters made dem libe tergedder. Ef’n de woman didn’t hab any chilluns, she wuz put on de block en sold en ‘nuther woman bought. You see dey raised de chilluns ter mek money on jes lak we raise pigs ter sell.

Chris Franklin, from Louisiana, reports on the humiliating “process” used by owners to select slaves for mating and to then insure that impregnation has occurred:

On this plantation were more than 100 slaves who were mated indiscriminately and without any regard for family unions. If their master thought that a certain man and woman might have strong, healthy offspring, he forced them to have sexual relations even though they were married to other slaves. If there seemed to be any slight reluctance on the part of either of the unfortunate ones, “Big Jim” would make them consummate the relationship in his presence. He used the same procedure if he thought a certain couple was not producing children fast enough. He enjoyed these orgies.

Hilliard Yellerday of North Carolina tells of her futile attempts to avoid bearing children she doesn’t want:

I goes to de missy and tells her what Rufus wants and missy say dat am de massa’s wishes. She say, “Yous am de portly gal and Rufus am de portly man. De massa wants you-uns for to bring forth portly chillen. I’s thinkin bout what de missy say, but say to mysef, “I’s not gwine live with dat Rufus.” Dat night when him come in de cabin, I grabs de poker and sits on de bench and says, “Git “way from me, nigger, “fore I busts yous brains out and stomp on dem.” He say nothin” and git out. De nex” day de massa call me and tell me, “Woman, I’s pay big money for you and I’s done dat for de cause I wants yous to raise me chillens. I’s put yous to live with Rufus for dat purpose. Now, if you doesn”t want whippin” at de stake, yous do what I wants.” I thinks “bout massa buyin” me offen de [auction] block and savin” me from bein” sep”rated from my folks and “bout bein” whipped at de stake. Dere it am. What am I’s to do? So I “cides to do as de massa wish and so I yields. . . .

Owners also add their perspectives on slave breeding.

One observation belongs to Francis “Fannie” Kemble, a British actress married for a decade to the infamous planter, Pierce Mease Butler. She writes that her female slaves exhibited a...

Distinct and perfect knowledge of their value to their owners as property...by bringing new slaves into the world....(declaring) look missis, little niggets for you and massa, plenty little niggits for you.

Failure to meet an owner's demands for more children are met with harsh retribution. Thus, Davison McDowell, master of "Exchange Plantation" in South Carolina notes in his diary on September 16, 1830:

Sibby miscarried, believe she did so on purpose. Stop her Christmas (gift) and lock her up.

Another South Carolinian, one David Gavin, reveals his own astonishing lack of compassion by reacting to the death of "Celia's slave child" with the same self-centered irritation expressed over the loss of his horses.

Celia's child, about four months old, died Saturday the 12th. That is two Negroes and three horses I have lost this year.

A good summing up comes from the testimonial of ex-slave John Cole of Georgia, who ends by wondering aloud how "Christian men" could allow this "breeding" to exist:

A slave girl was expected to have children as soon as she became a woman. Some of them had children at the age of twelve and thirteen years old. . . . Mother said there were cases where these young girls loved someone else and would have to receive the attentions of men of the master's choice. This was a general custom. . . . The masters called themselves Christians, went to church worship regularly and yet allowed this condition to exist.

The explanation, of course, lies in the allure of personal greed which can trump all feelings of human empathy. Thus the utter sickness of slavery, with innocent children diminished to "additions to capital."

And, by 1840, the value of total "slave capital" is already estimated to be \$938 million – with demand for excess laborers just taking off, as aspiring plantation owners cross into the cotton rich lands from Alabama to Texas.

Value Of Slaves

Year	# Slaves	\$/ Slave	Total \$	% Ch
1820	1538M	\$393	\$604MM	
1840	2487	377	938	+155%

Date: 1840

The Increase In Slave Pregnancies

In response to growing demand for slaves, "total pregnancies" among black women are exceeding their white counterparts by 1840.

The first indication lies in the relative "fertility rate" – the number of children alive between the ages of 0-4 per thousand females aged 18-44 years old. This rate is 6% higher among black women.

Children Aged 0-4 Per 1000 Women 20-44

Race	In 1840
Blacks	1154
Whites	1085
Ratio (Black/White)	106%

Michael Haines, Colgate University

While data on “death rates” in the 0-4 age range are not available, there is good reason to believe that more black children are lost early, given their sub-par birth weights (5.5 lbs. on average), the fact they are quickly weaned off mother’s milk, and that their replacement diets are starch-laden and lacking in the balanced nutrients to sustain health.

Finally there are “stillborn rates,” which show that black infants are 57% more likely than white infants to die at birth.

Stillborn Rates

Race	Per 1000 Births
Whites	217 deaths
Enslaved Blacks	340
Ratio (Black/White)	157%

Michael Haines, Colgate University

Taken together, the evidence shows that by 1840 Southern owners are already upping the rate of black pregnancies to build their “inventories of excess slaves.”

Date: 1840

Shipment Of Slaves To The West

The ultimate destinations for the “excess” slaves being bred are the new cotton plantations opening up west of the Appalachian range.

Thus the staggering growth in the slave population already occurring between 1820 and 1840 in states such as Mississippi (+595%), Missouri (+582%) and Alabama (+535%), along with the more than doubling recorded in Louisiana (+144%), and Tennessee (+128%), with Georgia (+88%) just behind.

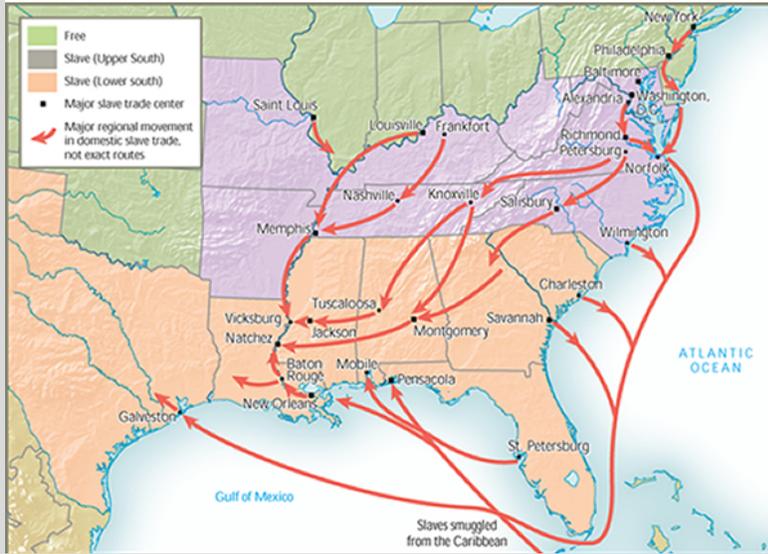
The leading “supplier states” for these western slaves is Virginia, with its very large black population (over 425,000 in 1820) and its need to address lagging profits on its tobacco plantations.

Other “slave breeder/supplier states” include North Carolina (also suffering erosion in its principal tobacco crops), South Carolina (the “rice kingdom,” but with most suitable lowlands already owned), and the two border states, Delaware (where only 2,600 slaves remain) and Maryland.

Changes In Slave Populations By State

Old South	Statehood	1820	1840	Change	% Ch
South Carolina	1788	251,800	327,000	75,200	30
Georgia	1788	149,000	280,900	131,900	88
Virginia	1788	425,200	449,100	23,900	6
North Carolina	1789	205,000	245,800	40,800	20
Border States					
Delaware	1787	4,500	2,600	(1,900)	(42)
Maryland	1788	107,400	89,700	(17,700)	(16)
Kentucky	1792	126,700	182,200	55,500	44
Missouri	1821	10,000	58,200	48,200	582
Expanded South					
Tennessee	1796	80,100	183,100	103,000	128
Louisiana	1812	69,100	168,400	99,300	144
Mississippi	1817	32,800	195,200	162,400	595
Alabama	1819	47,400	253,500	206,100	535
Arkansas	1836	0	19,900	19,900	+++

Sidebar: The Armfield Slave Coffle Of 1834



Map of Domestic Slave Trading Routes Opened By 1840

The task of rounding up excess slaves in Virginia and other eastern states and transporting them west and south for sale belongs to a small group of firms which accumulate vast wealth from their efforts.

One pioneer slave trading firm is Franklin & Armfield, headquartered as of 1828 in Alexandria, Virginia. Residing there is John Armfield, who is born in 1797 in North Carolina. His uncle and partner is Isaac Franklin, born in 1789 to a Tennessee planter, veteran of the War of 1812, astute investor, and owner of plantations of his own in Tennessee and Louisiana. Over time the two develop a transportation route for moving “herds” of slaves overland for some 650 miles from Alexandria to Nashville, then from there to river barges for another 500-700 mile journey toward auction houses in Natchez, Mississippi, and New Orleans.

One such transport – known as the “Armfield Coffle of 1834” – sets out with 300 slaves in August. A witness describes the sight as follows:

Armfield sat on his horse in front of the procession, armed with a gun and a whip. Other white men, similarly armed were arrayed behind him. They were guarding 200 men and boys lined up in twos, their wrists hand-cuffed together, a chain running the length of their hands. Behind the men another 100 women and children were tied with rope. Then came six or seven big wagons carrying food, infants, and suits of clothing reserved to display the negroes at auction.

A list of six children who made this particular journey survives:

Some Slave Children In The 1834 Coffle

Name	Gender	Age	Height
Bill Keeling	Male	11	4’5”
Elizabeth	Female	10	4’1”
Monroe	Male	12	4’7”
Lovey	Female	10	3’10”
Robert	Male	12	4’4”
Mary Fitchett	Female	11	4’11”

The “coffle” moves at about three miles an hour and 20 miles a day in the sweltering summer heat. It travels from Alexandria along a variety of trails beginning with the Great Wagon Road through the Shenandoah Valley. On September 6, it makes a risky 125 yard crossing of the New River, south of Roanoke to avoid a ferry toll. From there it moves west toward Knoxville and then to Gallatin, Tennessee, some 30 miles northeast of Nashville.

Once there, Amfield turns the “coffle” over to Isaac Franklin’s nephew, James, to complete the final legs of the trip. While records end at this point, the slaves are likely put on flatboats for a three day ride down the Cumberland River to the Ohio, and then one more day to connect with the Mississippi. After another two week voyage south, they will likely dock at Natchez for sale. A contemporary visitor to that city claims that...

There is no branch of trade in this part of the country more brisk and profitable than that of buying and selling negroes.

The terminal for Armfield’s Coffle of 1834 is probably Isaac Franklin’s auction house located at Forks of the Road, near the end of the Natchez Trace. It has removed to this remote site after Franklin is caught in 1833 burying slaves who have died of cholera, causing panic and reprisals by city officials.

Sales at the Forks site follow a ritual, with slaves dressed up in finery and first paraded en masse in front of potential bidders.

The men dressed in navy blue suits with shiny brass buttons...as they marched singly and by twos and threes in a circle...The women wore calico dresses and white aprons, with pink ribbons in their hair.

After this showing, they are grouped by age and size, within gender. Sales are determined by haggling, not by an auctioneer. Thus a prospective buyer will point to a prospect, who will follow them to a more private site for closer inspection. This typically involves undressing and standing naked while examination is made of teeth and backs, the latter in search of prior whip marks, signaling defiance. Slaves may also be asked to speak, sing or dance, and to describe what work and skills they possess.

The entire process is one of abject humiliation.

Some of the “Armfield Coffle” may have ended up in New Orleans, the biggest slave “market” in the country, with over fifty dealers in business. A white visitor expresses his discomfort at the wide open nature of the city:

You have to squeeze through a countless multitude of men, women and children of all ages, tongues and colors of the earth until you get into the city proper. (The people) are made of the worst portion of the human race. No wonder that there should be robberies and assassinations in such a population.

The actual auctions are often seen as social events, with gawkers outnumbering bidders. Advertisements in local papers boast of “Virginia bred” slaves (meaning compliant) and “fancy girls” (sex slaves) who often go for top dollar. A diary records one such sale of a woman named Hermina:

On the block was one of the most beautiful women I ever saw...She was sold for \$1250 to one of the most lecherous looking old brutes I ever set eyes on.

The “Armfield Coffle of 1834” is, of course, only one incident in an “industry” that thrives, as prospective plantation owners move west. In total, it’s estimated that over a half million American born enslaved persons are sold over the years in New Orleans. Among the results are shattered families, and heart-rending “seeking notices” that follow after the end of the Civil War. One example from a Mary Haynes, living in Texas:

I wish to inquire after my relatives whom I left in Virginia about twenty-five years ago. My mother’s name was Matilda. My name was Mary. I was nine years old when I was sold to a trader named Walker, who carried us to North Carolina. My younger sister Bettie was sold to a man named Reed, and I was sold and carried to New Orleans and from there to Texas. I had a brother, Sam, and a sister, Annie, who were left with mother. If they are alive, I will be glad to hear from them.

Chapter 123 -- Progress Is Made By “Free Blacks” As Of 1840

	Dates: 1840	Sections: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Status Of Free Blacks In 1840 • A Next Generation Of Black Leaders Fight For Recognition
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Date: 1840

The Status Of Free Blacks In 1840



Freedwoman Flora Stewart (Age 117)

In 1840 roughly 13% of all African-Americans in the U.S. are living as “freedmen and women” – with slightly over half residing in “slave states.” Some are manumitted by their owners, some buy their way out, others are run-aways. A relative few are born free, as determined by their mother, whose “status” they inherit.

Growth Of The Free Black Population

	1790	1820	1840
Northeast	26,800	91,790	141,560
Northwest	---	6,410	30,524
Old South	18,327	53,386	162,610
Border +SW	12,056	34,070	44,604
Total	57,183	185,656	379,298

Regardless of their path to freedom, the latitude they enjoy is sharply constrained. This is especially the case in the South, where whites fear that the presence of freedmen will spark uprisings among those left in slavery. In the North, they are typically living in cities, within segregated neighborhoods, and subject to written or informal “black codes” which leave them uneducated, poorly housed, unemployed, beyond the protection of basic legal rights, regarded as inferior, often feared and unwelcomed.

Still they persevere, rallying around their own institutions – black churches, freemason halls, barber shops, small storefronts – and around community leaders who have mastered the ways of white society and are determined to advance their cause.

Date: 1840

A Next Generation Of Black Leaders Fight For Recognition



Freedman Named T. Hepworth

By 1840, many of the early leaders have passed – men like Prince Hall, Paul Cuffee, clergymen Thomas Paul, Richard Allen and Absalom Jones. The youthful abolitionist David Walker dies suddenly in 1831. The successful businessman and crusader, James Forten, is seventy-four and only two years from death.

But a next generation of successors is already beginning to make their marks.

Thomas Dalton works his way up from bootblack and tailoring jobs in Boston to ownership of a successful clothing store. In 1834 he marries his wife, Lucy Lew, who is educated in an integrated school, and together they embark on a series of efforts to strengthen their community. Dalton becomes a trustee in the AMEZ church, Grand Master of the Prince Hall Lodge, president of the Massachusetts General Colored Association, and co-founder with Lloyd Garrison, of the New England Anti-Slavery Society.

Reverend Samuel Cornish graduates from the Free African School in Philadelphia, is ordained a minister in 1822, opens the first black Presbyterian Church in Manhattan, and then co-founds the first African-American newspaper in America, *Freedom's Journal*. The initial editorial declares its mission:

Too long have others spoken for us. Too long have the public been deceived... We wish to plead our own cause.

Reverend Theodore Wright, the first black graduate of the Princeton Theological Seminary in 1829, follows Cornish in the Manhattan church pulpit and becomes a founding member in 1833 of the American Anti-Slavery Society, which unites white and black abolitionists and numbers some 250,000 recruits by 1838. His home becomes a “station” on the underground railroad, and he eventually supports radical action by blacks to end slavery.

Charles Lenox Remond benefits from his parent’s successful catering and barbering businesses and becomes a traveling lecturer and agent for Lloyd Garrison’s *Liberator* newspaper in 1832. He becomes a powerful speaker, addressing the 1840 World Anti-Slavery Convention in London, and later delivering the first speech by a black man to the Massachusetts’s state legislature. Remond’s younger sister, Sarah, will follow in his footsteps as an abolitionist, before moving to Italy and becoming a medical doctor.

Robert Purvis is born in Charleston to a white father, a wealthy cotton merchant who had emigrated from England, and a freed slave mother. After graduating from Amherst College, his father dies, and he is left with a sizable fortune he uses on behalf of supporting African-Americans. He sets up the Library Company of Colored People in Philadelphia, helps Garrison found the American Anti-Slavery Society in 1833, drafts a constitutional amendment on voting rights, and heads Vigilance Committees to prevent black kidnappings.

David Ruggles attends church school in Connecticut before moving at sixteen to New York City, where he works as a seaman and operates a grocery store before becoming an agent for the *Liberator*. He then opens a bookstore and edits *The Mirror of Liberty* journal. Like Purvis he is intently concerned about protecting the freedom of those who have escaped slavery, including Frederick Douglass. He is briefly imprisoned in 1838 for assisting a slave, Thomas Hughes, who escapes after being brought to “free NY” by his Virginia master, John Darg. For his visible work on behalf of run-aways, he is assaulted, and his bookstore is burned down.

While his father is a slave, Martin Delaney is born free because his mother has previously been manumitted. The youth learns to read from a primer given to him by a peddler, then becomes interested in medicine. After being accepted at Harvard Medical School but denied enrollment, he moves to Pittsburg where he completes his apprenticeship. He attends the 1835 National Negro Convention, joins the anti-slavery movement, and records remarkable achievements over the next fifty years: helping Fred Douglass launch his *North Star* newspaper, authoring articles and novels on the horrors of slavery, and eventually receiving the rank of Major in the union army after meeting with Abraham Lincoln and leading the effort to recruit black troops.

Born a slave in Maryland, Henry Highland Garnett escapes at age nine, and gains a high school education in New York city, before graduating from the Oneida Institute in 1839. From there he becomes a church pastor and embarks on a forty year crusade to end slavery, including a call at the National Negro Convention of 1843 for blacks to pursue an armed rebellion to win their own freedom.

William Cooper Nell's father is a freedman in Boston who helps found the Massachusetts General Colored Association in the 1820's. As a young man, he studies law but refuses to swear allegiance to the Constitution, which he calls a racist document, and is never admitted to the bar. By 1840 he is a member of Lloyd Garrison's inner circle of Boston abolitionists, and works for the rest of his remarkable life on ending slavery, aiding run-aways, and integrating schools and organizations (including those which are blacks-only). He joins Fred Douglass on the *North Star* paper, until it begins to criticize Garrison.

In 1840 two women who will leave their mark on the abolitionist movement remain in the wings. One is forty-three year old Isabella Baumfree, who has run away from enslavement in New York, but is still three years away from “hearing the spirit,” rechristening herself Sojourner Truth, and beginning a series of speaking tours on behalf of abolition. The other is Harriet Tubman, later “general” of the Underground Railroad, but only eighteen at the time, and still suffering great physical abuse as a slave in Maryland.



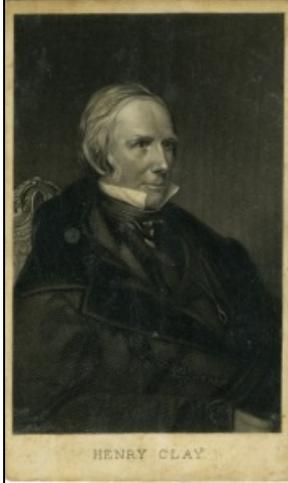
Sojourner Truth (1797c-1873)

Then, of course, there is Frederick Douglass, who will go on to lead the black citizenship movement over the next three decades. In 1840, he is twenty-two years old and living in Bedford, Massachusetts with his wife, after escaping from his Maryland master. He has already become a licensed preacher and avid reader of the *Liberator*, but is yet to achieve the prominence that will follow his landmark August 1841 address to the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society on Nantucket Island.

Next Generation Free Black Leaders In 1840

Name	Age	Born
Thomas Dalton	46 years	Free
Reverend Samuel Cornish	45	Free
Reverend Theodore Wright	43	Free
Isabella Baumfree/Sojourner Truth	43	Slave
Charles Lennox Raymond	30	Free
Robert Purvis	30	Free
David Ruggles	30	Free
Martin Delaney	28	Free
Henry Highland Garnet	25	Slave
William Cooper Nell	24	Free
Frederick Douglass	22	Slave
Harriet Tubman	18	Slave

Chapter 124. The Political Scene In 1840



Dates:
1839-1840

- Sections:**
- The South Faces A More Threatening Electoral Terrain
 - The Candidates Line Up
 - Clay Delivers His "I'd Rather Be Right Than Be President" Speech
 - The Whigs Nominate William Henry Harrison

Date: 1840

The South Faces A More Threatening Electoral Terrain

Heading into the 1840 presidential campaign it's clear that the plantation scions of the South have reasons to fear that their control over the workings of the federal government may be slipping away from them.

Their linchpin here for over fifty years has been the strength of the Democrat Party, flowing from Jefferson through Andrew Jackson, always attentive to tamping down any anti-slavery rumblings across the North.

But dissatisfaction with Jackson's hand-picked presidential successor, Martin Van Buren, has intensified, as the economic recession following the 1837 Bank Panic persists. It is evident in the 1838 mid-term election, where Henry Clay's Whig Party picks up seats in both chambers of Congress.

Electoral Trends In U.S. Congress

	1834	1836	1838
U.S. House			
Total # of Seats	240	240	240
Whigs	37%	41%	45%
Democratic	59	53	52
Other	4	6	3
U.S. Senate			
Total # of Seats	52	52	52
Whigs	31%	33%	42%
Democratic	59	67	58
Other	10	0	0
President	AJ	MVB	MVB

Even more ominous to the Southerners are the population shifts reported in the 1840 Census.

From the beginning, the South anticipated that its warmer, agriculturally friendlier climate would translate into a growing share of the total U.S. population, and hence increase its power in the U.S. House. Instead it is the North that expands, in response to the trend away from rural farming and toward a more diverse economy and big cities.

By 1840, 57% of all Americans are living in the “free states” of the North, while only 43% reside in the “slave states” of the South – and movement to the west only adds to this disparity.

Distribution Of US Population

	1790	1820	1840
Total Free States	50%	53%	57%
Northeast	50	45	40
Northwest	---	8	17
Total Slave States	50	47	43
Border	12	15	13
Old South	38	27	19
Southwest	---	5	11
Grand Total	100%	100%	100%

Since total seats in the House are allocated according to shares of the total population, this 57-43% split in 1840 is very troubling to the South.

It is accompanied by another worrisome signal, a sense that those with anti-slavery sentiments in the North may be coming together in an organized fashion for the first time.

While outspoken abolitionists like Lloyd Garrison are still viewed as “radicals,” the American Anti-Slavery Society they found in 1833 has some 1300 local chapters and a quarter of a million members enrolled by 1838. If this movement continues to grow, the South fears that pressure will build in Congress to stop the future expansion of slavery.

Such a move would prove devastating to its future economic engine – the promise of new plantations to the west, producing more cotton and requiring the purchase of “excess” slaves being bred in the east.

As control of the U.S. House slips away, the South must rely on two other sources of political power to protect its interest. The first is the Senate, which stands evenly split in 1840 between Free vs. Slave states, based on a series of “gentlemen’s agreement” compromises to date.

Senate Make-Up In 1840

South – “Slave”	Border – “Slave”	Northeast – “Free”	North West – “Free”
1788 South Carolina	1787 Delaware	1787 Pennsylvania	1803 Ohio
1788 Georgia	1788 Maryland	1787 New Jersey	1816 Indiana
1788 Virginia	1792 Kentucky	1788 Connecticut	1818 Illinois
1789 North Carolina	1821 Missouri	1788 Massachusetts	1837 Michigan
1796 Tennessee		1788 New Hampshire	
1812 Louisiana		1788 New York	
1817 Mississippi		1790 Rhode Island	
1819 Alabama		1791 Vermont	
1836 Arkansas		1821 Maine	

The second Southern defense lies in trying to elect a President who will defend, not threaten, slavery.

Date: 1839

The Candidates Line Up



At the May 5-6, 1839, convention in Baltimore, the Democrats again line up behind their sitting President, Martin Van Buren, who demonstrates that he remains in firm control of the Party apparatus by winning nomination on the first ballot.

The delegates do, however, signal a small slavery-related mutiny by refusing to support Van Buren’s current Vice-President, Richard Mentor Johnson.

Southerners oppose him for having maintained an open liaison with his now deceased slave, Julia Chinn. Some Northern opponents object to having any slave owner on their ticket.

Henry Clay (1777-

When the two sides fail to agree on an alternative, Van Buren is left to run by himself.

Meanwhile, the Whig Party founder, Henry Clay, is convinced the time has come for him to save the country from the “tyrannies” of King Andrew Jackson and his successor. As he says, we will finally “see the Goths expelled from the Capitol.” And his confidence is high:

If we do not beat him (Van Buren), we deserve to be gibbeted.

For three decades, since becoming Speaker of the House in 1811, Clay has been the most dominant force in Congress, leading the debate on foreign policy, holding the nation together through political compromises, and seeking to strengthen its economy and infrastructure. His fierce belief in the centrality of the legislative branch has placed him in conflict with the imperial presidency of Andrew Jackson, and he has founded the Whig Party to put an end to the Democratic Party run.

The 1840 election is Henry Clay’s time to reach all of his lifelong goals. But it is not to be.

Date: February 7, 1839

Clay Delivers His “I’d Rather Be Right Than Be President” Speech

While Clay has advanced the Whig Party cause by touting the economic promises of his “American System,” he has historically shied away from speaking directly about the issue of slavery – although it is well known that he currently owns forty-eight slaves who toil away on his Ashland plantation.

On February 7, 1839, he decides to remedy this in a landmark speech to the Senate, titled “Petitions for the Abolition of Slavery.” As usual, his analysis is pristine and prescient, with main points as follows:

- Slavery has been a long-standing moral stain on the nation.
- It is understandable that Abolitionist’s wish to put an end to it.
- However, this wish is both impractical and dangerous.
- Abolition would devastate the South’s cotton economy.
- It would threaten social control and the safety of the white population.
- In turn abolition would encourage a fearful South to secede from the Union.

Before the speech, Clay reviews the remarks with a Southern friend, Senator William Preston of South Carolina, who warns him that it will lead to attacks from those on both sides of the issue. Clay’s response to Preston defines the speech for all time:

I trust the sentiments and opinions, and I’d rather be right than be President.

Date: December 4-7, 1839

The Whigs Nominate William Henry Harrison

Preston's assessment quickly proves right.

Much to Clay's chagrin, the arch pro-slavery Democrat, Calhoun, immediately praises the speech on the senate floor! This only reinforces the belief among Northern "Conscience Whigs" that Clay has simply offered one more lame slave owner's defense of the status quo.

At the same time, many Southern Whigs are offended by his labeling slavery a "moral stain" and by the notion that he "understands the abolitionist's cause."

On December 4, 1839, the "Democratic Whig National Convention" opens in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania. By this time, the race is down to three men, after Daniel Webster, hated across the South, drops out. All three have won early national fame for their roles in the War of 1812:

- Clay, whose war-hawk stance prompted the conflict, and who negotiated the peace treaty ending it;
- General Winfield Scott, whose gallantry in battle helps secure Ft. George in 1813; and
- General William Henry Harrison, victor at Tippecanoe in 1811 and over Tecumseh in 1813.

While ten months have passed since Clay's speech on slavery, other elements within his party now join hands to oppose his candidacy.

The Anti-Masonic wing, notably Thurlow Weed of New York and Thad Stevens of Pennsylvania, attack him, first for refusing to renounce his Grand Master status in the Kentucky Lodge, then as a two-time loser. As the acerbic Stevens says:

Clay is a Mason and a loser.

They are joined by a cadre of New Englanders who still hold a grudge against Clay for failing to aggressively support Daniel Webster's nomination in 1836.

Clay's campaign managers also underestimate Harrison's strength among the various factions in the Whig coalition. Veterans of the Indian wars remain loyal to "Old Tip." He is no Freemason. His record of winning seven states in the 1836 election proves his popular potential. And his geographical reach extends from his birthplace in Virginia, to his time spent as Governor of the Indiana Territory, to his adopted state of Ohio.

When the first ballot is cast, Clay holds a slim lead.

But his opponents now pounce. New Yorkers such as Weed and Henry Seward believe that Clay will lose to Van Buren, and, on the second ballot, they peel away his support in Connecticut and Michigan in favor of Scott, their temporary "blocking candidate." Then another Clay opponent, Thad Stevens, spreads a false rumor among Southern delegations that Scott supports abolition, and they swing to Harrison, putting him over the top on the third ballot.

1839 Whig Nomination Voting

Ballot	Clay	Harrison	Scott
1	103	91	57
2	95	91	68
3	90	148	16

Harrison is not chosen until midnight on December 6, at which time the weary crowd begins to search for a way to console their deeply disappointed party founder, and to insure unity going forward.

They explore naming one of Clay's supporters to the ticket as Vice President, but all three men – John Clayton, Benjamin Leigh and Reverdy Johnson – decline.

On the following day, the delegates settle on their “General plus a Southerner strategy” by selecting the Virginian, John Tyler, to run with Harrison. This is Tyler's second official appearance on a Whig ticket, having previously run for Vice-President with two of the Whig's “four regional candidates” in 1836.

His choice, apparently a hollow honor, will soon boomerang on the Whigs in a profound way.

Date: December 4-7, 1839

Chapter 125 – Abolitionists Enter Politics After An Internal Schism



Dates:
November
13, 1839

- Sections:**
- Garrison Alienates Some Supporters By Further Radicalizing His Agenda
 - James Birney And Gerrit Smith Embrace A Political Path To Abolition
 - Abolitionists Found The Liberty Party

Date: 1839

Garrison Alienates Some Supporters By Further Radicalizing His Agenda



Lloyd Garrison (1805-1879)

While the Whigs and Democrats are forming up their plans for the 1840 elections, the issue of “political action” is dividing what was heretofore a united Abolitionist front.

From the beginning, the Boston-based abolitionists – Lundy, Garrison, Phillips, Mott, Whittier and Douglass – have refused to turn their cause into a political movement, which they fear would lead to compromising and softening their attacks on slavery.

By 1839, however, this perspective is being challenged by leaders like James Birney, Theodor Weld, the Tappan brothers and Gerrit Smith, who represent the New York and Ohio wings of the movement.

This division breaks into the open at a January 1839 meeting of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society.

Garrison is once again at his shrillest here over a full range of American social norms and institutions.

He moves beyond calls for immediate emancipation and black assimilation to open support for racial intermarriage, feminine equality and suffrage, and passive resistance to laws he rejects. He castigates the clergy and all political parties, and urges others to join him in no longer voting in elections.

Much of this is beyond the pale for the more moderate New York and Ohio faction. Instead of drawing additional mainstream Americans into their cause, they see Garrison’s increasingly radical messages as

driving people away and destroying the one practical path to their end – gathering enough popular support to pass abolition laws in Washington.

From 1839 forward, the Abolitionists will find themselves split into two wings.

Lloyd Garrison’s Boston-based followers will try to stay out of politics, and rely strictly on the *Liberator*, other written material, their itinerant public lecturers and various public societies to free all slaves.

The New York and Ohio-based wing will jump into the political arena, first by offering up their own abolitionist party, and later by backing Whigs, Democrats and other party members who support their cause. This element will also drift beyond politics and into violent resistance as time passes.

Date: 1839 - on

James Birney And Gerrit Smith Embrace A Political Path To Abolition



Gerrit Smith (1797-1784)

Two men in particular will lead the Abolitionists into the political arena and, later, into violent protest – James Birney, an ex-slave owner living in Ohio, and Gerrit Smith, the philanthropic reformer from upstate New York.

Birney grows up in Danville, Kentucky, where slavery is taken for granted. His father owns slaves, and he is given several as a wedding present when he marries the aristocratic Agatha McDowell. His education at the College of New Jersey (Princeton) leads on to a very successful legal practice in Danville. He is a powerful debater, and enters the political arena in 1816 when elected to the state legislature.

In 1819 he picks up and moves to Alabama to try his hand at running a cotton plantation that includes some 43 slaves. Once there he helps write the constitution that leads to statehood in 1819, and eventually serves in the state’s first legislature. His political stance is staunchly pro-Clay and anti-Andrew Jackson.

On the surface, Birney’s future as a Southern planter and politician seems fixed by age 28, in 1820.

But then his world comes apart. He suffers crop failures which, combined with gambling debts and lavish spending, lead on to financial ruin. He loses a child and becomes an alcoholic. Finally he decides to sell off most of his slaves to pay debts, and to move to Huntsville to try to pick up the pieces as a lawyer.

This works. He joins the Presbyterian Church in 1826, which restores his bearings. He serves as a States Attorney, then is elected Mayor of the city in 1829. But much of his energy focuses on a personal quest – exploring his past involvement with slavery. His final conclusion shock fellow Southerners:

Slavery is a sin before God. Men have no more right to enact slavery than they have to enact murder.

Birney now follows through on his new convictions. He frees and pays off his remaining slaves, actively works on behalf of the American Colonization Society, and formally connects with the Abolitionist movement through Theodore Weld.

After moving back to Danville in 1835 Birney leaps into the center of the controversy by publishing an abolitionist paper, *The Philanthropist*. When local mobs threaten his safety, he moves north to the free state of Ohio, only to see his paper become a precipitating cause of the race riots that again disrupt Cincinnati in 1836. The attacks on Birney and the riots bring another prominent Ohio figure, Salmon P. Chase, into the Abolitionist cause.

These two will soon be joined by Gerrit Smith, a figure well known for supporting experiments in social re-engineering.

Smith is born in Utica, N.Y. into fabulous wealth, accumulated by his father, Peter, who is a long-term partner in John Jacob Astor's fur trading empire. After graduating from Hamilton College, he takes over management of the estate and grows it handsomely.

Like many other reformers of his era, Smith's life is re-shaped by the Reverend Charles Finney. In 1835 he attends revivalist services led by Finney in Utica, New York. From then on, he becomes a life-long supporter of the preacher, and a major financial contributor to his Oberlin College.

Under Finney's influence, Smith defines his agenda as a philanthropist. He begins with temperance, then branches out into abolition, land and prison reform, women's suffrage, even vegetarianism and Irish independence.

In 1839, Smith's focus lies on working with Birney and Chase to move the abolition cause into the political arena where rhetoric can be translated into laws and action.

Date: November 13, 1839

Abolitionists Found The Liberty Party



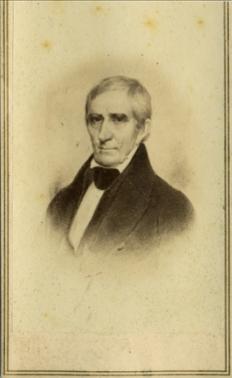
Arthur Tappan (1786-1865)

On November 13, 1839, a coalition including Birney, Chase, Smith, Arthur Tappan and New York Judge William Jay, meet in Warsaw, New York, and agree on a charter for “The Liberty Party.”

Resolved, That, in our judgment, every consideration of duty and expediency which ought to control the action of Christian freemen requires of the Abolitionists of the United States to organize a distinct and independent political party, embracing all the necessary means for nominating candidates for office and sustaining them by public suffrage.

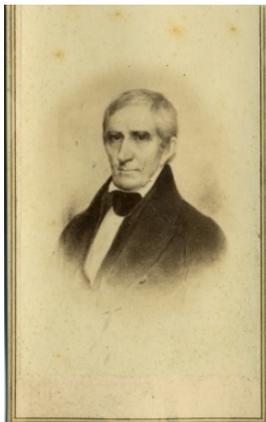
The new party holds its first convention at City Hall in Albany, N.Y., with 121 delegates from six states present. James Birney is nominated to run for President, with Thomas Earle, a noted lawyer and journalist from Pennsylvania, chosen to run as Vice-President.

Chapter 126 – Harrison Wins The Election Of 1840 Then Dies

	Dates: March 4 – April 6, 1841	Sections: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • William Henry Harrison Becomes America’s Ninth President • Personal Profile: William Henry Harrison • Inaugural Address • Harrison Dies After One Month In Office • Vice-President Tyler Claims The Oval Office
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Date: Fall 1841

William Henry Harrison Becomes America’s Ninth President



William Henry Harrison
(1773-1841)

The election of 1840 is marked by a dramatic upswing in the number of popular votes cast, probably the result of growing public unrest with the economy and the excitement surrounding Harrison’s candidacy.

Popular Votes Cast For President

Year	Number	% Vs Y-A
1832	1,286,700	+12.1%
1836	1,502,300	+16.8
1840	2,411,808	+60.5

The race itself marks a turning point in the character of political campaigning. Instead of focusing on “issues” – where Harrison’s positions are typically vague – the Whigs focus on selling his “personal story” vis a vis Van Buren.

Despite his patrician roots in Virginia, Harrison is cast as “Old Tip,” a “log cabin and hard cider” common man of the West, and a military hero in wars against the Indians and the British. Meanwhile, the Whigs paint Van Buren as “Van Ruin,” a New York snob, detached from the economic suffering of the people caused by the inept policies of his administration.

Harrison actively pursues the high office, touring the country, making speeches, handing out log cabin-shaped bottles of whiskey. Van Buren follows tradition, staying in the White House and allowing surrogates to reach out on his behalf.

Voting runs from October 30 to December 2 with 80% of all eligible taking part.

The Whigs win 19 of 26 states, sending the Democrats and Martin Van Buren down to an eye-opening defeat. The popular count – 53% to 47% -- turns out closer than many expect. But in the electoral college, Harrison runs away from Van Buren by a margin of 234 to 60.

The new Liberty Party records fewer than 7,000 votes in total.

Results Of The 1840 Presidential Election

1840	Party	Pop Vote	Elect Tot	South	Border	North	West
Harrison	Whig	1,275,390	234	50	28	123	33
Van Buren	Democrat	1,128,854	60	44	4	7	5
Birney	Liberty	6,797	0	0	0	0	0
Other		767					
		2,411,808	294	94	32	130	38

State by state returns show the North turning against Van Buren, including his home state of New York, along with a pronounced weakening of the Democrats hold on the “solid South.”

Party Power By State

South	1836	1840	Pick-Up
Virginia	Democrat	Democrat	
North Carolina	Democrat	Whig	Whig
South Carolina	Whig (Mang)	Democrat	Democrat
Georgia	Whig (White)	Whig	
Alabama	Democrat	Democrat	
Mississippi	Democrat	Whig	Whig
Louisiana	Democrat	Whig	Whig
Tennessee	Whig (White)	Whig	
Arkansas	Democrat	Democrat	
Border			
Delaware	Whig (Har)	Whig	
Maryland	Whig (Har)	Whig	
Kentucky	Whig (Har)	Whig	
North			
New Hampshire	Democrat	Democrat	
Vermont	Whig (Har)	Whig	
Massachusetts	Whig (Web)	Whig	
Rhode Island	Democrat	Whig	Whig
Connecticut	Democrat	Whig	Whig
New York	Democrat	Whig	Whig
New Jersey	Whig (Har)	Whig	
Pennsylvania	Democrat	Whig	Whig
Ohio	Whig (Har)	Whig	
Maine	Democrat	Whig	Whig
Indiana	Whig (Har)	Whig	
Illinois	Democrat	Democrat	
Iowa	Democrat	Democrat	
Michigan	Democrat	Whig	Whig

The Whigs also sweep to victory in both houses of Congress.

Congressional Election Of 1840

House	1838	1840	Chg.
Democrats	126	98	(28)
Whigs	108	144	36
Anti-Masonic	6		(6)
Conservative	2		(2)
Other			
Senate			
Democrats	29	22	(7)
Whigs	23	29	6
Anti-Masonic			
Conservative			
Other			
	Van	Harr	

For the first time since John Quincy Adams victory in the 1824 election, the Democratic Party's stranglehold on political control has been broken!

Personal Profile: William Henry Harrison

Harrison's career mirrors Andrew Jackson's in many ways. He is born a British citizen in the old South, although in his case to a wealthy father, who signed the Declaration of Independence, served as governor of Virginia and is master of the Berkeley Plantation. After studying medicine at Penn College, he joins the army and in 1794 serves under Mad Anthony Wayne in his fight against Indian tribes in the NW Territory.

Harrison's future now lies in the West, much like Jackson. He marries an Ohio woman, resigns from the army to enter politics, and in 1799 wins a seat in the U.S. House. In 1800 he pushes the Harrison Land Act through congress, winning lasting approval from settlers by lowering the per acre price for new homesteads. John Adams names him the first governor of the vast Indiana Territory (what will become Indiana, Michigan, Illinois, Wisconsin and part of Minnesota), and he serves from 1801-1812.

On November 6, 1811 he defeats a confederation of tribes (Shawnee, Pottawatomie, Miami and others) near Prophetstown, Indiana, at the Battle of Tippecanoe. In 1812 he wins the Battle of Thames in upper Ontario, killing Chief Tecumseh, who had sided with Britain in the war, and is the acknowledged leader of the Indian uprisings.

Like Jackson, these victories on the battlefield mark him forever as a national hero.

After serving in the House and Senate from Ohio between 1816 and 1828, Harrison retires to his farm to breed horses and open a distillery. But in 1836 he is back in politics as the newly formed Whig Party convinces him to run for President. While losing to Van Buren, he records over 550,000 votes.

As the slavery issue heats up, Harrison's views prove sufficiently ambiguous to not alienate any Whig factions.

Despite his early involvement with anti-slavery Quakers and Methodists at college, Southerners are comforted by the fact that he has grown up on a Virginia plantation, and that, in 1803, as Governor of the Indiana Territory, he tries to repeal the "free soil" ban on slaves.

Meanwhile, anti-slavery elements find reassurance in an 1833 speech, where he declares:

I am accused of being friendly to slavery. From my earliest youth to the present moment, I have been the ardent friend of Human Liberty. At the age of eighteen, I became a member of an Abolition Society established at Richmond, Virginia; the object of which was to ameliorate the condition of slaves and procure their freedom by every legal means... I have been the means of liberating many slaves, but never placed one in bondage... I was the first person to introduce into congress the proposition that all the country above (North of) Missouri... should never have slavery admitted into it.

By 1840, Harrison's slaves have been "converted" into indentured servants, and he publicly adopts what will become the "centrist position" on the issue – concern about the morality of the institution, a hope that it will wither away over time, combined with a promise to not have the federal government interfere in the state's rights of the South.

Time: March 4, 1841

Inaugural Address

Harrison is 68 years old when he steps to the podium on March 4, 1841, to take the oath of office from Chief Justice Taney. The temperature is 48 degrees, but a brisk wind chills the onlookers. As the oldest president elect to that time, Harrison is intent on demonstrating his personal vitality, so he refuses to wear an overcoat, hat or gloves. He also delivers the longest inaugural address in history, lasting for one hour and 45 minutes.

His opening line sounds a particularly ironic note given his soon to be fate -- the old warrior called out of retirement to spend the "residue of (his) life" as chief executive:

Called from a retirement which I had supposed was to continue for the residue of my life to fill the chief executive office of this great and free nation, I appear before you, fellow-citizens, to take the oaths which the Constitution prescribes as a necessary qualification for the performance of its duties; and...to present to you a summary of the principles which will govern me in the discharge of the duties which I shall be called upon to perform.

In a thinly disguised slam at Jackson and Van Buren, he reassures the nation that his administration will reject any notions of “divine right” when it comes to wielding executive power:

We admit of no government by divine right...the Constitution.. contains declarations of power granted and of power withheld.

From there he launches into a lengthy and thoughtful analysis of the 1787 Constitution, citing issues facing the founders, precedents from the Romans and Greeks, his interpretation of the core principles and how he intends to treat them while in office.

He dwells on the veto and promises to use it, but only sparingly. He cites the founder’s early fears about the federal government drowning out the voice of the individual states – but concludes that this hasn’t happened.

The great dread (was that) the States would be absorbed by those of the Federal Government and a consolidated power established, leaving to the States the shadow only of that independent action for which they had so zealously contended and on the preservation of which they relied as the last hope of liberty...(But) the General Government has seized upon none of the reserved rights of the States.

He attacks the patronage system as a force for corrupting government, and the “unhallowed union” which has developed between the Treasury and the Executive.

(Regarding) the divorce, as it is called, of the Treasury from the banking institutions. It is not the divorce which is complained of, but the unhallowed union of the Treasury with the executive department, which has created such extensive alarm.... I have determined never to remove a Secretary of the Treasury without communicating all the circumstances attending such removal to both Houses of Congress.

He admonishes politicians for staying too long in office, and promises that he will exit after one term :

I give my aid to it by renewing the pledge heretofore given that under no circumstances will I consent to serve a second term.

He insists that all revenue generating schemes originate with the Legislature, not the Executive, and that those wishing to abolish a paper currency are dead wrong.

An exclusively metallic currency...appears to me to be fraught with more fatal consequences than any other scheme having no relation to the personal rights of the citizens that has ever been devised

He promises to protect the absolute freedom of the press and the shared rights of all living in the District of Columbia. Avoiding conflicts between states or sections is paramount to the overriding goal of preserving the sacred Union.

Of all the great interests which appertain to our country, that of union—cordial, confiding, fraternal union—is by far the most important, since it is the only true and sure guaranty of all

others... The spirit of liberty is the sovereign balm for every injury which our institutions may receive.

Foreign policy is touched on briefly, with the usual assurances about maintaining friendly relations with all.

I should give some indications to my fellow-citizens of my proposed course of conduct in the management of our foreign relations. I assure them, therefore, that it is my intention to use every means in my power to preserve the friendly intercourse which now so happily subsists with every foreign nation

As he winds down, he turns, like many of his predecessors, to the threat to both liberty and the Union that he sees in partisan politics.

Before concluding, fellow-citizens, I must say something to you on the subject of the parties at this time existing in our country...The true spirit of liberty...is mild and tolerant and scrupulous as to the means it employs, whilst the spirit of party, assuming to be that of liberty, is harsh, vindictive, and intolerant...

If parties in a republic are necessary to secure a degree of vigilance sufficient to keep the public functionaries within the bounds of law and duty, at that point their usefulness ends. Beyond that they become destructive of public virtue...It was the beautiful remark of a distinguished English writer that "in the Roman senate Octavius had a party and Anthony a party, but the Commonwealth had none."

Always the friend of my countrymen, never their flatterer, it becomes my duty to say to them from this high place to which their partiality has exalted me that there exists in the land a spirit hostile to their best interests—hostile to liberty itself. It is a spirit contracted in its views, selfish in its objects. It looks to the aggrandizement of a few even to the destruction of the interests of the whole. The entire remedy is with the people...It is union that we want, not of a party for the sake of that party, but a union of the whole country for the sake of the whole country...All the influence that I possess shall be exerted to prevent the formation at least of an Executive party in the halls of the legislative body. I wish for the support of no member of that body to any measure of mine that does not satisfy his judgment and his sense of duty to those from whom he holds his appointment...

By now cold to the bone, he takes his leave – a leave that will last only thirty-one days.

I deem the present occasion sufficiently important and solemn to justify me in expressing to my fellow-citizens a profound reverence for the Christian religion and a thorough conviction that sound morals, religious liberty, and a just sense of religious responsibility are essentially connected with all true and lasting happiness;

Fellow-citizens, being fully invested with that high office to which the partiality of my countrymen has called me, I now take an affectionate leave of you.

Harrison Dies After One Month In Office

Harrison begins his term by visiting and studiously evaluating all six Departments of government, and then naming his cabinet. It includes men who will be marked by their dedication to preserving the Union, including, to Clay’s chagrin, Daniel Webster, as Secretary of State.

William Henry Harrison’s Cabinet

Position	Name	Home State
Secretary of State	Daniel Webster	Massachusetts
Secretary of Treasury	Thomas Ewing	Ohio
Secretary of War	John Bell	Tennessee
Attorney General	John Crittenden	Kentucky
Secretary of Navy	George Badger	North Carolina
Postmaster General	Francis Granger	New York

Other administrative duties descend swiftly on Harrison.

Despite criticism of the patronage or “spoils” system established by Jackson and Van Buren, he is immediately besieged at the White House by those seeking favors. To escape, he takes to walking unaccompanied around the capital.

One such stroll ends with a downpour, from which he develops what appears to be a severe cold.

On March 26, when his condition worsens, Harrison calls upon his doctor, Thomas Miller, complaining of fatigue and “derangement of the stomach and bowels.” Miller is 35 years old at the time, an 1829 graduate of the University of Pennsylvania medical school, and a highly regarded professor and surgeon.



Dr. Thomas Miller (1806-1863)

Miller proceeds to “purge” Harrison’s intestinal system, through doses of laxatives, opium and a series of enemas, administered over the next eight days. Nothing works, and the President suffers increased intestinal pain and bouts of delirium.

At 3PM on April 3, he is hit by “profuse diarrhea,” with his extremities turning blue, and his pulse fading. He dies at 12:30am on April 4.

Miller attributes the death to pneumonia, but admits to uncertainty about his diagnosis. Modern analysis suspects typhoid fever, attributable to the same polluted drinking water in Washington that later sickens President Polk and perhaps kills President Taylor. If in fact Harrison suffered from Salmonella pathogens in his intestines, Miller’s “treatment” probably hastens his end -- since opium inhibits natural expulsion of the infection and enemas only spread its effects.

The death leaves the country without a sitting president for the first time in its history.

Its initial response lies in providing a proper funeral for Harrison. The White House is draped in black crepe and the Episcopalian ceremony, by invitation only, is held in the East Room. Six white horses carry the ex-President's body on a two mile journey, filled with well over 10,000 onlookers, to a public vault, where it is stored until a later trip home to North Bend, Ohio, for final burial. May 14 is declared as a day of national mourning.

The recorded cost of the funeral is \$3,088, including \$90 for a walnut coffin. Harrison's wife is later awarded \$25,000; the one year salary allotted the Chief Executive.

Vice-President Tyler Claims The Oval Office

While the burial ceremonies proceed, Daniel Webster's son, Fletcher, rides to Williamsburg, Virginia to inform John Tyler of Harrison's death. The Vice-President is there because he has no responsibilities in Washington until the Senate reconvenes in June. But Tyler has received reports of Harrison's illness and is poised to assert his claim to successor status. He makes a hasty journey to DC, arriving on April 6 to meet with the Cabinet and assume command.

At this point, a legal debate ensues, with opponents of Tyler arguing that he is merely the "Acting President," serving until another election can be called to choose a permanent successor. They try to make their case around wording in the 1804 Twelfth Amendment which says the Vice-President shall "act as President" not "become" President.

If the House shall not choose a President...then the Vice-President shall act as President, as in the case of the death or other constitutional disability of the President.

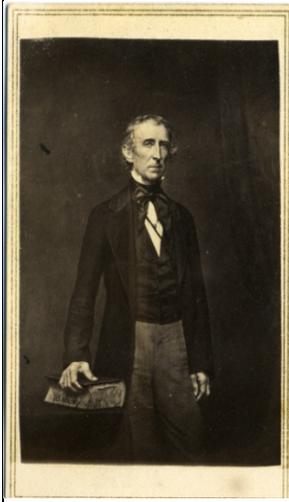
Tyler simply ignores the issue, plows forward and takes the oath of office, and at fifty-one years old becomes, de facto, the youngest man to serve so far as President.

Critics of Tyler like John Quincy Adams are immediately alarmed:

Tyler is a political sectarian, of the slave-driving, Virginian, Jeffersonian school, principled against all improvement, with all the interests and passions and vices of slavery rooted in his moral and political constitution — with talents not above mediocrity, and a spirit incapable of expansion to the dimensions of the station upon which he has been cast by the hand of Providence, unseen through the apparent agency of chance. No one ever thought of his being placed in the executive chair.

Henceforth opponents will refer to him with the snickering epithet "His Accidenty."

Chapter 127 – John Tyler Is America’s Tenth President



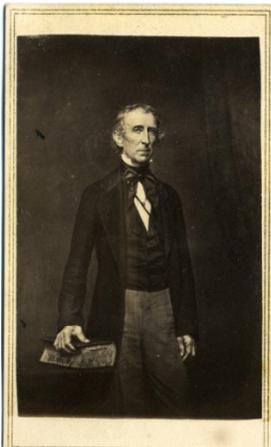
Dates:
April 4, 1841 – March 4, 1845

Sections:

- Personal Profile: John Tyler
- Tyler’s Message To The Nation
- Overview of Tyler’s Term

April 1841

Personal Profile: John Tyler



John Tyler (1790-1862)

John Tyler grows up on “Greenway” plantation, a 1200 acre estate on James River that relies on slaves to grow tobacco.

His father, “Judge” John Tyler Sr., serves in the Continental Army but opposes the Constitution on grounds that it limits state’s rights and disadvantages the South. As Governor of Virginia (1808-1811) he remains a staunch anti-Federalist. He is also a friend of Thomas Jefferson, who often dines at Greenway with the Judge and his son.

Young Tyler is a precocious student and graduates from the College of William & Mary at 17 years of age, and passes the bar at nineteen. By 1811 he has built his own reputation as a criminal defense attorney and, through his connections, is elected to Virginia’s House of Delegates. He joins the militia during the War

of 1812, but sees no action. In 1813 Tyler inherits Greenway upon the death of his father, then marries the beautiful but reclusive Letitia Christian, who also brings her own wealth to the union.

He is elected to the U.S. House at age twenty-six, and remains there from 1816-1821, consistently voting against Henry Clay’s attempts to build the nation’s infrastructure, pass protective tariffs and establish a strong central bank. His views on slavery are those of the aristocratic planters – a stated moral discomfort with the practice, followed by rationalization of its necessity, additions to his personal ownership, and some vague wish to see it wither away over time. In line with these views, he votes against the Missouri

Compromise of 1820 for imposing what he considers an illegal constraint on the spread of slavery into the west.

By no stretch of the imagination do his thoughts or votes to this point peg him as a future Whig supporter!

Tyler abandons Congress in 1821, frustrated by what he considers the constant erosion of state's rights. He returns home to Virginia, but is soon bored by farming and jumps back into politics, serving as Governor from 1825 to 1827. After that, he returns to DC and the U.S. Senate in 1827, replacing the unhinged John Randolph and proclaiming himself a Jackson Democrat.

But he turns against Jackson in 1833 during the Nullification Crisis. He views the "Force Bill," aimed at blocking South Carolina secession, as one more overreach by the federal government against the sovereign wishes of the states. His is the only Southern Democrat "no vote" in the Senate on the measure.

A year later, he has flipped his support over to Henry Clay, almost as a "lesser evil" than Jackson. When he sides with Clay to "censure" Jackson for removing funds from the U.S. Bank, the legislature in Virginia orders him to reverse his course. This leads him to resign his seat in 1836.

At this point, Clay and the Whigs begin to view Tyler as a handy political pawn in their scheme to defeat the Democrats.

He plays along with this in the 1836 election, running as a Vice-Presidential candidate on two of the four Whig "regional tickets" designed to deny Van Buren an outright victory and throw the final choice into the House. His role is to attract Southern votes, based on his status as a Virginian, a slave owner, and an opponent of a "too powerful" Executive.

While Van Buren wins in 1836, Tyler is henceforth viewed as an affable "go-along" politician, one who could pass as a Southern Whig – despite his early ties to the opposition.

It is this shallow assessment which causes the weary Whig delegates at the December convention to select Tyler to run as Vice-President, after three "Clay men" have turned the offer down.

At that moment, none recognize that the "Tippecanoe and Tyler Too" union will backfire when Harrison dies and a true "closet Democrat" replaces him in the White House.

April 9, 1841

Tyler's Message To The Nation

On April 9, Tyler issues a brief message outlining some thoughts about his presidency. He begins by acknowledging the unique circumstances leading to his position, and the potential for attacks based on the "spirit of faction."

For the first time in our history the person elected to the Vice-Presidency of the United States, by the happening of a contingency provided for in the Constitution, has had devolved upon him the

Presidential office. The spirit of faction, which is directly opposed to the spirit of a lofty patriotism, may find in this occasion for assaults upon my Administration.

Instead of a full inaugural address he says he will offer...

A brief exposition of the principles which will govern me in the general course of my administration of public affairs (which) would seem to be due as well to myself as to you.

He begins with foreign affairs, possibly anticipating tensions between Mexico and the Republic of Texas.

In regard to foreign nations, the groundwork of my policy will be justice on our part to all, submitting to injustice from none. While I shall sedulously cultivate the relations of peace and amity with one and all, it will be my most imperative duty to see that the honor of the country shall sustain no blemish.

He then expresses concerns over the “spoils system” (i.e. patronage) that so troubled him about both the Jackson and Van Buren administrations. His reference to “removals from office” may portend future changes he has in mind for the cabinet inherited from Harrison.

The patronage incident to the Presidential office, already great, is constantly increasing...I will at a proper time invoke the action of Congress upon this subject, and shall readily acquiesce in the adoption of all proper measures which are calculated to arrest these evils, so full of danger in their tendency. I will remove no incumbent from office who has faithfully and honestly acquitted himself of the duties of his office, except in such cases where such officer has been guilty of an active partisanship or by secret means... I have dwelt the longer upon this subject because removals from office are likely often to arise, and I would have my countrymen to understand the principle of the Executive action.

He shifts to financial management, promising to avoid public debt in time of peace, and then to end the “war between the Government and the currency” – an evident reference to Jackson’s distrust of soft money.

In all public expenditures the most rigid economy should be resorted to, and, as one of its results, a public debt in time of peace be sedulously avoided. A strict responsibility on the part of all the agents of the Government should be maintained and speculation or defalcation visited with immediate expulsion from office and the most condign punishment.

The public interest also demands that if any war has existed between the Government and the currency it shall cease... I shall promptly give my sanction to any constitutional measure which, originating in Congress, shall have for its object the restoration of a sound circulating medium, so essentially necessary to give confidence in all the transactions of life...

In regard to familiar tensions between state and federal sovereignty, he will be the strict constructionist, “abstain(ing) from all attempts to enlarge the range of powers...granted...the Government,” since to do otherwise would “break asunder the bond of union...or end in a bloody scepter and iron crown.”

Those who are charged with its administration should carefully abstain from all attempts to enlarge the range of powers thus granted to the several departments of the Government other than by an appeal to the people for additional grants, lest by so doing they disturb that balance which the patriots and statesmen who framed the Constitution designed to establish between the Federal Government and the States composing the Union.

The observance of these rules is enjoined upon us by that feeling of reverence and affection which finds a place in the heart of every patriot for the preservation of union and the blessings of union....An opposite course could not fail to generate factions intent upon the gratification of their selfish ends, to give birth to local and sectional jealousies, and to ultimate either in breaking asunder the bonds of union or in building up a central system which would inevitably end in a bloody scepter and an iron crown.

With those vague and wandering guidelines on the record, Tyler begins his controversial four year term.

Date: 1841-1843

Overview Of Tyler's Term

Tyler's term will prove both controversial and consequential regarding America's future destiny.

After being sworn in, the assumption throughout the capital is that the "Accidental President" will bend his will to the hierarchy within the Whig Party. As Preston Blair, editor of the Democrat's newspaper *The Washington Globe*, puts it: Tyler will be "Clay's pliant tool" in the White House.

But Clay is not the only one seeking control, as Tyler finds out when his inherited cabinet tells him of Harrison's intent to count their votes as equal to his on policy decisions. His response sets the tone for what is soon to follow:

I am very glad to have in my cabinet such able statesmen...and I shall be pleased to avail myself of your counsel and advice. But I can never consent to being dictated to. I am the President and I shall be responsible for my administration.

From then on, Tyler shows his true political colors as a states' right Democrat and a slave-holder.

He immediately frustrates Clay's attempt to create another Federal Banks to fund the Whig's infrastructure projects. In response, they gather and officially oust him from the Party, then follow by hurling rocks at the White House terrifying his stroke-ridden wife, Leticia, and leading to a police patrol to guard the property.

From there they do their best to frustrate every move he makes. On three occasions, the Senate refuses to confirm Caleb Cushing – a Whig who stays loyal to Tyler – as Secretary of the Treasury. They also turn away all four of his Supreme Court nominees.

Still Tyler's term witnesses a series of events that will dramatically heighten the sectional tensions over slavery and eventually set the stage for war.

First is an increase in the number of Northerners who are at least “troubled” by the notion of human bondage. This feeling is sparked during the “religious awakening” phase, with its calls for moral perfection and social reform. It is broadened by agitation from abolitionists like Garrison and his formation of organized anti-slavery societies. Then it’s carried into the political arena by the likes of J.Q. Adams and Joshua Giddings in Congress, and philanthropists Gerrit Smith and the Tappan brothers with their Liberty Party.

This draws a response from the South with clergyman James Henley Thornwell arguing that slavery is “ordained by the Bible” -- a claim that provokes heated disputes within the three main Protestant Churches and ends with ominous North-South doctrinal schisms.

Tyler also encounters more ongoing challenges to the Fugitive Slave Act. One involves a mutiny aboard the American ship *Creole*, which ends with some 135 slaves being freed in Nassau by a British court. This act, along with other at sea and border disputes, threatens warfare, until resolved by the Ashburton-Webster Treaty of 1842. A second controversy involves a female slave who ends up living in Pennsylvania and sues for her release under the theory of “once free, forever free.” Much to the dismay of the abolitionists, this notion is dismissed by the U.S. Supreme Court in the landmark *Prigg v Pennsylvania* decision.

Finally, it is during Tyler’s term that Americans become enamored with the notion of “Manifest Destiny,” the idea that its borders should extend all the way to the Pacific Ocean, across territory currently owned by Mexico. This leads to a series of exploratory expeditions by the Army Corps of Engineers and Lt. John C. Fremont to produce accurate maps of the Oregon Trail and the coast of California. His lyrical descriptions of these journeys are an overnight sensation and heighten public support for westward expansion, beginning with the annexation of Texas – a fateful move that Tyler supports and that eventually leads to the Mexican War and re-opens the toxic debate over slavery.

On the economic front, the economic depression Tyler inherits from Van Buren continues to plague the nation up to 1844, when some signs of recovery appear.

Economic Overview: John Tyler’s Term

GDP	1840	1841	1842	1843	1844
Total (\$MM)	1574	1652	1618	\$1550	\$1690
% Change	(5%)	5%	(2%)	(4%)	9%
Per Cap	92	94	89	\$83	\$88

John Tyler is 54 years old when his term ends. He reflects on his “accidental presidency” in brief remarks on his last day in the White House:

In 1840 I was called from my farm to undertake the administration of affairs, and I foresaw that I was called to a bed of thorns...I rely on future history, and on the candid and impartial judgment of my fellow citizens, to award me the meed due to honest and conscientious purposes to serve my country.

The ex-President will live on for another 15 years, mostly at his Virginia plantation, “Sherwood Forest.” One of his remaining joys will be his youthful new bride Julia, whom he marries in June 1844, after losing his first wife Leticia in September 1842. Together they will have seven children to go along with the eight Tyler fathered before.

As the threat of war reaches a boiling point in April 1861, Tyler returns to Washington to sponsor the Virginia Peace Conference, which fails to find a compromise. At that point, he goes with his home state, Virginia and is elected to the CSA House, but dies on January 18, 1862, before its opening session.

Key Events: Tyler’s Term

1841	
April 4	President Harrison dies after 31 days; Tyler is first to succeed as Vice-President
April 10	Horace Greeley begins to publish his pro-Whig and anti-slavery <i>New York Tribune</i>
August 6	Congress passes Whig’s Fiscal Bank Bill (similar to Bank of US)
August 11	Frederick Douglass addresses an Anti-Slavery meeting in Nantucket
August 13	Congress repeals Van Buren’s Independent Treasury Act
August 16	Tyler vetoes Whig’s Fiscal Bank Bill as unconstitutional
September 2-3	Another race riot breaks out in Cincinnati
September 3	Congress passes revised Fiscal Bank Bill to address Tyler’s concerns
September 9	Tyler vetoes the new bill and attempt to override veto voted down in Senate
September 11	Tyler’s cabinet resigns en masse, all except for Sec. of State Daniel Webster
November 7-9	Slaves on <i>Creole</i> , going from Va. to New Orleans, kill crew & are freed in Nassau
Year	George Ripley starts up his Brook Farm utopian community
1842	
January 24	JQ Adams presents Haverill, Mass petition or peaceful dissolution of the Union
March 1	Supreme Court in <i>Prigg v Commonwealth of Pa</i> says that the state cannot forbid seizure of run-away slaves – but says enforcement is left up to the state, not fed
March 21-23	Abolitionist Joshua Giddings censured in House for supporting escape of <i>Creole</i> slaves & opposing all shipping of slaves in US waters; he resigns his seat on Mar 23
March 30	Highly protective Tariff of 1842 passes Whig controlled Congress
March 31	Henry Clay resigns from Senate to prepare run for White House; Martin Van Buren also sees opportunity to succeed Tyler.
March	Mass Chief Justice Lemuel Shaw rules that a union is legal org. & may strike
April	Alexander Baring, 1 st Baron Ashburton arrives to negotiate US-UK issues
May	John C. Fremont embarks on first expedition to the Rocky Mountains
June 10	Lt. Charles Wilkes returns from 4 year 90,000 mile voyage across Asia Pacific
August 9	Webster, Tyler and Ashburton agree on a US-UK Treaty
August 29	The Senate approves the Webster-Ashburton Treaty
September 10	First Lady Leticia Tyler dies at the White House
September 11	Mexican soldiers invade Republic Of Texas & capture San Antonio
October 20	Va. run-away slave, George Latimer, arrested in Boston
Fall	Fremont returns from his successful mapping expedition to the South Pass Whigs suffer massive losses in Congress in mid-term elections
1843	
May 8	Daniel Wester resigns as Secretary of State

May 22	Large band of settlers head from Missouri to Oregon territory
May	Fremont leaves Missouri on expedition to Columbia River and California
July 24	Abel Upshaw confirmed as Secretary of State
August 14	Second Seminole War ends in Florida
August 23	Mexican President Santa Anna warns US that annexation of Texas would lead to war
August 30-31	Abolitionist Liberty Party nominates James Birney for President
Year	Vermont state assembly votes to ignore Fugitive Slave Act
1844	
March 6	John C. Calhoun becomes Sec. of State, after Abel Upshur killed in ship explosion
March	Fremont expedition arrives in Sacramento
April 4	Fourierist socialist organization elects George Ripley (Brook Farm) as President
April 12	Tyler signs Texas Annexation negotiated by Calhoun & submits to Senate
April 27	Both Clay and van Buren publicly oppose Texas Annexation
May 1	Whigs nominate ticket of Henry Clay and Theodore Frelinghuysen
May 6-8	Violent clash between Catholics & Protestants in Philadelphia, with 20 killed
May 27-29	Democrats reject Van Buren & nominate dark-horse James Polk, backed by Jackson
June 8	Senate rejects Texas Annexation Treaty
June 27	Mormon leader Joseph Smith murdered in Nauvoo, IL
December 3	House repeals 1836 Gag Rule in response to JQ Adams calls
December 4	Polk defeats Clay for presidency
Year	Baptist Church splits North vs. South over ownership of slaves by members
1845	
February 28	Congress "resolution" (not a 2/3rds majority treaty) annexes Texas
March 3	Florida admitted to Union as 27 th state
March 4	Polk is inaugurated

Chapter 128 – Tyler Turns Against The Whigs And They Turn Against Him



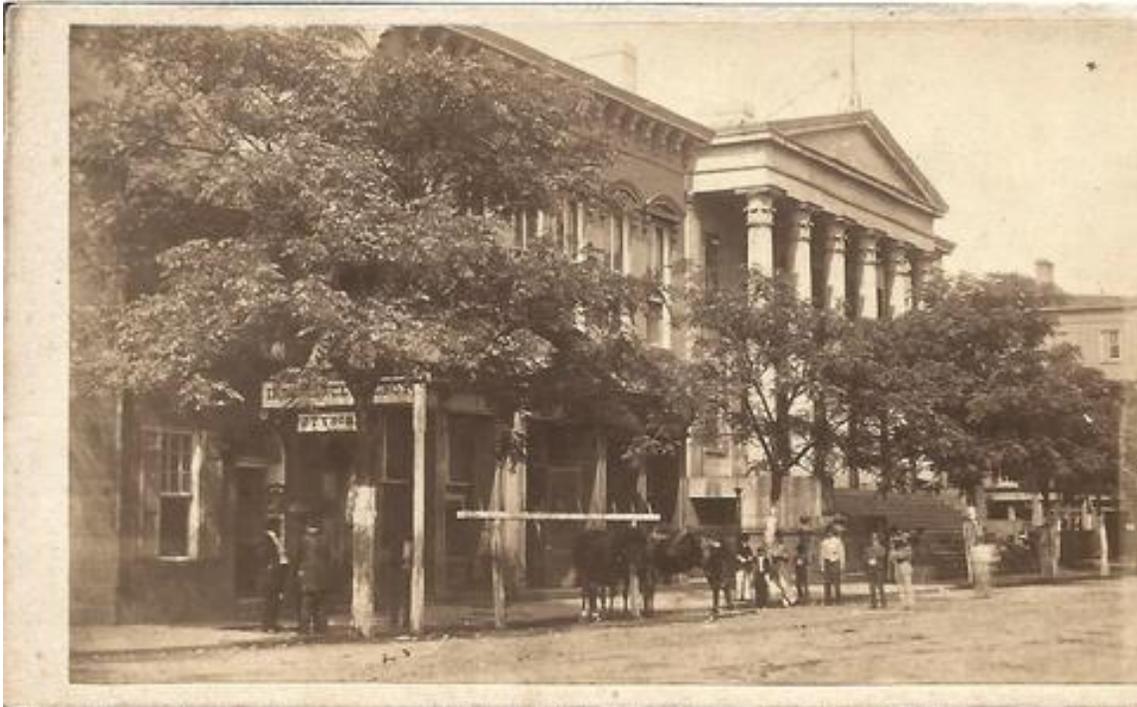
Dates:
August 6 – September 11, 1841

Sections:

- The Whigs Pass A Fiscal Bank Bill
- Tyler Issues Two Vetoes
- Tyler's Cabinet Resigns And He Is Drummed Out Of The Party

Time: August 6, 1841

The Whigs Pass A Fiscal Bank Bill



A Bank And Custom House In Savannah

The Whigs victory in 1841 is driven in large part by public anger over the uncertain currency and sluggish economy that has plagued the country since Jackson's "Specie Circular" order and the subsequent Panic of 1837.

A year earlier, on July 4, 1840, Van Buren finally gets congressional support to create his Independent U.S. Treasury, where all federal revenues received are held in a "public entity" (the Treasury Department) rather than being distributed to "private state banking corporations," whose motives are forever distrusted by the Democrats.

While this approach does help stabilize the currency, it also bureaucratic in nature -- slowing down the circulation of capital to private entrepreneurs willing to take the risks to grow their own wealth and that of the total economy.

Men like Henry Clay, who are intent on aggressively boosting investment in roads, bridges, canals, trains and other “infrastructure enablers,” argue that the U.S. will lag behind as long as risk-averse Government investors in charge of the capital.

Their solution lies in one more Bank of the United States, this time a Third version after the First BUS is shut down in 1811 by Jefferson, and the Second by Jackson in 1833.

Starting in May 1841 Clay pleads with Tyler to support this bank. When Tyler says he needs more time to consider the matter, Clay says that his answer is unacceptable. Tyler’s comeback signals the end of all hope for comity between the two:

Then, sir, I wish you to understand this — that you and I were born in the same district; that we have fed upon the same food, and have breathed the same natal air. Go you now then, Mr. Clay, to your end of the avenue, where stands the Capitol, and there perform your duty to the country as you shall think proper. So help me God, I shall do mine at this end of it as I shall think proper

Clay proceeds to repeal Van Buren’s Independent Treasury Act and then come forward with his replacement, camouflaged as the “Fiscal Bank,” which Congress approves on August 6, 1841.

The language in the Act is intended to force Tyler’s hand, since it “mandates” that each state create a branch, whether or not their legislature supports it. Were the President to approve this wording, it would alienate the state’s rights Democrats and bring Tyler to heel as a Whig; on the other hand, a veto would reveal his true colors as a Jeffersonian.

Tyler recognizes the trap, saying to friends:

My back is to the wall, and while I deplore the assaults, I shall...beat back the assailants...Those who all along have opposed me will still call out for further trials, and thus leave me impotent and powerless.

Time: August 15 – September 9, 1841

Tyler Issues Two Vetoes

On August 15 Tyler vetoes the “Fiscal Bank” bill, as unconstitutional,

Democrats salute the veto, while Whigs are appalled:

Poor Tippecanoe! It was an evil hour that “Tyler too” was added to make out the line. There was rhyme, but no reason to it.

Clay launches into a ninety minute diatribe in the Senate against Tyler on August 18, suggesting that he resign. He is joined in the House by John Minor Botts, a Virginian previously friendly with Tyler, who now accuses the President of lying to him all along about his support for the new bank.

In the early morning of August 19, a drunken mob pelts the White House with rocks and fires off gun, frightening Tyler's frail and reclusive wife, Leticia, and further upsetting the President. He asks that a police force be approved to guard the mansion.

Clay is anything but the Great Compromiser at this moment, and returns to Congress with a slightly revised bill featuring a name change. What was the "Fiscal Bank" is now cast as the "Fiscal Corporation."

This passes Congress on September 3.

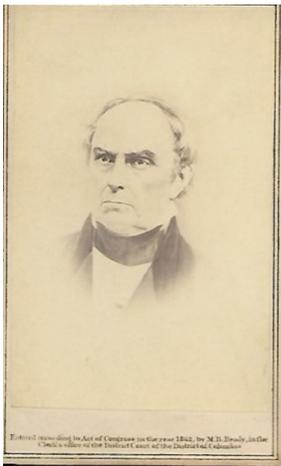
Tyler picks up the gauntlet and vetoes it on September 9, accompanied by another message to the people:

I distinctly declared that my own opinion had been uniformly proclaimed to be against the exercise "of the power of Congress to create a national bank to operate per se over the Union,"

...It is with great pain that I now feel compelled to differ from Congress a second time in the same session...It has been my good fortune and pleasure to concur with them in all measures except this. And why should our difference on this alone be pushed to extremes? It is my anxious desire that it should not be. I too have been burdened with extraordinary labors of late, and I sincerely desire time for deep and deliberate reflection on this the greatest difficulty of my Administration. May we not now pause until a more favorable time, when, with the most anxious hope that the Executive and Congress may cordially unite, some measure of finance may be deliberately adopted promotive of the good of our common country?

Time: September 11-13, 1841

Tyler's Cabinet Resigns And He Is Drummed Out Of The Party



Daniel Webster (1782-1852)

Events now move quickly and dramatically.

Tyler has sensed all along that his cabinet is against him.

(I am) surrounded by Clay men, Webster men, Anti-Masons, original Harrisons, old Whigs and new Whigs. (and) not a single sincere friend...

He is proven right just two days after his second veto, on September 11, when every member, except for Secretary of State Daniel Webster, turns in his resignation.

Clay believes, or at least hopes, that Tyler will also resign, and that, as Senate President pro tempore, he will be elevated to the office he deserves.

Tyler is bolstered, however, by Webster's decision to stay on, and, in so doing, to oppose Clay. He is also ready to name a replacement cabinet, and does so promptly. They are regionally balanced and all are

professed Whigs, except for Hugh Legare, a “Unionist Democrat” who opposed John Calhoun’s call for nullification.

John Tyler’s “Replacement” Cabinet

Position	Name	Home State
Secretary of State	Daniel Webster	Massachusetts
Secretary of Treasury	Walter Forward	Pennsylvania
Secretary of War	John C. Spencer	New York
Attorney General	Hugh Legare	South Carolina
Secretary of Navy	Abel Upshaw	Virginia
Postmaster General	Charles Wickliffe	Kentucky

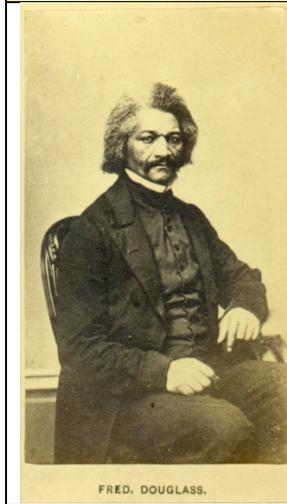
The fact that Tyler is able to recruit these Whigs gives him hope and confirms the presence of an anti-Clay wing of the party that helped Harrison win the 1840 nomination in the first place.

On September 13 some 50-80 “Clay men” in Congress gather at Capitol Square and formally expel Tyler from the Whig Party. The President records his own thoughts on this and on his plan for the future, which will have a distinctly Democratic cast to it.

I shall act upon the principles which I have all along espoused...derived from the teachings of Jefferson and Madison.

Meanwhile, in sticking with Tyler, Webster probably dooms his chances of becoming President. He will try twice for the Whig nomination, losing both in 1848 and 1852.

Chapter 129 – Frederick Douglass Makes His First Great Speech Against Slavery



Dates:
April –
August, 1841

Sections:

- Douglass Tells His Story To The Nantucket Anti-Slavery Convention
- Garrison Reacts To Douglass's Talk

August 11, 1841

Douglass Tells His Story To The Nantucket Anti-Slavery Convention



Frederick Douglass
(1818-1896)

While controversy swirls in DC around the bank bills, the future course of the abolition movement in America is being reshaped off the southern tip of Massachusetts.

On August 11, 1841, the Quaker abolitionist David Joy is hosting an Anti-Slavery Convention at Atheneum Hall on Nantucket Island. This is a rare mixed race event, with speakers including Lloyd Garrison and Charles Ray, the free black editor of *The Coloured American* newspaper.

After the formal speeches are concluded, a free black man named Frederick Douglass is invited to say a few words to the crowd about his life as a slave. As Garrison recalls in a letter written five years later, his demeanor and narration prove captivating to his audience.

A beloved friend from New Bedford prevailed on Mr. DOUGLASS to address the convention: He came forward to the platform with a hesitancy and embarrassment, necessarily the attendants of a sensitive mind in such a novel position. After apologizing for his ignorance, and reminding the audience that slavery was a poor school for the human intellect and heart, he proceeded to narrate some of the facts in his own history.

His story begins with his mixed race birth in 1818 in Talbot County, Maryland as the slave, Frederick Augustus Washington Bailey. He lives at The Great House Farm on a large plantation owned by a Colonel Edward Lloyd, with over 300 slaves growing tobacco, wheat and corn.

In his autobiographical *Narrative*, published by Garrison in 1845, Douglass recalls his first home:

There are certain secluded and out-of-the-way places, even in the state of Maryland, seldom visited by a single ray of healthy public sentiment—where slavery, wrapt in its own congenial, midnight darkness, can, and does, develop all its malign and shocking characteristics; where it can be indecent without shame, cruel without shuddering, and murderous without apprehension or fear of exposure.

His master is an overseer named Aaron Anthony, a vicious man, who terrifies the small boy by humiliating and whipping his Aunt Hester in his presence.

Anthony soon passes ownership of Douglass on to his daughter, Lucretia, who is married to Thomas Auld, also employed on Lloyd's plantation. From there, at age seven, he is sent to Baltimore to live with Thomas Auld's brother, Hugh, and his wife, Sophia. Douglass views this "escape" from plantation to city life as the beginning of his search for eventual freedom.

At first, Sophia Auld, who has never owned slaves, treats the boy with kindness, even agreeing to teach him the alphabet when Douglass shows curiosity about words. Her warmth, however, vanishes after Hugh warns her that educating slaves makes them rebellious and is strictly forbidden. But Sophia's slip has opened the door to literacy for Douglass, and he is on his way to becoming a voracious, albeit clandestine, reader.

Douglass says that his time with Sophia Auld teaches him two things: the necessity of education to set blacks free; and the moral damage that institutionalized slavery can do, even to well-intentioned whites like Mrs. Auld.

He remains in Baltimore for roughly seven years, working in a shipyard, and experiencing the urban world around him. The local newspapers inform him about John Quincy Adams and the early calls for abolition. He buys and devours a popular anthology called *The Colombian Orator*, which includes essays and speeches arguing for and against slavery. With help from dockworkers, he begins to learn how to form letters and to write words and sentences. Like Lincoln as a boy, he is educating himself.

In 1833 Hugh Auld has a falling out with his brother, Thomas, who in turn reclaims Douglass and makes him a kitchen servant in his house. When Thomas senses his independent spirit, he rents him out to a farmer named Edward Covey, known locally as a "slave breaker." He is a thoroughly despicable man, who goes so far as to invite neighbors to sleep with his women slaves for "breeding" purposes.

Covey converts Douglass into a "field hand" for the first time, and vows to "tame" his 16 year old charge. After six months of being starved and beaten, Douglass almost gives up.

My natural elasticity was crushed, my intellect languished, the disposition to read departed, the cheerful spark that lingered about my eye died; the dark night of slavery closed in upon me; and behold a man transformed into a brute!

But when Covey comes again to beat him, Douglass meets violence with violence and fights him off. While he risks execution in raising a hand to his master, Covey does not want the word of this resistance to leak out, so he backs off and never tries to whip Douglass again. In his autobiography he refers to this fight as the “turning point in my life.”

You have seen how a man was made a slave; now you see how a slave was made a man.

He also comes to regard Covey and the Aulds – all ardent churchgoers – as symbols of the failure of the white Christian ministry to speak out against the evil of slavery.

In 1835, Douglass is rented out to another farmer, the more lenient William Freeland, who is rebuffed by locals for allowing him to teach slaves to read at Sunday school services. At this point, Douglass ponders an escape, but his plans are foiled. He returns to Baltimore where Hugh Auld puts him to work as a caulker in a shipyard.

Again Douglass makes the most of his chances here in a broader external world. He joins the East Baltimore Mental Improvement Society, where free blacks hold debates. Through the Society he meets and falls in love with Anna Murray, a housekeeper. He is now 19 years old and on the brink of his escape to freedom.

His break occurs on September 3, 1838. With help from Anna, Douglass dons a red shirt, tarpaulin hat and black scarf posing as a free black sailor and moves by boat and train from Maryland to Delaware to Philadelphia and finally New York city, where he is housed by the African abolitionist, David Ruggles. Anna Murray follows him there and they are married two weeks later. He is given a new last name by a friend, Nathan Johnson, to help conceal his run-away status. The name is Douglass, after a hero in Sir Walter Scott’s epic poem, *Lady of the Lake*.

Douglass and Anna settle down in New Bedford, Massachusetts, where he takes on a series of menial jobs while searching for his new identity in free society. He joins the local African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church. He subscribes to Garrison’s paper, *The Liberator*, and begins to sense his calling. In April 1839 he hears Garrison lecture in New Bedford, and decides to attend a convention of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, held on Nantucket Island.

This event will change the arc of his future life.

Time: August 1841

Garrison Reacts To Douglass’s Talk

Those listening to Douglass on Nantucket are both moved by his narrative and surprised by the eloquence of his delivery. Garrison writes:

I shall never forget his first speech at the convention-the extraordinary emotion it excited in my own mind -the powerful impression it created upon a crowded auditory, completely taken by surprise- the applause which followed from the beginning to the end of his felicitous remarks.

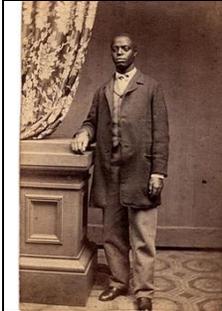
Garrison sees in Douglass a confirmation of his belief that Africans possess all the natural capacities of whites, if only given support and a small amount of cultivation.

I think I never hated slavery so intensely as at that moment; certainly, my perception of the enormous outrage which is inflicted by it, on the godlike nature of its victims, was rendered far more clear than ever. There stood one, in physical proportion and stature commanding and exact-in intellect richly endowed-in natural eloquence a prodigy-in soul manifestly "created but a little lower than the angels"-yet a slave, ay, a fugitive slave,-trembling for his safety, hardly daring to believe that on the American soil, a single white person could be found who would befriend him at all hazards, for the love of God and humanity! Capable of high attainments as an intellectual and moral being-needing nothing but a comparatively small amount of cultivation to make him an ornament to society and a blessing to his race-by the law of the land, by the voice of the people, by the terms of the slave code, he was only a piece of property, a beast of burden, a chattel personal, nevertheless!

Garrison compares Douglass' pleas for liberty and justice to those announced by Patrick Henry.

As soon as he had taken his seat, filled with hope and admiration, I rose, and declared that PATRICK HENRY, of revolutionary fame, never made a speech more eloquent in the cause of liberty, than the one we had just listened to from the lips of that hunted fugitive. So I believed at that time--such is my belief now.

Chapter 130 – Another Race Riot Breaks Out In Cincinnati



Dates:
September 3-4, 1841

Sections:

- Free Blacks Fight Back Against Rampaging White Mobs

September 3-4, 1841

Free Blacks Fight Back Against Rampaging White Mobs



A Free Black Man Standing Tall

On September 3, 1841 another violent race riot breaks out in Cincinnati.

It has been five years since the town was last torn apart by white mobs pillaging black neighborhoods, at that time in response to inflammatory newspaper articles by the abolitionist, James Birney.

Why the so-called “Queen City of the West” fosters such racial animosity may be explained in a telling observation from the French historian, Alexis De Tocqueville, who visits America in 1831:

Race prejudice seems stronger in those states that have abolished slavery than in those where it still exists, and nowhere is it more intolerant than in those states where slavery was never known.

Ohio is one such state that has never known slavery since entering the Union in 1803.

By 1840, however, the 95% white population in Cincinnati is living alongside 2,240 free blacks, many of whom have earned enough money to purchase their freedom. They have built their own community in the “Bottoms” neighborhood around the Bethel AME and Union Baptist Churches, opened three schools run by The Coloured Education Society, and hold upwards of 90 skilled labor jobs, from barbering to mechanics.

Still, the majority of mainstream white citizens want nothing to do with the Africans.

Not only do they regard blacks as a lesser species – the traditional 3/5th of a full man in the Constitution -- but also as a danger – to both their physical safety and their economic future. For Cincinnati lies directly across the Ohio River from the slave state of Kentucky, where its commercial transactions depend heavily on a willingness to oppose both talk of abolition and support for run-away slaves.

The presence of Lane Theological Seminary in Cincinnati further complicates the matter.

Lane opens in 1829 to train Presbyterian ministers in the west. In 1834 it is the site of fierce debates over slavery, which divides its President, Lyman Beecher, who favors gradual emancipation and colonization, from students led by Theodore Weld, a Finney disciple, who calls for freedom now and assimilation. While Weld's faction transfers to Oberlin College, some 220 miles to the North, abolitionist fervor still lingers in Cincinnati.

One proponent, the lawyer Salmon P. Chase, arouses the ire of local merchants in May 1841 when he wins a court case on behalf of Mary Towns, a runaway slave from Kentucky. This prompts the pro-slavery *Cincinnati Enquirer* newspaper to initiate a campaign against “trouble-makers” riling up the black population.

As summer rolls on, the city is hit by a prolonged heat wave and drought, which causes the river to fall, along with jobs on boats and wharves. Tensions increase daily and random fights break out. When word spreads that blacks are arming themselves for self-defense, anger mounts and white mobs, several hundred strong, begin to pillage black homes and businesses.

Rather than repeating their passive stance during the 1836 riots, blacks this time fight back, with some 50 organized and armed fighters led by 28 year old named Major James Wilkerson, grandson of a Revolutionary War soldier, and elder in the AME church. After Wilkerson's band initially drives them back on the night of September 3, white forces return with a six pound cannon and resume their reign of terror.

The violence ends when local militiamen step in to enforce marshal law. But the order restored is anything but just for the free blacks. The city authorities arrest 300 blacks and no whites; allow Kentuckians to visit jail cells in search of run-aways; re-institute the 1807 requirement that blacks post \$500 personal bonds; and seize all weapons held by blacks.

Like the race riots of 1824 and 1831 in the Hardscrabble area of Providence, and in Five Points N.Y. in 1834, the Boston violence in 1836 and 1841 set the stage for bloody times to come in America.

Chapter 131 – *Prigg v Pennsylvania* Adds To Mounting Tension Over “Fugitive Slaves”

	Dates: March 1, 1842	Sections: <ul style="list-style-type: none">• The Supreme Court Upholds The Fugitive Slave Law• A Loophole In the <i>Prigg</i> Decision Leaves Enforcement In Doubt• The <i>Prigg</i> Decision Prompts Garrison To Call For Disunion
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Date: March 1, 1842

The Supreme Court Upholds The Fugitive Slave Law



A Ruling Delivered

Slavery is also in the headlines in early March 1842, when the Supreme Court decides another case dealing with run-aways.

This one centers on a black woman, Margaret Morgan, whose parents were slaves to a mill owner named John Ashmore, in Hartford County, Maryland. While never signing formal manumission papers, Ashmore “constantly declares that he has set them free” as of 1820. Their daughter, Margaret, marries a free black man, Jerry Morgan, and they start a family. After living for several years in Maryland, the couple decides to move to York County, Pennsylvania. Ashmore makes no protest to these outcomes.

Then, five years later in 1837, John Ashmore dies and a female heir, his niece Margaret Beamis, claims that both Morgan and her children are now her property.

She hires a neighbor, Edward Prigg, to capture and return “the runaways.” While Prigg has a warrant, the constable in York County refuses to act on it, so Prigg forcibly abducts Morgan and her two children, and sells them to a slave dealer, who plans to ship them South.

A grand jury in Pennsylvania indicts Prigg and his three accomplices for violating the state’s 1826 Personal Liberty statute, and asks Maryland to arrest and extradite him. It agrees to do so, with the understanding that, if convicted, he will not be jailed until the U.S. Supreme Court rules on the case.

Prigg is tried in Pennsylvania and found guilty of kidnapping under the state law in question:

If any person...after the passing of this act, by force and violence, take and carry away...any negro or mulatto, from any part or parts of this commonwealth...with a design and intention of selling and disposing of...such negro or mulatto, as a slave or servant for life...his or their aiders or abettors, shall on conviction thereof...be deemed guilty of a felony..

This decision alarms the slave-holding states, especially Maryland, which appeals the decision in May 1840 on behalf of Prigg. It argues that the 1826 Pennsylvania law violates the euphemistic “Fugitives From Labor Clause” in Article IV of the Constitution, and the subsequent 1793 Fugitive Slave Act:

No person held to service or labor 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 labor; but shall be delivered up, on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due.

While clear about intent, neither law spells out whether enforcement belongs at the state or federal level.

On appeal, the Prigg case finally reaches the Supreme Court, where arguments are heard by Roger Taney and his associates on February 8-10, and a judgment is rendered on March 1, 1842.

Justice Joseph Story issues the overall “Opinion of the Court” which, by an 8-1 majority, strikes down the Pennsylvania law and rules in favor of Maryland and Prigg.

Date: March 1, 1842

A Loophole In the Prigg Decision Leaves Enforcement In Doubt

That apparent unanimity, however, is diminished when seven of the justices feel compelled to publish their own individual interpretations.

One such clarification belongs to Chief Justice Taney, ever a state’s rights advocate and a stickler for detail. He agrees that it is the right of the master to arrest a run-away in any state where found, but objects to the notion that local laws to support the effort have no bearing vis a vis federal statutes.

I concur in the opinion pronounced by the Court that the law of Pennsylvania, under which the plaintiff in error was indicted, is unconstitutional and void, and that the judgment against him must be reversed. But...I do not assent to all the principles contained in the opinion...(and) I agree entirely in all that is said in relation to the right of the master, by virtue of the third clause of the second section of the Fourth Article of the Constitution of the United States, to arrest his fugitive slave in any State wherein he may find him... But, as I understand the opinion of the Court, it goes further, and decides that the power to provide a remedy for this right is vested exclusively in Congress, and that all laws upon the subject passed by a State since the adoption of the Constitution of the United States are null and void...

A second opinion comes from the lone dissenter in the case, the formidable John McLean of Ohio. McLean is nominated to the high court in 1829 by Andrew Jackson and serves for 32 years, while repeatedly being offered various cabinet posts (including by Tyler), and even considered as a presidential candidate.

He is nicknamed the “Politician on the Supreme Court” and is outspoken in his life-long opposition to slavery. His dissent in the Prigg decision is one that will be heard in many future run-away cases under the rubric of “once free, forever free.”

Thus McLean contends that Margaret Morgan was de facto a free woman, having lived as such for five years without objection from Ashford in the Free State of Pennsylvania. Hence she was no longer a slave and the plaintiff had no right to abduct her in the first place.

This basic logic will be embraced by abolitionists and repeated over time. McLean himself will rely on it in his 1857 dissent from Taney in the landmark *Dred Scott* case.

None of the ongoing legal debates help either Margaret Morgan or her children. With the verdict in, they are returned to captivity in Maryland, and no records exist as to their subsequent fates.

But ironically the 8-1 decision in *Prigg* is not an entire loss for anti-slavery forces. A close reading of Story's majority opinion, opens a loophole around enforcing the law. It says that local magistrates will not be bound to cooperate with slave catchers if "prohibited by state legislation" from doing so.

This caveat leads to passage of just such "non-cooperation" statutes across the North which serve to infuriate Southern slave-owners.

Date: March 1842

The *Prigg* Decision Prompts Garrison To Call For Disunion



Lloyd Garrison (1805-1879)

Abolitionists are shocked by the high court's ruling in the *Prigg* case and none more so than Lloyd Garrison, who characterizes the decision as follows:

The slaveholding power (may now) roam without molestation through the Northern states seeking whomever it may devour.

In typical fashion, Garrison uses the adverse news to notch up his inflammatory rhetoric in *The Liberator*.

His first barrage calls upon the slaves to continue to free themselves by running away from their masters.

His inner circle, including Lucretia Mott, support this plea, but others feel that inciting slaves to escape will only lead to greater hardships and repression. Garrison is unbowed. The timid may embrace caution, but he will not.

And thus comes his second salvo – an outright call for Disunion.

Ever the investigative journalist, Garrison has now read Madison's "secretarial notes" on the closed door debates from the 1787 Convention, finally published in 1840, three years after the ex-president's death. He is appalled by the litany of immoral compromises made on slavery to achieve the union.

This was a Union at the expense of our coloured population.

In turn, he throws his outrage directly into the faces of the Boston Brahmins who are ever ready to defend the wisdom and courage of the founding fathers.

The Constitution, he writes, is “the Devil’s pact” and he declares the time has come to break the bond.

The repeal of the Union between Northern liberty and Southern slavery is essential.

Garrison is virtually alone in 1842 in his call for Disunion.

Mainstream Americans, both South and North, dismiss him as a radical trouble-maker – and those within the emerging “political wing” of the abolitionist movement see one more reason to distance themselves from him.

Yet his core supporters, often members of the New England Anti-Slavery Society he founded in 1831, remain loyal. On May 31, 1844, this regional group votes 250-24 in favor of Disunion.

Sidebar: The Shifting Size And Make-up Of The Supreme Court

While *Prigg* is decided by a total of nine justices in 1842, that number varies over time. The U.S. Constitution establishes the Supreme Court, but leaves it up to the first Congress to settle on its size. In 1789 that number is set at six. Adams tries to reduce it to five in 1801, but Jefferson bumps it back up to six in his first term and then seven in his second. It stay there until Jackson’s final day in office, when it moves up to nine.

Number of SCOTUS Justices

Date	Legislation	# Justices	President
Summer 1787	U.S. Constitution	TBD	----
Sept 24, 1789	Judiciary Act of 1789	6	Washington
March 2, 1801	Judiciary Act of 1801	5	Adams cuts by one
April 29, 1802	Judiciary Act of 1802	6	Jefferson adds back
Feb 24, 1807	Seventh Circuit Act	7	Jefferson
March 3, 1837	8 th and 9 th Circuit Acts	9	Jackson

From the beginning, Presidents attempt to “stack the court” in favor of judges who share their political views. Federalist-minded judges dominate until Jefferson moves toward Democratic-Republicans in 1804, aided by the expansion to seven seats. Van Buren completes Jackson’s shift toward Democrats achieving a 9-0 majority by 1841. This configuration holds until Fillmore names a Whig in 1851. Lincoln names four Republicans and one Democrat during his tenure. It is not until 1870, under Grant, that the Republicans control the court.

Political Make-Up Of The Justices

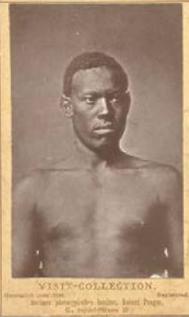
President	Ends	# Named	Split at Start	Split at End
Washington	1797	11	6 Federalists	6 Federalists
J. Adams	1801	3	6 Federalists	6 Federalists
Jefferson	1809	3	6 Federalists	4 Fed – 3 Dem/Rep
Madison	1817	2	4 Fed – 3 Dem/Rep	2 Fed – 5 Dem/Rep
Monroe	1825	1	2 Fed – 5 Dem/Rep	2 Fed – 5 Dem/Rep
JQ Adams	1829	1	2 Fed – 5 Dem/Rep	2 Fed – 5 Dem/Rep
Jackson	1837	5	2 Fed – 5 Dem/Rep	2 D/R – 5 Dem
Van Buren	1841	3	2 D/R – 7 Dem	9 Dem
Harrison	1841	0	9 Dem	9 Dem
Tyler	1845	1	9 Dem	9 Dem
Polk	1849	2	9 Dem	9 Dem
Taylor	1850	0	9 Dem	9 Dem
Fillmore	1853	1	9 Dem	8 Dem – 1 Whig
Pierce	1857	1	8 Dem – 1 Whig	8 Dem – 1 Whig
Buchanan	1861	1	8 Dem – 1 Whig	9 Dem
Lincoln	1865	5	9 Dem	5 Dem – 4 Republicans

Over this period, six men serve as Chief Justice, with two of them – John Marshall and Roger Taney – dominating their contemporaries in terms of influence on the cases taken and the final rulings.

Chief Justices Of The Court

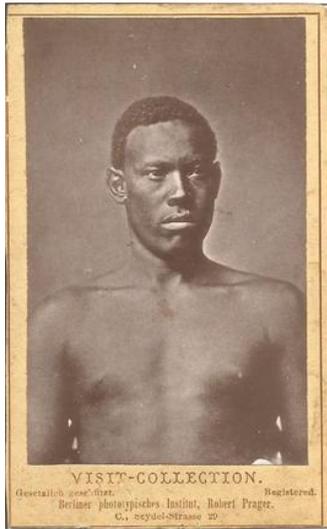
Name	Tenure	Nominated By	Politics
John Jay	1789-1795	Washington	Federalist
John Rutledge	1795	Washington	Federalist
Oliver Ellsworth	1796-1800	Washington	Federalist
John Marshall	1801-1835	Adams	Federalist
Roger Taney	1836-1864	Jackson	Democrat
Salmon Chase	1865-1873	Lincoln	Republican

Chapter 132 – The *Creole* Slave Rebellion Leads To Diplomatic And Congressional Conflicts

	<p>Dates: November 1841 to April 1842</p>	<p>Sections:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Britain Frees Mutinous Slaves From The Brig <i>Creole</i> • Abolitionist Joshua Giddings Is Censured By The House
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Date: November 7, 1841 – April 16, 1842

Britain Free Mutinous American Slaves From The Brig *Creole*



An African Man

Three weeks after the *Prigg* decision, another slavery-related controversy is played out in the U.S. House.

This one is reminiscent of the 1839 Amistad affair, again involving a bloody revolt aboard a slave ship.

In this case the vessel is the brig *Creole*, owned by a Richmond firm, and transporting 135 slaves from Virginia to the auction market in New Orleans.

On November 7, 1841, an open hatch allows a band of nineteen captives to come on deck and overpower the ten man crew, severely wounding the captain, Robert Ensor, and stabbing a slave dealer, John Hewell, to death. During the melee, several others are hurt, including a slave who subsequently dies.

The leader of the rebels is twenty-five year old Madison Washington, a former run-away to Canada, who had been recaptured in Virginia after coming back to retrieve his wife. Once in control of *Creole*, he orders the helmsman to sail east toward the free colony of Liberia, but alters course because the ship lacks the necessary provisions. Instead he turns south and, on November 9, arrives at Nassau, a British-owned island in the Bahamas, where slavery has been banned since 1834.

When the American Counsel, John Bacon, learns of the incident, he assembles a contingent of sailors to board the ship and return it to a U.S. port. The British Governor General, Sir Francis Coburn, who fought

in the War of 1812, learns of Bacon's plan and responds by sending local boats to surround the *Creole* in port.



A British Veteran Of the 1812 War

Two days later, on November 14, Coburn finishes an investigation of the rebellion and announces his verdict. Nineteen of the slaves are to be held for possible trial as “pirates,” while the remaining 116 blacks are immediately free to depart on their own.

As a further snub to American slave laws, British authorities subsequently conclude that they have no right to try Americans in their courts, and that there are no “extradition treaties” in place to send Madison Washington and the other rebels to the States. On April 16, 1842, the charges of “piracy” are dropped and all are officially released from custody.

Madison Washington vanishes from history at that moment, only to be remembered and romanticized in the 1852 novella, *The Heroic Slave*, written by Frederick Douglass.

The *Creole* outcome sets off a diplomatic firestorm between the United States and British diplomats, as well as between Southerners and the small band of vocal anti-slavery voices in Congress.

Date: January 24 – March 23, 1842

Abolitionist Joshua Giddings Is Censured By The House



Joshua Giddings (1795-1864)

The Congressional conflict is sparked by the 75 year old ex-President, John Quincy Adams, the first and still foremost abolitionist in Washington, since rejoining the House in 1833.

Ten weeks have passed since the initial release of the *Creole* slaves in Nassau, and Adams is on the House floor reading a series of “petitions” from his local constituents, again in clear violation of the 1836 “Gag Order.” These range from a demand to dissolve the Union in light of the *Prigg* fugitive slave decision, to censuring John Bacon, the American Counsel in Bahama, for trying to interfere in the *Creole* incident.

When Adams refuses to relinquish the floor, Representative Henry Wise of Virginia moves, on January 25, 1842, to censure him for “plotting with Britain to end slavery in America.” After cooler heads prevail

on behalf of the ex-President, southerners turn their fire on an easier target, Joshua Giddings, who also weighs into the *Creole* case.

On March 21 the Ohio abolitionist presents a nine part argument which asserts that the minute the *Creole* slaves left jurisdictional waters off Virginia, their status was no longer determined by state law.

When a ship belonging to the citizens of a state leaves the waters of that state, and enters upon the high seas, the persons on board cease to be subject to the slave laws of that state and are governed by the law of the United States.

This interpretation mirrors the “once free, forever free” view argued by Associate Justice John McLean’s in the *Prigg* ruling.

But Giddings goes further, saying that slavery violates “natural law” which supersedes municipal law.

Slavery is an abridgement of the natural rights of man (which) can exist only by force of positive municipal law.

Giddings’ argument is much more threatening to the South than was Adams’ in the *Amistad* case, one year earlier. There the slaves were owned by foreigners and found to be Africans by origin, a clear violation of the 1808 ban on international trading. Here the *Creole* slaves are born in America and owned by American citizens.

The Southerners pounce immediately on Giddings.

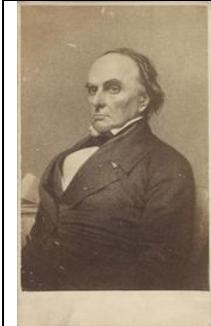
The only laws that govern the *Creole*, they say, are the Constitution and the Fugitive Slave Act – both declaring that owners are free to transport their human “property” into “Free States” without changing their status as slaves.

They pursue a formal “motion to censure” – first, for “introducing an anti-slavery resolution deemed to be incendiary,” and second, for “upsetting delicate treaty negotiations” between the U.S. and Britain focused on settling the Maine-Canada border disputes.

Giddings is given no chance to defend himself and becomes only the second member in House history to be condemned to this degree. After the vote he responds by rising from his chair, walking to JQ Adams desk to shake his hand, and resigning.

This flexing of Southern power is, however, short-lived. Six weeks after exiting the House, a special election in Ohio returns Giddings to the chamber by a vote of 7,469 to 383.

Chapter 133 – The Webster-Ashburton Treaty Resolves A Series Of Disputes With Britain

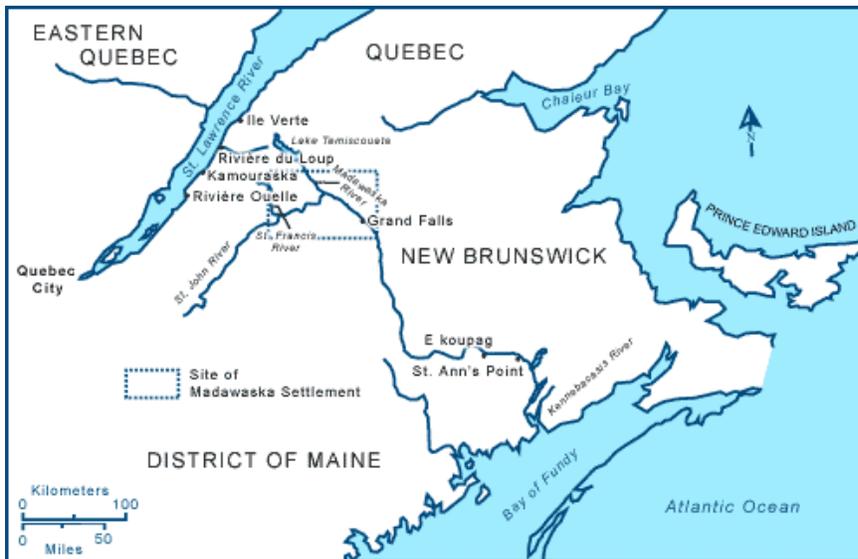


Dates:
1837-1842

- Sections:**
- Threats Of Another War With Britain Materialize
 - The Webster-Ashburton Treaty Resolves The Conflicts

Date:1837-1840

Threats Of Another War With Britain Materialize



Map Showing The Area Around Maine And New Brunswick

While the *Creole* incident plays out, negotiations are already under way toward resolving a series of other long-standing disputes between Britain and the United States.

The War of 1812 is a quarter century in the past, but violent confrontations continue to break out, especially along the Canadian border.

In 1837 anti-British protests by farmers in Ontario province lead to a “Republic of Canada” insurgency, which wins support from some Americans living on the Michigan and Ohio borders. In the process of suppressing the rebels, Britain finds that the American steamship *Caroline* has been carrying arms to the

enemy. On December 29, 1837, they assault the ship in port, kill a sailor, torch it, and set it adrift on Lake Niagara heading toward the falls.

The drama of its dying plunge over Niagara Falls is captured in newspaper headlines and lithographs which anger the American public and embed “Remember the *Caroline*” in the national lexicon. When formal protests to London from Van Buren are ignored, a retaliatory blow is struck in May 1838 as the British steamship *Sir Robert Peel* is boarded and burned in American waters.

A thornier and more long-standing conflict exists on the east coast.

Its roots go back to the Revolutionary War and the 1783 Treaty of Paris, which fails to spell out the border between Maine and the Maritime province of New Brunswick. The disputed land is rich in timber, and many violent episodes over cutting rights tend to erupt. But for Britain the issue goes beyond commerce to military security – with northern Maine viewed as a roadblock in their direct route from the Atlantic to the crucial citadel at Quebec City.

Tensions rise in 1838 when the British build an east-west road extending across the Aroostook Valley on land claimed by Maine. This leads to a series of clashes between lumber jacks, which escalate into national saber rattling. Congress authorizes a \$10 million expense for Van Buren to enlist 50,000 volunteers in 1839 to drive out the intruders, and Britain declares its intent to fight back as needed. But actual fighting is avoided when Van Buren realizes that U.S. financial problems are already severe enough without adding on a costly war. So ends the so-called “Aroostook War,” with a whimper, not a bang.

In 1840 the two sides are back at it over a post-script to the *Caroline* affair. A Canadian sheriff, Alexander McLeod, who brags about his role in the event, is arrested in New York state and charged with “murdering the sailor” during the raid. When the British learn of the arrest, they threaten war unless McLeod is released, up to the time the trial ends in an acquittal.

Between the *Creole* decision in Nassau, the *Caroline* incident, the Aroostook “war,” and the McLeod arrest, it becomes clear to the leaders of both nations that the time has come for peace talks.

Date: August 9, 1842

The Webster-Ashburton Treaty Resolves The Conflicts



Robert Peel (1788-1850)

The search for resolution is apparently initiated by Sir Robert Peel, a Tory, who begins his second stint as Prime Minister in August 1841, in the fourth year of Queen Victoria’s 63 year reign.

Peel selects the formidable Alexander Baring, 1st Baron Ashburton, to negotiate with the Americans. He is the 67 year old retired Chairman of Baring Brothers & Co, the international merchant banking firm founded by his father in 1762. The firm’s relations with the United States go way back in time, including a central role in closing the 1803 Louisiana Purchase deal. Ashburton’s wife is a

Philadelphia native, and he owns roughly one million acres (1500 square miles) of land in the contested region of Maine, so he is personally motivated to find a border resolution.

Ashburton is also a long-term associate of Secretary of State, Daniel Webster, having hired him to handle various legal matters for Baring Brothers in U.S. courts. In turn, Webster is a lifetime Anglophile, who has been a house guest of Ashburton's on visits to London.



Daniel Webster (1782-1852)

Ashburton arrives in April 1842 and meets with Webster and Tyler, whom he regards as “conceited and weak,” until the President wins him over with his hospitality. The two Americans need the negotiations to work out every bit as much as their guest, given their politically embattled status with the Clay-dominated Congress.

The talks focus on the central bone of contention, the border line between Maine and New Brunswick. Maps and records from the 1783 Treaty of Paris are resurrected in advance by Harvard historian Jared Sparks, who unfortunately concludes that the boundary proposed by the British is probably correct. Still Webster intends to rely on his negotiating talents and relationship with Ashburton to achieve a more attractive outcome.

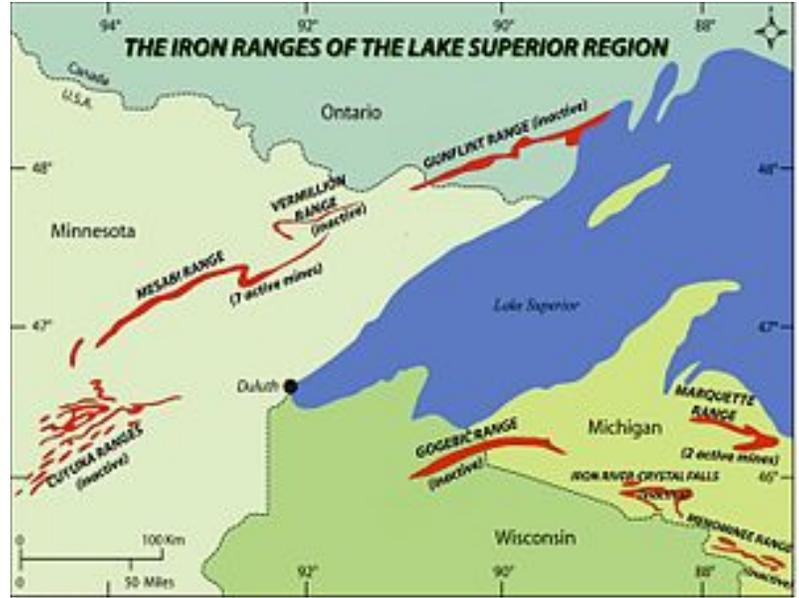
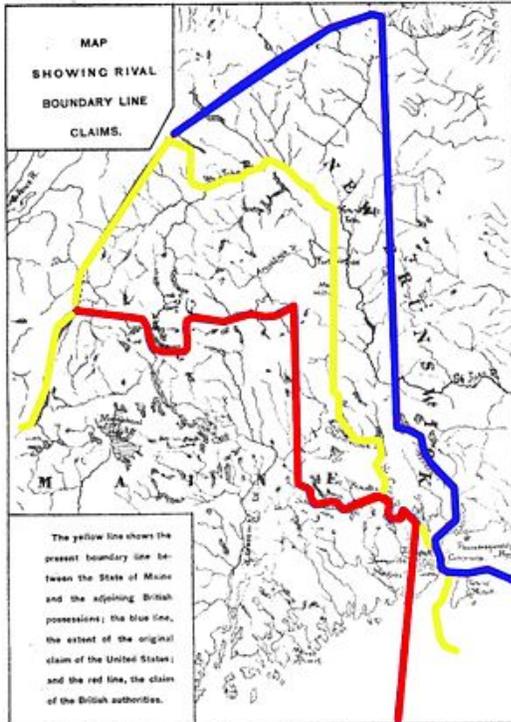
The British are not, however, the only ones who need to be won over. Fierce resistance to any compromise exists in northern Maine, and a secret government “contingency fund” is spent on a propaganda campaign to gin up state support. Some consider this expenditure an impeachable offense, but a later inquiry turns this aside.

The two parties remain at an impasse until Tyler meets personally with Ashburton, pleading that “if you cannot settle (the dispute), what man in England can?” This appeal leads to a final agreement reached on August 9, 1842.

The deal addresses four issues.

First and foremost, is the creation of a new compromise map for the Maine-New Brunswick border. In the deal, British Canada ends up with 5,000 square miles to the north, which satisfies their wish for a more direct passageway in the 650 mile trek from Halifax to Quebec. In return the U.S. gets 7,000 square miles below the British line in Maine, along with 6,500 square miles of land out west in northern Minnesota – the “Mesabi Range,” where vast deposits of iron ore are discovered in 1866.

Those easterners who dismiss the value of the British concession out west are soothed by \$125,000 payments made by Washington to the states of Maine and Massachusetts (the latter at one time having included all of Maine in its boundary).



The Webster-Ashburton Map, with Red = UK Proposal; Map Of The Masabi Range In Northern Minnesota Ceded To The U.S. Blue = US proposal; Yellow = Final Compromise.

When Webster raises the *Creole* affair, Ashburton initially dodges, saying that he lacks authority on the matter since the Nassau rulings transpired while he was in route to the States. When pushed, however, he reaffirms the British position that any slave reaching UK commonwealth soil will automatically be declared free. This principle – a slave reaching free territory is freed – is precisely what the South fears most, if applied domestically. So Webster persists, earning two concessions in the end: British officials in the West Indies will be instructed to avoid such incidents in the future when possible; and a commission will be set up to discuss compensation (which is later granted to the tune of \$100,000) for owners of the *Creole* slaves.

Ashburton is even less sympathetic when the torching of the *Caroline* is discussed. The message to America is stay out of future internal affairs in Canada, or else. For general face saving purposes the words “regrets” is floated out to the public.

Finally, Tyler proposes and Ashburton accepts a revised plan whereby US and UK ships at sea would avoid future boardings in search of international slave cargoes.

With the four frictions apparently resolved, the negotiators shake hands on August 9.

Webster anticipates resistance to several aspects of the treaty within the Senate, and two Democrats in particular – Thomas Hart Benson of Missouri and James Buchanan of Pennsylvania – attack it. But John C. Calhoun supports the deal as does Tyler’s nemesis in Virginia politics, William Rives, Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee.

On August 20, 1842 the Senate approves the Treaty by a vote of 39-9 – marking the one significant accomplishment that Tyler will achieve in foreign policy during his tenure.

Chapter 134 – America’s Drive To Explore The West Picks Up Momentum



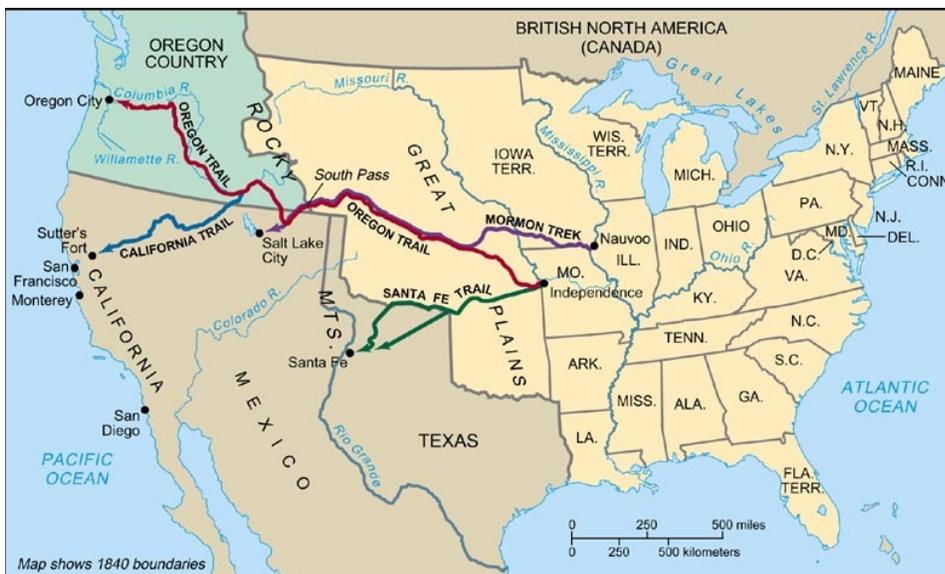
Dates:
1769 to-
1844

Sections:

- Western Exploration Milestones Prior To 1840
- Jedediah Smith Locates The “South Pass” And Circumnavigates The West Coast
- The Bonneville Expedition Opens A New Path Into California

Date: 1769 Forward

Western Exploration Milestones Prior To 1840



Map Of The Great Trails Heading West As Of 1840

While Webster and Ashburton are resolving border disputes centered on the Atlantic coast, America continues to turn its attention toward the West, the vast frontier land across the Mississippi, still claimed by Spain.

By 1800 overland routes through the Appalachian range have taken early settlers like Daniel Boone through Kentucky into Missouri. The Scottish fur trader, Alexander Mackenzie, has completed two expeditions across Canada, from Montreal to the Pacific Ocean. Captain Robert Gray of Rhode Island has sailed from Boston around the tip of South America at Cape Horn, and on to what he names the Columbia River in Oregon.

By 1820 Thomas Jefferson’s dream of exploring land routes to the west coast has been realized in expeditions led by Meriwether Lewis, William Clark and Zebulon Pike. The allure of great wealth to be had in the fur trade has drawn the likes of John Jacob Astor to establish a commercially viable outpost on the Oregon coast.

Trail blazing follows across east to west pathways founded by America’s native people. The Oregon Trail to the Pacific Northwest; the California Trail branch leading south to Sacramento; the Santa Fe Trail through New Mexico, then connecting with the Old Spanish Trail to Los Angeles. Along with these trails come settlers and commerce and the prospect of new states to join the Union. Arkansas becomes the second addition west of the Mississippi in 1836, the same year that a brash band of ranchers lays claim to the Republic of Texas.

With the east now tamed, the message to the venturesome is “go west.” The timing and origin of this advice remains in some dispute, but according to the native Vermonter and later day Iowa Congressman Josiah Grinnell, the phrase belongs to Horace Greeley, who tells him in 1833:

Go West, young man, go West. There is health in the country, and room away from our crowds of idlers and imbeciles.

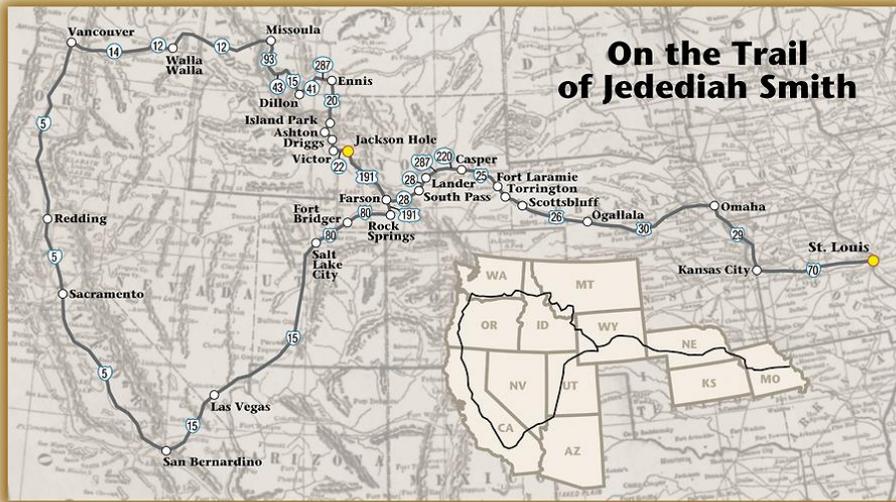
Americans Exploring the Far West

Date	
1769	Daniel Boone’s expedition crosses the Cumberland Pass
1778	George Rogers Clark travels down the Ohio river to Vincennes, Indiana
1792	Captain Robert Gray of Rhode Island sails to the Pacific northwest, names a river the Columbia after his ship and goes 12 miles inland on it.
1793	Scotsman Alexander Mackenzie crosses Canada to the Pacific for the Northwest Co.
1796	Thomas Jefferson expresses a wish to map the western lands
1799	Boone opens a settlement on Spanish territory in Missouri
1803	Jefferson asks Congress to fund a Northwest Passage exploration
1804	Lewis and Clark set out from Missouri to the Pacific in Oregon
1806	Lewis and Clark arrive back home with maps and other records
1806	Zebulon Pike begins to explore the Arkansas River
1807	Fur trader John Colter discovers geysers at Yellowstone in Wyoming
1808	John Jacob Astor founds his American Fur Co.
1811	The Fort Astoria fur trading outpost is established in northwest Oregon
1821	Missouri trader William Becknell blazes the southwest Santa Fe trail
1822	Jim Bridger leads first trapping expedition into the Rocky Mountains
1822	Jedediah Smith reaches Fort Henry on the Yellowstone River
1823	Stephen Austin opens the first American settlement in Tejas Province
1824	Jed Smith is first to cross the “south pass” in the Rocky’s Jim Bridger reaches Great Salt Lake in Utah
1825	The Erie canal links the Hudson River to Lake Erie
1826	Jed Smith reaches San Diego, California
1828	Jed Smith travels up the west coast from California to Oregon
1830	Jed Smith again crosses the South Pass and onto Oregon
1832	Indian land declared sovereign in <i>Worcester v State of Georgia</i> ruling

1833	Bonneville expedition to Idaho, Nevada and the California Trail
1834	Ft Laramie trading post opens on North Platte river in Wyoming
1836	Arkansas admitted to the Union; Republic of Texas starts up
1837	Michigan admitted to the Union

Date: 1824

Jedediah Smith Locates The “South Pass” And Circumnavigates The West Coast



Westward Loop Explored By Jedediah Smith (1799-1831)

The legendary mountain man, Jedediah Smith, is born in New York in 1799 and explores the west between 1822 and his untimely death in 1831.

Smith’s destiny is fixed as a youth by pouring over a copy of Lewis and Clark’s journals and landing a job on a Lake Erie boat, where he first encounters the fur trade. This lures him west to St. Louis, where, in 1822, he signs on as a member of the Rocky Mountain Fur Company.

The company is owned by General William Ashley and Major Andrew Henry, both veterans of the War of 1812. The men they recruit become famous as “Ashley’s Hundred,” known for their exploratory daring and their success with fur trapping and trading.

Two of Ashley’s men become famous throughout the region – one is Jim Bridger (1804-1881), the other is Jedediah Smith.

Both men travel up the Missouri River in 1822 to the mouth of the Yellowstone River in North Dakota. After a winter of trapping in the area, twelve members of the party are killed by Arikawa tribesmen while traveling back down the river. Both Smith and Bridger survive, and later mount a reprisal attack alongside their Lakota Sioux allies. The sobriquet “Captain Smith” is granted for Jedediah’s bravery in action, something further attested to by a reported life and death struggle he survives with a grizzly bear.

Smith's greatest contribution as a western explorer occurs in 1824 when, with guidance from local Crows, he becomes the first white man to cross the Rocky Mountains at the "South Pass" – which subsequently serves as the principal pathway to Idaho, Nevada and California.

Smith's prowess as a trapper leads to business partnerships, first with Ashley and later with William Sublette, who goes on to found Ft. Laramie, the re-supply depot for future travelers along the Oregon Trail.

Between 1824 and 1830, Jedediah Smith executes a vast circumference of the west, from the South Pass down through Utah and Nevada to San Bernadino, California, then up the entire coast to Vancouver, and back west via Montana and Wyoming to the Rockies crossing.

This journey marks him as the first white man to cross Nevada and the Sierra Range, and to transverse the coast.

His death follows shortly, and it is shrouded in mystery.

He departs St. Louis on April 10, 1831 with a party of 74 men, carrying goods to trade in Santa Fe. They proceed some 670 miles west to Wagon Bed Springs, Kansas. At a camp there, Smith breaks off from the group to scout for water, and is never seen again. Several months later, however, some of his personal belongings show up in Santa Fe in the hands of a local "commanchero," a Mexican who trades with the Comanches. This leads to speculation that Smith was probably probably killed by their tribesmen.

Date: 1833-1834

The Bonneville Expedition Opens A New Path Into California



General Benjamin Louis Eulalie de Bonneville (1796-1876)

Benjamin Louis Eulalie de Bonneville is a Parisian by birth who arrives in America in 1803 at age seven, courtesy of an Atlantic crossing paid for by his godfather, the patriot pamphleteer, Thomas Paine. He graduates from West Point in two years and serves at several frontier outposts – Ft. Smith (Arkansas), Ft, Gibson (Oklahoma) and the Jefferson Barracks (Missouri).

Like Jed Smith, he is bitten by the exploration bug, and asks for a two year leave of absence from the army to join an expedition to the "Oregon Country," sponsored by the tycoon John Jacob Astor and his American Fur Company. The time is 1832 and the boundaries within Oregon are still hotly disputed between Britain and the United States. Bonneville's leave is granted on the condition that he reports back to his commanders on the situation he finds out west.

He assembles a party of 110 men and departs from Missouri in May 1832. He heads across Missouri to the Platte River and follows it through Nebraska and into Wyoming, where he builds a fur trading post along the Green River dubbed Fort Bonneville, and remains there through the winter of 1832-33.



Ft. Bonneville (red dot) Along The Green River in Wyoming

In the Spring of 1833, Bonneville continues west into Idaho, following the Snake River route.



The Snake River Route Across Idaho

With Utah and the Great Salt Lake sitting due south of his route, he makes what will prove to be a crucial decision – by splitting his party in two. His personal charge is to continue west to the “Oregon Country,” but he either senses, or has been encouraged by the army, to also find a route into California.

Whatever the cause, on July 27, 1833, he breaks off a contingent of fifty – led by his right hand mountain man, Joe Walker – to explore the Great Salt Lake region and search for a path to Alta California.



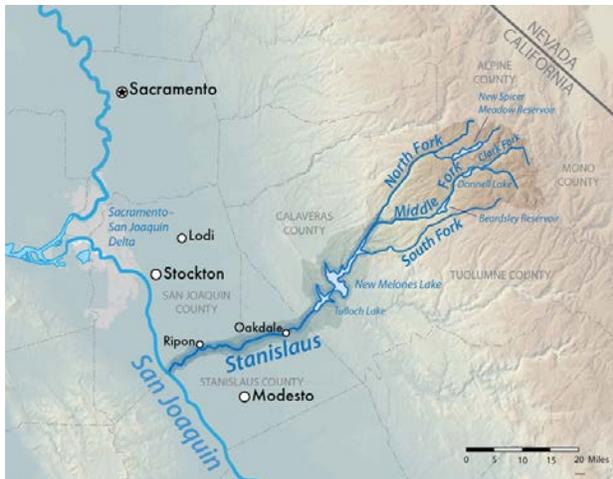
Bonneville Heads West Along The Snake River While Walker Cuts South Toward The Humboldt

Walker’s journey pays off. He drifts southwest through Utah and finally picks up the Humboldt River which runs horizontally through Nevada to the base of the Sierra Mountains. Once there, his band ascends the Virginia Creek to the Virginia Lakes, followed by a final 1700 foot climb to the summit at Mono Pass, some 10,600 feet above sea level. The journal kept by one Zenas Leonard says they cross the snow covered pass in mid-October, 1833.

The descent down the western slope of the Sierra range is treacherous and they are soon slaughtering their own horses for food. As Leonard records:

Twenty-four of our horses died since we reached the top of the mountain, seventeen which we eat the best parts....We searched for a place that was a smooth and gradual in the descent as possible...and by fastening ropes around (our horses) let them down one at a time without doing them any harm.

Each day is spent searching for a path through the remaining, albeit smaller, mountains. They encounter great sequoia (redwood) trees along the way, and finally follow an Indian path to the Stanislaus River, which takes them into the Great California Valley, some 75 miles south of Sacramento. The Spanish town of Monterrey is their final destination, and they remain there until February 14, 1834, when they head back home.



In locating the Humboldt River path and weaving through the Sierras, Walker contributes to what becomes known as the “California Trail” -- travelled over by thousands of Americans after gold is discovered fifteen years later, in 1848. Walker himself lives on to 1876, leading John C. Fremont’s third expedition west in 1845, and then mounting a successful search for gold around Prescott, Arizona.



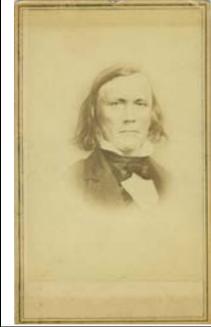
The “California Trail” Discovered By Joe Walker

Meanwhile Bonneville’s main party backtracks into Wyoming to conduct fur trading with the Shoshone tribe, and ends up at the fort he constructed on the way out. He stays there until January 1834, when he resumes his trek west across the Snake River and into Oregon, stopping in March 1834 in tribal territory at Ft. Nez Perces, owned by the rival Hudson Bay Company.

He will make two separate attempts to trade with the Hudson firm at the fort, but is turned away both times. The British simply want nothing to do with their long-time rival, JJ Astor. This same rejection repeats itself when he heads further west toward Ft. Vancouver – and, discouraged, he turns back east, staying the rest of the winter in upper Utah, again trading with the Shoshones. In April 1835 Bonneville heads home, arriving at Independence, Missouri in August.

Once there he finds that his army commission has been revoked after overstaying his two year leave by almost fifteen months. He is, however, well connected and makes his appeal to John Jacob Astor and Andrew Jackson’s Secretary of War, Lewis Cass, who reinstates him. After service at various western forts, he fights in the Mexican War at Veracruz, is promoted to Colonel, and given command over the Department of New Mexico. At the start of the Civil War, he is breveted as Brigadier General and helps recruit troops in Missouri. He dies in the state in 1871, age eighty-two.

Chapter 134a – John Fremont’s First Expedition Reaches The “South Pass”

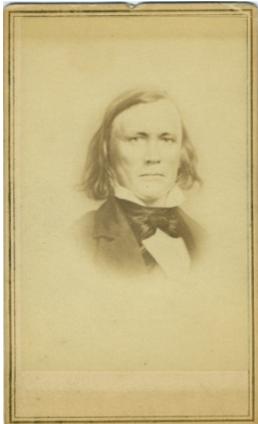


Dates:
May 22 - October 17,
1842

- Sections:**
- The 1842 Fremont Expedition To The “South Pass” Is Organized
 - The Party Reaches The Platte River In Early July
 - They Reach Their South Pass Destination
 - Fremont Plants His American Flag On A Wind River Mountain Peak

Date: May 22, 1842

The 1842 Fremont Expedition To The “South Pass” Is Organized



Kit Carson (1809-1868)

Between 1842 and 1854, frontiersman, topographical engineer and future presidential candidate, John C. Fremont will complete five separate expeditions to the west.

By the time Congress sets aside \$30,000 to fund his first trip west, the main routes he will follow – along the Oregon and Santa Fe Trails – have been thoroughly “blazed” by a host of prior tribesmen and trappers alike.

However, as of 1842, none of them have produced reliable maps or detailed descriptions of the trails. Fremont lays out the scientific process required.

There was a mass of astronomical and other observations to be calculated and discussed before a beginning on [a map] could be made. Indeed, the making of such a map is an interesting process. It must be exact. First, the foundations must be laid in observations made in the field; then the [mathematical] reductions of these observations to latitude and longitude; afterward the projection of the map, and the laying down of positions fixed by the observation; then the tracings from the sketch-books of the lines of the rivers, the forms of the lakes, the contours of the hills. Specially, it is interesting to those who have laid in the field these foundations, to see them all brought into final shape--fixing on a small sheet the results of laborious travel over waste regions, and giving to them an enduring place on the world's surface.

The tasks will fall to Freeman and his various companions.

The initial 1842 expedition is led by three men, each uniquely qualified for the journey.

In overall command is 2nd Lt. John Fremont, who joins the U.S. Army Topographical Engineers Corp in 1838. His background is anything but conventional.

His mother, Anne, is the daughter of a wealthy Virginia planter whose estate is dissipated, leaving her to fend for herself. She marries an elderly Richmond man, then carries on an affair with a French ex-patriot, Charles Fremont, who had fought for the monarchy. Together they have an out-of-wedlock son, John Fremont, in 1813. After two years at The College of Charleston, Fremont embarks on a military career, teaching mathematics aboard a naval sloop. His interests shift to topographical engineering and, in 1838, he begins to survey land west of St. Louis, where the Missouri River, flowing eastward from the Rockies, empties into the Mississippi River.

In 1840, Fremont (who has added a “t” to his name) is in Washington, D.C. to report on his survey, where he meets Jessie Benton, the 15 year old daughter of Senator Thomas Hart Benton. Jesse has been reared like a son by her powerful father, Missouri’s first senator since 1821, a fierce Jackson man, and a leading advocate of U.S. territorial expansion. Much to his chagrin, the ever willful Jessie elopes with Fremont in 1841.

Reconciliation follows banishment, and in 1842 Benton secures a commission for Fremont to begin “mapping the west,” a journey that will eventually lead on to his sobriquet as “The Pathfinder” and to future fame.

As his designated expedition “guide,” Fremont selects Christopher “Kit” Carson, who grows up in Franklin, Missouri, along the Santa Fe Trail, on land his father purchases from Daniel Boone. He is a restless youth, and in 1826, at age 17, sets out West with a band of trappers. Over the next 15 years, he becomes a well-known “mountain man,” hunting and trading up and down the Rocky Mountains, while often living among the various Indian tribes. Like Fremont, his mapping expeditions will secure him lasting fame.

The third key figure is Charles Preuss, who is born in Germany in 1803, studies geodesy (the science associated with measuring the earth), and becomes a surveyor and mapmaker for the government of Prussia. He immigrates to America in 1834 and is hired on by Fremont for his science -- to accurately measure longitudes and latitudes, temperatures and barometric pressures -- and for his artistic talent, to create visually attractive maps.

Fremont rounds out his band with 21 others, mostly experienced French trappers who are familiar with the routes and are known by various native tribes and outpost proprietors along the way. Foraging for game will be crucial, so he hires an Illinois hunter named Maxwell. He also adds Randolph Benton, the twelve year old son of his powerful father-in-law senator, “for development of mind and body which such an expedition would give.”

Together they set out from St. Louis on May 22, 1842,, heading west 240 miles by steamboat along the bend of the Missouri River to Independence, where America’s two great early highways converge – the Santa Fe Trail drifting southward New Mexico and the Oregon Trail headed to Oregon in the north.

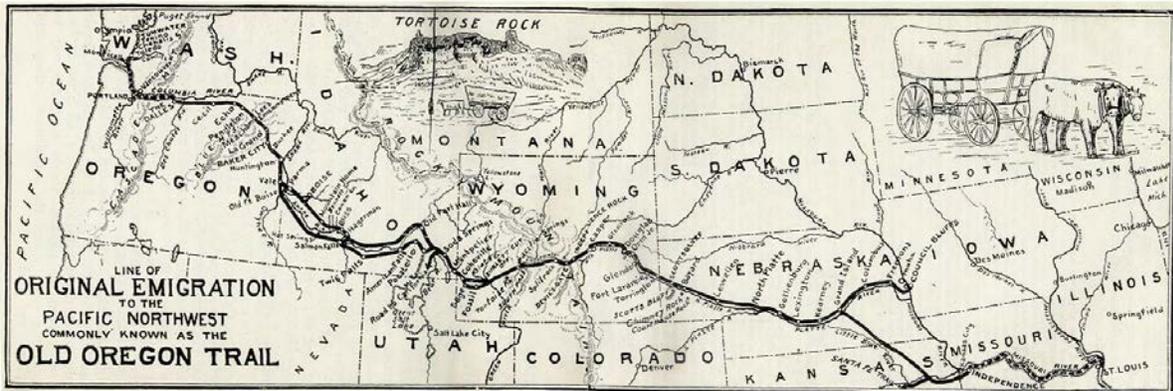
Date: July 1842

The Party Reaches The Platte River In Early July

Once at Independence, Fremont further outfits the expedition with wagons, livestock, provisions and scientific gear for the overland trip ahead.

The goal for their trip is fairly modest in scope – to reach the South Pass break in the Rocky Mountains in Wyoming and then turn around and come home with detailed maps and descriptions in hand.

They will follow the Oregon Trail, originally blazed by predecessors including the Native American tribes, Lewis and Clarke and Colter, Jim Bridger, Jedediah Smith, de Bonneville and others.



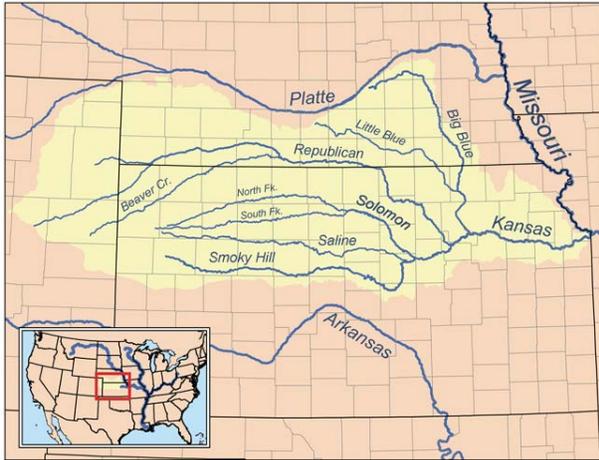
Map of the Old Oregon Trail Leading All The Way Back To St. Louis, Missouri

On June 10, they pick up the trail heading due west alongside the Kansas River. They arrive at the approximate future site of Lawrence, Kansas, on June 12, and Topeka on June 14. From there they turn north toward the Nebraska Territory, on a route that parallels the Big Blue River. On June 17, they mingle with a local Indian tribe. Fremont, who speaks French fluently, observes this moment in time.

A number of Kansas Indians visited us today...(and) I found one sitting on the ground among the men, gravely and fluently speaking French...as any of my party, nearly all of French origin."

They move up the Big Blue into the Nebraska Territory to the Platte River, making roughly 20 miles on an average day, and again shift west to the head of the Little Blue River, which they reach on June 22. Fremont captures their daily routine.

During the day...making astronomical observations...to lay down the country...(and) keep up our map regularly in the field.



Map of the Kansas and Big Blue Rivers Heading to the Platte

Along with basic survey work comes detailed descriptions from the realm of earth sciences – plants and flowers, soil content and geologic formations, types of timber and grassland, species of animals.

The landscapes opening up before their eyes are breathtaking. On June 30 – in language that will later capture the imagination of the American public – Fremont describes his initial sighting of the Plain's buffalo herds:

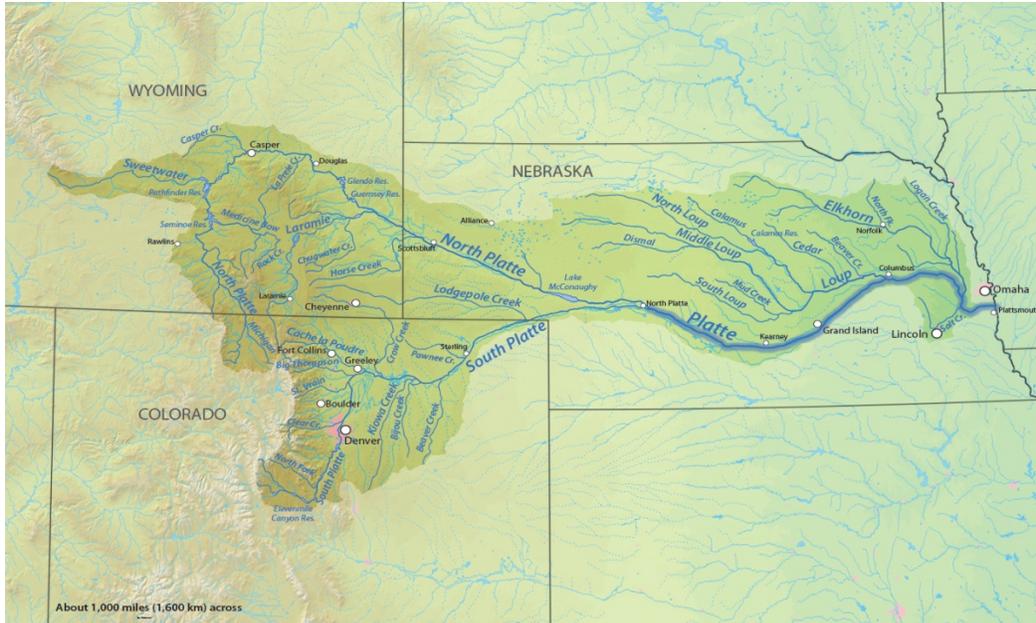
June 30th. First view of buffalo. The air was keen the next morning at sunrise, the thermometer standing at 44 degrees and it was sufficiently cold to make overcoats very comfortable. A few miles brought us into the midst of the buffalo swarming in immense numbers over the plains, where they had left scarcely a blade of grass standing. Mr. Preuss, who was sketching at a little distance in the rear, had at first noted them as large groves of timber.

In the sight of such a mass of life, the traveler feels a strange emotion of grandeur. We had heard from a distance a dull and confused murmuring, and when we came in view of their dark masses, there was not one among us who did not feel his heart beat quicker. It was the early part of the day when the herds are feeding, and everywhere they were in motion. Here and there a huge old bull was rolling in the grass and clouds of dust rose in the air from various parts of the bands, each the scene of some obstinate fight. Indians and buffalo make the poetry and life of the prairie and our camp was full of their exhilaration.

On July 1, Fremont further captures the spirit of adventure around a hunt for cow meat.

*My horse was a trained hunter, famous in the West, under the name of Proveau...in a few minutes he brought me alongside the cow, and rising in my stirrups, I fired at a distance of a yard, the bullet entering at the termination of the long hair **and** passing near the heart...felling her.*

July 2 brings the party to the branch of the Platte River, with the North branch some 2,250 feet wide and the South branch a mere 450 feet. The main party heads up the North artery, their destination being the fur trading outpost at the Laramie, in the Wyoming Territory.



The Platte River Branching North Along The Oregon Trail And South Along The Santa Fe Trail

Date: July-August 1842

They Reach Their South Pass Destination

On July 9, excitement builds as their final destination finally comes into view.

This morning we caught the first faint glimpse of the Rocky Mountains, about sixty miles distant.

Their exuberance, however, is tempered by dwindling supplies, especially foodstuffs, where their diaries bemoan a lack of coffee, salt, sugar, bread, macaroni and cow meat in particular.

The taciturn map-maker, Charles Preuss, emerges as the chief grumbler among the crew, often critical of Fremont's leadership, especially as it relates to what he considers foolish gambles.

It is ridiculous (of him) to risk lives to find the elevations of every mountain range.

At 4PM on July 13 the weary travelers arrive at the fur trading outpost at Laramie. The site is first developed in 1815 by a French trapper, Jacques La Ramee. It is converted into an actual fort in 1834 by the Kentucky native, William Sublette, who names it Fort William in his own honor. In 1841 John Jacob Astor's firm buys the land and rechristens it Fort John. But all along it is referred to as the fort at the Laramie River -- and thus it becomes Fort Laramie in 1849, after the U.S. Army buys it for \$4,000 to support and protect settlers heading toward the gold fields of California.

By 1842, the structure itself has been modified from a modest 80 x 100 feet log enclosure to a much more expansive quadrangle, made of clay, with walls reaching 15 feet high, and reinforced inside by a square tower with rifle ports. On occasion it has been tested by local Sioux and Cheyenne raiding parties.

Their stay at Fort Laramie lasts for eight days, from July 13 to July 20. They use this time to rest up and refit their caravan for the winding 320 mile uphill climb toward the Rockies which lies ahead.

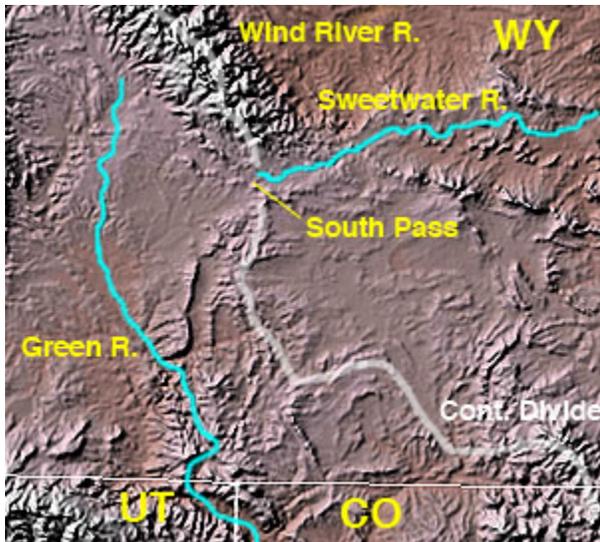
On July 21 they begin their ascent across the High Plains of Wyoming, heading northwest along the Platte, then swinging back southwest along the Sweetwater River toward the summit of the South Pass.



Map Showing Fremont's Fort John (Laramie) – Platte – Sweetwater – South Pass Route

By July 28 they are one week into their trudge and encountering the effects of a severe drought. The ground is now covered daily by swarms of grasshoppers and other insects, which devour the grass needed for grazing. This depletes the buffalo herds, threatens the Plains Indian tribes with starvation, and raises the specter of hostile raiding parties. Some argue in favor of turning back, but Fremont brushes them aside and plunges onward.

On August 7 they reach the mouth of the Sweetwater River and on August 8 they are at their destination, the summit of the South Pass, where they are almost immediately greeted by “a severe storm of hail.”



Map Of The South Pass

When Fremont arrives there, the South Pass is less well known than its northern counterpart, the Lehmi Pass, which Lewis and Clark followed in their 1805 “water-route” sortie to the Pacific coast.

Both Passes are roughly 7,400 feet above sea level – or half the height of the typical Rocky Mountain range.

The South Pass is 35 miles wide. Those previously crossing it include the Astorian trapper, Robert Stuart, in 1811, the fur merchant, W.H. Ashley, in 1824, and the colorful army Captain, Benjamin Louis de Bonneville, born in Paris and a West Point graduate, who leads a 100 man train caravan through in 1832.

Once at his planned destination, Fremont is amazed by the grandeur that surrounds him at daybreak.

The scenery becomes hourly more scenic and grand...the sun has just shot above the wall, and makes a magical change. The whole valley is glowing and bright, and all the mountain peaks are gleaming like silver...the pines on the mountain seem to give it much additional beauty.

While he reckons that the party has come 950 miles from the Kansas River, once Fremont views the Wind River Mountains to his north, he can't resist the temptation to conquer them.

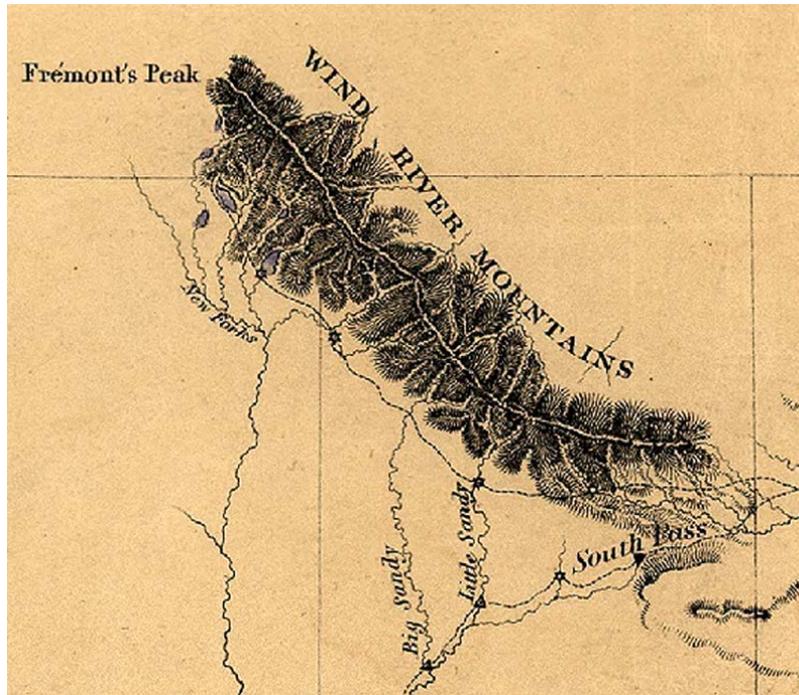
I left the valley a few miles from our encampment intending to penetrate the mountains as far as possible.

Date: August 15 – October 17, 1842

Fremont Plants His American Flag On A Wind River Mountain Peak

The Wind River Mountain slashes some 100 miles in a northwesterly fashion from the entrance to the South Pass.

The range is split down the middle by its portion of the Great Continental Divide, the series of mountains running the length of North and South America from the Bering Straits to the Strait of Magellan – with rivers to the west running to the Pacific Ocean and those to the east seeking the Atlantic.



The Wind River Range With Fremont's Peak (Actually About 80% Up The Spine)

On his ascent, Fremont encounters an idyllic lake.

Winding our way up a long ravine, we came unexpectedly in view of a most beautiful lake, set like a gem in the mountains. I have called it the Mountain Lake.

The natural beauty of the place draws him onward. On August 12 he writes:

Of all the strange places on...our long journey none left so vivid an impression on my mind as this place.

On August 13, he reflects on the “savage sublimity of the naked rock” all around him, and compares its “wildness” to the unbound, pioneering character of the American people.

It is not by the splendor of far off views, which have lent such a glory to the Alps, that these impress the mind; but by a gigantic disorder of enormous masses, and a savage sublimity of naked rock, in wonderful contrast with innumerable green spots of a rich floral beauty, shut up in their stern recesses. Their wildness seems well suited to the character of the people who inhabit the country.

His band finally settles on scaling a high promontory point they spot, about three-quarters of the way up the spine of the ridge. On August 15, 1842 they reach their objective and celebrate by planting a flag.

I sprang upon the summit, and another step would have precipitated me into an immense snow field 500 feet below. (Once there) we fixed a ramrod in a crevice (and) unfurled the national flag to wave in the breeze where never a flag waved before.

Thereafter this site will become known as *Fremont's Peak*.

Having more than accomplished their duties, the band begins their two month journey back home. Fremont arrives in St. Louis on October 17, where he learns of a new challenge coming his way.

Chapter 134b – Fremont’s Second Expedition Explores The West Coast

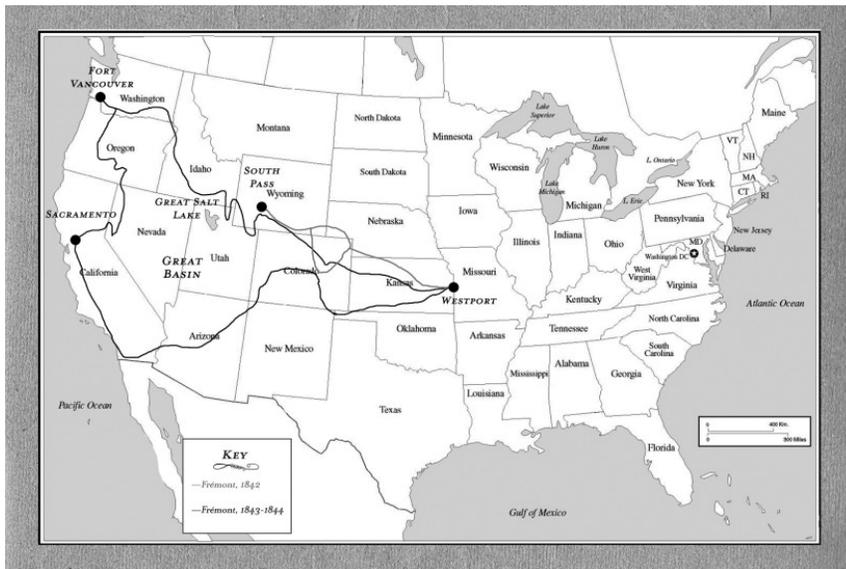


Dates:
May 29, 1843 – August 1844

- Sections:**
- A Second Fremont Journey Extends South Along The California Coast
 - Impact Of Fremont’s First Two Expeditions To The West
 - Sidebar: Births And Deaths Of Frontiersmen

Date: May 29, 1843 – August 1844

A Second Fremont Journey Extends South Along The California Coast



Map of Fremont’s Second Expedition

No sooner has Fremont returned from his first journey than preparations begin for a second.

His assignment this time is to finish up mapping of the entire Oregon Trail route, pushing beyond the South Pass and heading northwest all the way to Fort Vancouver.

Fremont reassembles his roughly thirty man crew, again including both Kit Carson and Charles Preuss, and sets out from St. Louis on May 29, 1843.

The outward trip is relatively uneventful, with the party reaching the Great Salt Lake on September 6 and Fort Vancouver in early November. At this point Fremont’s orders are to turn around and return home by the same route he has just completed. Instead he ignores tribal warnings about the winter ahead, and

decides to swing south, heading along the eastern face of the Sierra Nevada range toward Sacramento, California. It is a decision which almost proves fatal.



Map Of The Sierra Nevada Range Heading South

By January 27, 1844, the expedition – some 27 men, 67 horses and mules, and a wheeled cannon -- is strung out and stymied in the mountains. Charles Preuss captures the moment.

We are now completely snowed in. The snowstorm is on top of us. The wind obliterates all tracks which, with incredible effort, we make for our horses. The horses are about twenty miles behind and are expected to arrive tonight, or rather, they are now no longer expected. How could they get through? At the moment no one can tell what will really happen. It is certain we shall have to eat horse meat.

Indeed they do end up eating their horses, before being saved by Kit Carson who finally finds a pass across to the west slope of the Sierras and safety. The guide carves his initials into a tree marking the location, henceforth known as *Carson's Pass*.

Another two week struggle finally ends on March 6, 1844, as they limp into Fort Sutter, east of Sacramento and soon to be famous for the nearby discovery of gold. A three week rest there prepares them for the trip home, which takes them through the San Joachim Valley to the Old Spanish Trail through the Rocky's in Utah.

Their fourteen month journey ends in August, when they arrive back in St. Louis.

Upon his return, Fremont is breveted to the rank of captain by the army, receives national publicity from the press, and is transformed into the "Great Pathfinder" by an adoring public. He is thirty-one years old, with a future ahead that will find him repeatedly in America's spotlight over the next four decades.

Date: 1842-1844

Impact Of Fremont's First Two Expeditions To The West



John Fremont (1813-1890)

In reality, casting Fremont as the “Great Pathfinder” is more the product of publicity than performance – since almost all of the trails he takes have been “blazed” by many others before him.

Still his impact on America’s drive to “open the West” is profound.

For the first time, thanks to Fremont’s band, those eager to move across the continent have access to accurate maps to guide their way. These will prove invaluable in a few short years, first for the Army as west coast conflicts with Mexico and Britain materialize, and later when a flood of “forty-niners” head to the gold fields of California.

But beyond the sheer utility of the maps lies the magic of Fremont’s often poetic descriptions of the natural beauty he encounters from one camp to the next. How much of this prose springs from his pen versus that of his wife and co-author, Jesse, remains unknown. Its effect, however, on the imaginations of the American public is undeniable.

For the first time those living east of the Mississippi can sense the vastness of the Great Plains, the majesty of the Rocky Mountains, the fertile California vineyards, the mighty roar of buffalo herds, rushing rapids, the Pacific ocean.

Any early stirrings about expansion that the politicians and public might have felt since the Louisiana Purchase are suddenly amplified by Fremont’s first two expeditions. In that sense, he becomes an important pathfinder of America’s commitment to manifest destiny.

Sidebar: Births And Deaths Of Frontiersmen



It is not surprising that Americans who abandoned hearth and home on their own precarious journey across the Atlantic would form a love affair with the frontiersmen who ventured overland to the Pacific.

Daniel Boone heading through the Cumberland Gap into Kaintucky. John Jacob Astor chasing fur pelts across Canada to the west coast. George Clark and Meriwether Lewis blazing the Oregon Trail. Zeb Pike finding his 14,000 foot high peak in the southern Rockies. Tennessee Congressman Davy Crockett and Jim Bowie losing their lives on behalf of the Republic of Texas. The Missouri trader, William Becknell, who first blazes the Santa Fe Trail. The mountain men, Jedediah Smith, William Ashley, Jim

Mountain Man Seth Kinman (1815-1888)

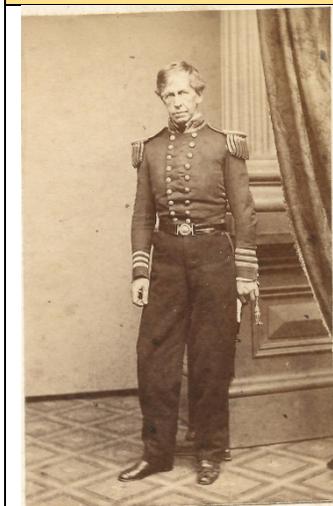
Bridger and William Sublette making their living in the Rockies, crossing the Mojave Desert, reaching into southern California. Ceran St. Vrain and William Bent with their trading post near Taos, New Mexico, and John Sutter, whose sawmill in Coloma, California, will spark the 1849 Gold Rush. John Fremont, Kit Carson and Charles Preuss, whose maps will prove invaluable to all who follow. The host of largely unknown native tribesmen who were there first and often guided the way.

These are America’s very own explorers, their names on towns and monuments, their deeds forever memorialized in literature and songs, their spirit embedded in the psyches of those about to realize the vision of “manifest destiny” in the latter half of the 19th century.

Name	Birth	Death
Daniel Boone	Oct 22, 1734	Sept 26, 1820
George Rogers Clark	Nov 19, 1752	Feb 13, 1818
Robert Gray	May 10, 1755	July 1806
John Jacob Astor	July 17, 1763	March 29, 1848
Alexander Mackenzie	1764	March 12, 1820
Touissant Charbonneau	1767	1843
William Ashley	1770	Mar 26, 1838
Meriwether Lewis	Aug 18, 1774	October 11, 1809
John Colter	1774	Nov 22, 1813
Zebulon Pike	Jan 5, 1779	April 27, 1813
Davy Crockett	1786	1836
William Becknell	1788	April 30, 1865
Sacagewea	1788	1812
Stephen Austin	Nov 3, 1793	Dec 27, 1836
Benjamin Bonneville	April 14, 1796	June 12, 1878
James Bowie	1796	Mar 6, 1836
Charles Wilkes	April 3, 1798	Feb 8, 1877

William Sublette	Sept 21, 1798	July 23, 1845
Joseph Walker	Dec 13, 1798	Oct 27, 1876
Jedediah Smith	Jan 16, 1799	May 27, 1831
Ceran St. Vrain	May 5, 1802	Oct 28, 1870
John Sutter	Feb 20, 1803	June 18, 1880
Charles Preuss	1803	1854
Jim Bridger	March 17, 1804	July 17, 1881
Kit Carson	Dec 24, 1809	May 23, 1868
William Bent	May 23, 1809	May 19, 1869
John Grizzly Adams	1812	1860
John C. Fremont	Jan 21, 1813	July 13, 1890
Jim Baker	1818	1898

Chapter 135 – The Wilkes Expedition Adds Luster To America’s Global Reputation



Dates:
1838-1842

Sections:

- Lt. Charles Wilkes’ Expedition Sails Around The World

Date: 1838-1842

Lt. Charles Wilkes’ Expedition Sails Around The World



Charles Wilkes (1798-1877)

On June 10, 1842, just as Fremont is starting his journey west in Kansas, another adventurer, naval commander, Lt. Charles Wilkes, sails into New York harbor after completing a four year trip to navigate the globe.

The eventual “Wilkes Expedition” has been a long time in the making. President JQ Adams initiated the idea in 1828, but failed to convince Congress for the funding needed. Andrew Jackson picks up the cause and gains approval in 1836. Still, two more years are needed to organize the six ship flotilla and outfit it properly with some 342 sailors and scientists and necessary provisions. It is officially named the U.S. Exploratory Expedition, abbreviated as the “Ex Ex.”

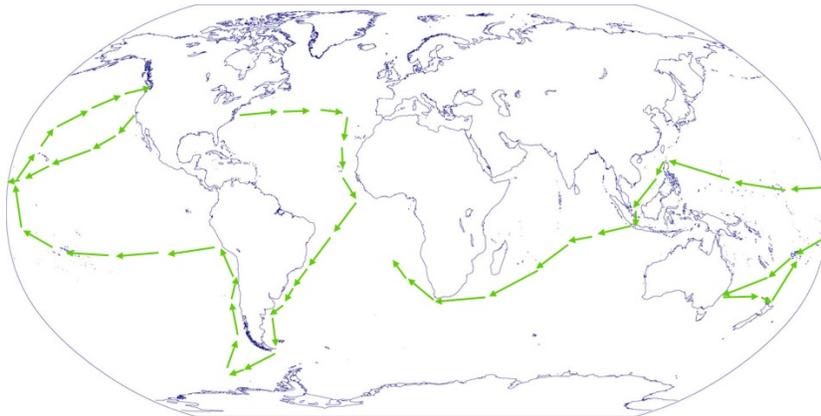
Overall command belongs with forty year-old Lt. Charles Wilkes, whose surveys of the Narragansett Bay lead to his position as head of the Navy’s Department of Charts and Measurements.

Wilkes' main objective lies in exploring and mapping the Pacific Ocean, and collecting various earth science data and artifacts at stops along the way. He is aided by all the "modern" tools available to the mariner of his time, to plot exact positions across the oceans.

For millennia, sailors had been relying on celestial navigation – sighting on stars above them at night – to approximate their locations in open water. Around 1730 the first crude sextant is invented to more accurately record the position of the stars at the time of measurement. This enables a ship to determine its latitude, or how far north or south it lies relative to the earth's Equator. In 1764, the Englishman, John Hadley, solves the other half of the ship location puzzle, by building the first chronometer, a precise marine clock. It enables an accurate measure of longitude, or how far east or west they sit relative to the Prime Meridian, the line leading from the North Pole through the city of London and on to the South Pole. Together these two devices enable the expedition to deliver on their mapping priority.

Wilkes's crew totals 346 men, including nine scientists, ranging from naturalists to plant biologists, mineralogists, a taxidermist, and an expert in languages. Naval personnel are assigned the tasks associated with collecting positional data and converting it into accurate maps.

On August 19, 1838, the fleet heads out to the open seas from Hampton Roads, Virginia. Since the entire flotilla consists of sailing ships, their course will be determined by the winds they encounter. Thus while their first destination is Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, they are blown directly east to the Madeira Islands before they can tack south. What was to be a six week first leg turns into a frustrating 95 day detour.



Map Of The Wilkes Expedition's Four Year Route Around The World

Over the next four years the Exploratory Expedition will zig zag its way around the globe, creating detailed maps that will support navigation of future naval vessels and merchant ships alike. It will also spark additional interest in America's west coast, which Wilke's explores briefly in the summer of 1841.

Route Taken By The Wilkes's Expedition

1838	Locations
September 16	Blown east cross Atlantic to Madeira Islands
November 23	Back along South American coast to Rio de Janeiro
1839	
Early	Around Cape Horn and north to Chile and Peru
Later	Across Pacific to Sydney, Australia
1840	
January 25	Fleet reaches "ice island" of Antarctica
July	Fiji Islands where two killed in conflict with natives
1841	
April	Head north to the Gilbert Islands then east toward U.S.
July	In Oregon & head south along coast to San Francisco Bay
Later	Back west to Pacific and Wake Island
1842	
Early	Further west into Philippines, Singapore, Polynesia
Then	Past the Cape of Good Hope in southern Africa
June 10	Arrive back home in New York harbor

The scientists aboard are also busy at every stop doing experiments and collecting artifacts that will describe what they see on the journey. The breadth of the specimens is remarkable.

Scientific and Cultural Specimens Catalogued and Brought Home

Role	Name	Specimens Brought Back From Voyage
Naturalists & Horticulturalists	Charles Pickering, Titian Peale, Wm. Brackenridge, William Rich	10,000 species of pressed plants, 1,000 live plants, 648 seeds, 2150 stuffed birds, 134 mammals, 588 species of fish and 5300 species of insects
Geologist	James Dana	300 fossils, 400 coral, 1000 crustacea
Linguistics and Ethnographer	Horatio Hale	4000 pieces, from Fiji war clubs to feathered baskets, carved rattles, fishhooks, art work, etc.
Artists	Alfred Agate, James Drayton	Tracings of collections using new "camera lucida" to project images onto paper

Of the 342 voyagers who set out in 1838, a total of 223 return either on the expedition ships or other American vessels. Fifteen have died along the way, 62 have been discharged for cause, and another 42 have deserted.

For Wilkes the homecoming sadly brings additional trials. First, his claim to being the first seaman to reach Antarctica is challenged by both English and French explorers who are in the same region in January 1840. Then complaints about his authoritarian rule throughout the voyage lead to a Naval Court

of Inquiry. He is acquitted in July 1842 of all charges save one, for administering more than the maximum twelve lashes to six sailors accused of stealing liquor.

Despite these setbacks, Wilkes finishes up his written record of the voyage, which runs to five volumes and is finally published by Congress in 1845. It is a tedious rendition and fails to earn the fame that Fremont enjoys from the Journals he publishes, perhaps with some ghost-writing help from his talented wife, Jesse.

Meanwhile the collections from the trip are hailed by its sponsors and by the scientific community, both eager to demonstrate America's capacity to rival Europe in the arena of basic research and the creation of new knowledge.

As the vast amount of cargo is being off-loaded, the question arises as to where it will be housed. The answer will eventually be America's first national museum, The Smithsonian Institution.

Sidebar: The Smithsonian Museum



Original Smithsonian Institution Sitting Alone On The Future Mall

The challenge of housing artifacts brought back from the Exploratory Expedition provokes an end to the back and forth political haggling about how best to utilize a monetary windfall arriving in America in 1835.

The windfall is 104,960 gold sovereigns, packed in sacks and valued at \$500,000, willed to the U.S. Treasury by a British citizen named James Smithson, who dies at age 64 in 1829.

Smithson's life has been filled with adventure. He is the illegitimate son of an English Duke and a widowed royal mother, who leaves him a sizable inheritance. He uses part of the money to study chemistry and mineralogy at Oxford, where he becomes friends with noted scientists of his era, including Henry Cavendish, famed for his discovery of hydrogen. He travels broadly and is known to have published some twenty-seven scholarly papers, focusing especially on the chemical properties of a zinc ore known as calamine. His work earns him admission to the prestigious Royal Society in London.

When the initial heir to his estate dies without offspring, a clause in Smithson's will directs the money across the Atlantic to the American government.

I then bequeath the whole of my property, . . . to the United States of America, to found at Washington, under the name of the Smithsonian Institution, an Establishment for the increase & diffusion of knowledge among men.^L

The motivation behind Smithson's gift remains a mystery. While books in his library include references to the U.S., he has never traveled there, nor does it appear he even met anyone from America. Speculation tends to focus on possible "wounds" in Britain related to his illegitimacy and a sense that the impact of his gift might be greater in a vigorous new nation just beginning to assert its role in science.

Whatever the cause, America is delighted to receive the bounty, which arrives in 1838, only to be lost when an investment in Arkansas bonds goes bust. This injustice is finally righted by JQ Adams who persuades his House colleagues to restore the fund and spend it according to Smithson's directive.

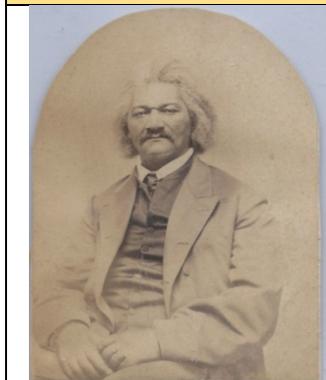
On August 10, 1846, Tyler's successor, President James Polk, signs legislation to establish The Smithsonian Institution as a perpetual government trust.

While collections from the Wilke's Expedition (or the "Ex Ex") eventually end up at the Smithsonian, they are initially stored at the new Patent Office, secured by physician and ex-Secretary of War, Joel Poinsett, an early proponent of America's scientific development.

Unfortunately the first curator at The Patent Office totally mishandles the coding of the material before being fired for incompetence. Order is eventually restored first by his initial replacement, Charles Pickering, the lead naturalist on the Ex Ex, and then by Commander Wilke's himself who christens the Great Hall with a sign in gold letters reading "Collection Of The Exploring Expedition."

The original Smithsonian building – known as The Castle – is finally completed in 1855 on what is an isolated site about 1.3 miles west of the Capitol., before becoming anchored to the Mall as America's first national museum.

Chapter 136 – Black Abolitionists Make Their Voices Heard

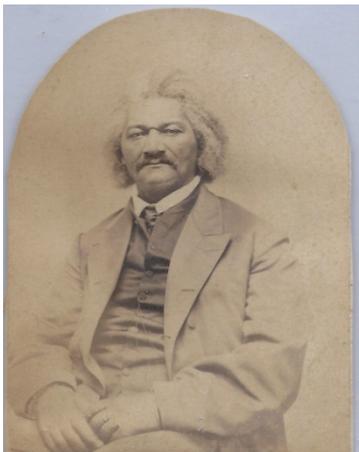


Dates:
Summer 1843

- Sections:**
- Frederick Douglass Becomes A National Spokesman For The Abolitionist Movement
 - Black Preacher Henry Highland Garnet Urges Slaves To Resist Their Oppressors

Summer 1843

Frederick Douglass Becomes A National Spokesman For The Abolitionist Movement



On Nantucket in August 1841, the leader of the abolitionist cause, Lloyd Garrison, recognizes the powerful effect that Frederick Douglass could have on breaking through to white audiences about the evils of slavery.

It was at once deeply impressed upon my mind, that, if Mr. DOUGLASS could be persuaded to consecrate his time and talents to the promotion of the anti-slavery enterprise, a powerful impetus would be given to it, and a stunning blow at the same time inflicted on northern prejudice against a colored complexion

He invites Douglass to formally join the movement and Douglass accepts, immediately throwing himself into his destined mission.

Frederick Douglass 1818-1895

In 1843 he joins the “One Hundred Conventions” tour at twenty-five as a lecturer. This is a grueling affair which takes him from upstate New York through Pennsylvania, Ohio and Indiana. Danger accompanies him at all stops. In Pendleton, Indiana, he is beaten by a white mob and ends up with a broken right hand that is never again fully functional.

Speaking mostly to white audiences, he recounts his own life experiences to establish his main themes:

- Blacks who are given a fair chance in America will, like himself, succeed and become good citizens.
- But slavery shuts off that opportunity by reducing Men to the status of Brutes.
- In the process of debasing blacks, whites commit atrocities that tarnish their immortal souls.
- They are often reinforced here by white churches that fail to live up to Christ’s teachings.

- The “slavery problem” can be solved if blacks are taught to read and write and given their freedom.
- Douglass himself is living proof of what is possible for America’s slave population.

The South quickly views the eloquent Frederick Douglass as a threat to their narrative about Africans as a separate species from whites, universally and irretrievably inferior, potentially violent, and best kept in captivity.

Douglass violates those stereotypes, as do other free blacks now intent on making themselves heard.

Time: 1843

Black Preacher Henry Highland Garnet Urges Slaves To Resist Their Oppressors

While Frederick Douglass is initially intent in 1843 on using moral persuasion to convince white masters to end slavery, the black preacher, Henry Highland Garnet is calling for physical resistance as the only option left.

Like Douglass, Garnet is a run-away slave, smuggled out of Maryland at nine years old, by his parents, George and Henrietta Trusty, who settle in New Hope, Pennsylvania before moving to New York City in 1824. Once there, the family name is changed from Trusty to Garnet, in order to throw off possible pursuers.

George finds work as a shoemaker, and is able to enroll Henry in the African Free School when he is eleven. He soon falls in with a handful of other youths who will become leaders in the abolitionist movement: the future Episcopal minister, Alexander Crummel; college professor, Charles Reason; the MD, James McCune Smith. Together they found the Garrison Literary and Benevolent Society, in honor of the white reformer.

In 1829 slave-catchers in New York temporarily scatter Garnet’s family, and he ends working on a Long Island farm. He suffers a severe leg injury there while playing sports which leaves him on crutches and eventually ends with amputation. The disability turns him more inward, and soon both his studies and his church-going pick up. In 1835 he joins the First Colored Presbyterian Church and falls under the sway of the renowned Reverend Theodore Wright, co-founder of The American Anti-Slavery Society.

Later that year, Garnet attends an academy in New Hampshire run by the controversial utopian “perfectionist,” John Humphrey Noyes. After protestors destroy the schoolhouse, he moves to graduate from the Oneida Institute.

In 1840 he moves to Troy, NY, where he completes his education under the direction of Reverend Nathan Beman, one of Charles Finney’s “New School” converts. A year later he marries a Boston school teacher, begins preaching at his Liberty Street Presbyterian Church, and edits *The National Watchman*, a black themed newspaper.

Garnet’s fame as a preacher spreads, and in August, 1843, he is asked to address the National Negro Convention in Buffalo, an annual gathering of black leaders searching for ways to free their enslaved

brethren. The speech he delivers sounds the same moral outrage and call to arms as David Walker's 1829 "Appeal To Colored Citizens."

He opens by declaring that prior attempts to end slavery have been in vain.

Brethren and Fellow Citizens:—Your brethren of the North, East, and West have been accustomed to meet together in National Conventions, to sympathize with each other, and to weep over your unhappy condition. ...But, we have hoped in vain. Years have rolled on, and tens of thousands have been borne on streams of blood and tears, to the shores of eternity.

In particular the Christian Churches have stood idly by and watched.

...Two hundred and twenty seven years ago, the first of our injured race were brought to the shores of America. ...The first dealings they had with men calling themselves Christians, exhibited to them the worst features of corrupt and sordid hearts; and convinced them that no cruelty is too great, no villainy and no robbery too abhorrent for even enlightened men to perform, when influenced by avarice and lust.

. The bleeding captive plead his innocence, and pointed to Christianity who stood weeping at the cross. ...But all was in vain. Slavery had stretched its dark wings of death over the land, the Church stood silently by, the priests prophesied falsely, and the people loved to have it so..

The colonists tried to blame slavery on Britain, but then embraced it on their own.

The colonists threw the blame upon England. ..But time soon tested their sincerity.

In a few years the colonists grew strong, and severed themselves from the British Government..., did they emancipate the slaves? No; they rather added new links to our chains.

The time has come to recognize that God views it as sinful to continue submitting to this oppression.

...He who brings his fellow down so low, as to make him contented with a condition of slavery, commits the highest crime against God and man. Brethren, your oppressors aim to do this. They endeavor to make you as much like brutes as possible.

...TO SUCH DEGREDATION IT IS SINFUL IN THE EXTREME FOR YOU TO MAKE VOLUNTARY SUBMISSION..... Your condition does not absolve you from your moral obligation. The diabolical injustice by which your liberties are cloven down, NEITHER GOD, NOR ANGELS, OR JUST MEN, COMMAND YOU TO SUFFER FOR A SINGLE MOMENT. THEREFORE IT IS YOUR SOLEMN AND IMPERATIVE DUTY TO USE EVERY MEANS, BOTH MORAL, INTELLECTUAL, AND PHYSICAL THAT PROMISES SUCCESS.

Brethren, it is as wrong for your lordly oppressors to keep you in slavery, as it was for the man thief to steal our ancestors from the coast of Africa. You should therefore now use the same manner of resistance, as would have been just in our ancestors when the bloody foot prints of the first remorseless soul thief was placed upon the shores of our fatherland. ...

In turn, the time has come for the slaves to “strike the blow” for themselves!

Brethren, the time has come when you must act for yourselves. It is an old and true saying that, “if hereditary bondmen would be free, they must themselves strike the blow.” You can plead your own cause, and do the work of emancipation better than any others.

...The combined powers of Europe have placed their broad seal of disapprobation upon the African slave trade. But in the slave-holding parts of the United States, the trade is as brisk as ever. They buy and sell you as though you were brute beasts. ...Look around you, and behold the bosoms of your loving wives heaving with untold agonies! Hear the cries of your poor children! Remember the stripes your fathers bore. Think of the torture and disgrace of your noble mothers. Think of your wretched sisters, loving virtue and purity, as they are driven into concubinage and are exposed to the unbridled lusts of incarnate devils.

It is better to “die freemen than live to be slaves.”

...Then go to your lordly enslavers and tell them plainly, that you are determined to be free. Appeal to their sense of justice, and tell them that they have no more right to oppress you, than you have to enslave them... If they then commence the work of death, they, and not you, will be responsible for the consequences. You had better all die immediately, than live slaves and entail your wretchedness upon your posterity. If you would be free in this generation, here is your only hope. However much you and all of us may desire it, there is not much hope of redemption without the shedding of blood. If you must bleed, let it all come at once—rather die freemen, than live to be slaves.

Escape is impossible – with Garnet presciently citing free Mexico as an expansionist target for the South.

It is impossible like the children of Israel, to make a grand exodus from the land of bondage. The Pharaohs are on both sides of the blood red waters! You cannot move en masse, to the dominions of the British Queen—nor can you pass through Florida and overrun Texas, and at last find peace in Mexico. The propagators of American slavery are spending their blood and treasure, that they may plant the black flag in the heart of Mexico and riot in the halls of the Montezumas.

Fellow men! Patient sufferers! behold your dearest rights crushed to the earth! See your sons murdered, and your wives, mothers and sisters doomed to prostitution. In the name of the merciful God, and by all that life is worth, let it no longer be a debatable question whether it is better to choose Liberty or death.

Then comes a litany of heroes of freedom – Vesey, Turner, Cinque, Washington – noble men and heroes.

In 1822, Denmark Vesey [Vesey], of South Carolina, formed a plan for the liberation of his fellow men. In the whole history of human efforts to overthrow slavery, a more complicated and tremendous plan was never formed. ...That tremendous movement shook the whole empire of slavery. The guilty soul thieves were overwhelmed with fear. It is a matter of fact, that at that time, and in consequence of the threatened revolution, the slave States talked strongly of emancipation. But they blew but one blast of the trumpet of freedom and then laid it aside.

The patriotic Nathaniel Turner followed Denmark Vesie [Vesey]..., and future generations will remember him among the noble and brave...Next arose the immortal Joseph Cinque, the hero of the Amistad...Next arose Madison Washington that bright star of freedom, and took his station in the constellation of true heroism. He was a slave on board the brig Creole,

Noble men! Those who have fallen in freedom's conflict, their memories will be cherished by the true hearted and the God fearing in all future generations; those who are living, their names are surrounded by a halo of glory.

Like David Walker fourteen years earlier, Garnet ends with plea to the Four Million to “strike for your lives and liberties” against those “defiling your wives and daughters.”

Brethren, arise, arise! Strike for your lives and liberties. Now is the day and the hour. Let every slave throughout the land do this, and the days of slavery are numbered. You cannot be more oppressed than you have been—you cannot suffer greater cruelties than you have already. Rather die free—men than live to be slaves. Remember that you are FOUR MILLIONS!

It is in your power so to torment the God cursed slaveholders that they will be glad to let you go free.... But you are a patient people. You act as though, you were made for the special use of these devils. You act as though your daughters were born to pamper the lusts of your masters and overseers. And worse than all, you tamely submit while your lords tear your wives from your embraces and defile them before your eyes. In the name of God, we ask, are you men? Where is the blood of your fathers? Has it all run out of your veins? Awake, awake; millions of voices are calling you! Your dead fathers speak to you from their graves. Heaven, as with a voice of thunder, calls on you to arise from the dust.

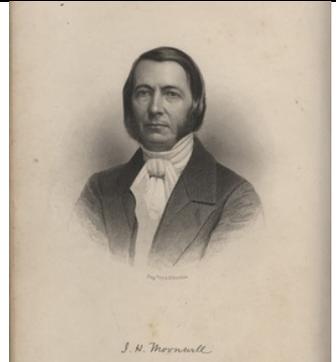
Let your motto be resistance! resistance! RESISTANCE! No oppressed people have ever secured their liberty without resistance. What kind of resistance you had better make, you must decide by the circumstances that surround you, and according to the suggestion of expediency. Brethren, adieu! Trust in the living God. Labor for the peace of the human race, and remember that you are FOUR MILLIONS.

Everything about Garnet’s speech is anathema to the South. It recalls decades-old memories of the Vesey and Turner attacks, and the more recent adverse legal decisions in the *Amistad* and *Creole* cases. It calls out politicians who would expand slavery into Texas and Mexico, along with Christian clergymen who would defend it where it already exists.

It reminds owners of the blood already on their hands and invokes the image of blood to be spilled by four million angry Africans seeking revenge.

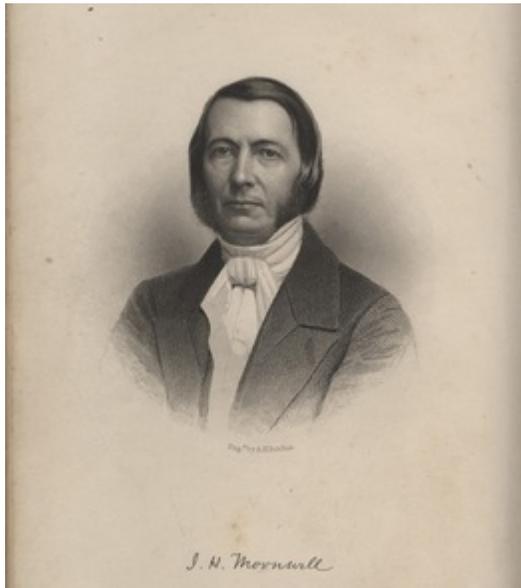
As such, it provokes a backlash across the South, led in part by the clergy.

Chapter 137 – James Thornwell & Other Clergymen Offer A Biblical Defense Of Slavery

 A black and white portrait of James Henley Thornwell, a man with dark hair, wearing a dark suit jacket, a white shirt, and a white cravat. The name "J. H. Thornwell" is written in cursive at the bottom of the portrait.	Dates: 1840-1850	Sections: <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Reverend James Henley Thornwell Emerges As A Southern Spokesperson• Thornwell Asserts That Slavery Is Part Of God's Plan For Mankind• Southern Clerics Align Behind The "Biblical Defense" Of Slavery
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Date: 1843-1850

Reverend James Henley Thornwell Emerges As A Southern Spokesperson



Reverend James Henry Thornwell (1812-1862)

By the middle of Tyler's term, Southern concerns about defending slavery continue to mount.

On the political front, the fact that the President remains a Virginia slave-owner is an accident rather than an affirmation of Southern control over the White House. In the realm of public opinion, Northern sympathy for the plight of the slaves appears to be growing within the "reform societies" of the Second Awakening, despite continued rejection of forced abolition.

Faced with these concerns, several southern clergymen step up to offer a defense of slavery, based on their reading of the scriptures. They are led by the Presbyterian minister, Reverend James Henley Thornwell.

Thornwell is born to modest means in 1812 in the Pee Dee River region of Marlborough County, SC. His father dies when he is 8 years old, and his mother is too poor to support his education. But his intellectual prowess is apparent to a lawyer named William Robbins, who becomes his benefactor. He attends Charaw Academy, exhibits remarkable scholarship, and at sixteen decides to abandon a legal career to become a preacher.

A chosen vessel of the Lord, to bear His name before the Gentiles and kings, and the children of Israel;" to assert eternal Providence and justify the ways of God to men.

In 1829 he enrolls at South Carolina College, described as follows by a fellow classmate:

In personal appearance he was, perhaps, the most unpromising specimen of humanity that ever entered such an institution. Very short in stature, very lean in flesh, his manners were unpolished, but his air was self-reliant. He was evidently conscious of the mental power within him, which would- make him more than a match for most men, and would throw into the shade his physical defects.

He is initially drawn to Calvinism and to the Presbyterian church when he happens to read the Westminster "Confessions of Faith."

I felt that I had met with a system which held together with the strictest logical connection; granting its premises, the conclusions were bound to follow.

After graduating at the top of his class in December 1831, he wanders for eighteen months between scholarly studies and writing essays. This uncertainty end on May 13, 1832, when he joins the Concord Presbyterian Church, a life-changing moment he recalls as follows:

O God! I have to-day made a public profession of my faith in the blessed Redeemer, and taken upon me the solemn covenant of the Church. I would not impute to myself any merit on this account, as I have only done, and that, too, after a long delay, what was expressly enjoined on me in Thy holy Word. But, O God! I feel myself a weak, fallen, depraved, and helpless creature, and utterly unable to do one righteous deed without Thy gracious assistance. Wilt Thou, therefore, send upon me Thy cheering Spirit, to illumine for me the path of duty; and to uphold me, when I grow weary; to refresh me, when I faint; to support me against the violence of temptation and the blandishments of vice. Let me, I beseech Thee, please Thee in thought, word and deed. Enable me to go on to perfection, support me in death, and finally save me in Thy kingdom; and to the glorious Three-in-one be ascribed all the praise. Amen. "

In 1832, at 22 years old, he is ordained as a pastor, and heads off first to Andover and then to Harvard Divinity School to continue his studies. There he aligns himself with the "Old School" Presbyterians against the "New School" Cambridge Unitarians who embrace "free will" over "determinism."

It is an open defiance of all the established laws of exegesis; and the doctrines, which need such miserable subterfuges to support them, cannot come from God. No, my friend, we are never safe in departing from the simple declarations of the Bible. The Unitarian will tell you that experimental religion is all an idle dream; but, my friend, believe not the tale. It is no such thing.

Like John Calvin in 1540, Thornwell's belief system springs from his literal reading of the Bible.

It tells him a hard and unswerving truth – that all men are depraved sinners who are assigned their places in life according to God's providential plan, and are granted or denied salvation by grace alone.

Thornwell soon returns to South Carolina, where his fame as a preacher and scholar quickly spreads.

In 1835 he marries Nancy Witherspoon, a member of one of the oldest and most prestigious families in South Carolina. Her father is Colonel James Witherspoon, ex-Lieutenant Governor of the state, and master of “Thorntree” Plantation, a 300 acre estate utilizing slave labor to grow indigo. In giving his daughter away, the Colonel overlooks Thornwell’s meager finances in favor of his growing reputation as the “John C. Calhoun of the Pulpit.”

Through the marriage, Thornwell acquires, for the first time, both wealth and slaves of his own.

Date: 1840’s

Thornwell Asserts That Slavery Is Part Of God’s Plan For Mankind



Thornwell’s life now revolves around his plantation, his speaking engagements, and his continued scholarship at South Carolina College, where he serves as Chaplin and as Professor of Sacred Literature and Evidence of Christianity.

His sermons become famous for their pristine logic and their emotional impact. Later in his career, none other than Daniel Webster, the senate spellbinder, will call him “the greatest pulpit orator I ever heard.”

As northern reformers increase their attacks on slavery, Thornwell focuses his analytical mind on formulating a foolproof defense, one that the South will employ over the decades ahead.

Slavery, he asserts, is part of God’s plan for mankind.

He arrives there by “reasoning his way” from Calvinist religious principles to a belief that the institution is sanctioned by the Bible and therefore morally proper.

He argues that the unknowable will of God shapes man’s destiny and that, from time immemorial, the practice of slavery has been a part of this destiny. The Old Testament verifies slavery, from Genesis 9:25 (“Cursed be Canaan, a servant of servants shall he be unto his brethren”) to the enslavement of the patriarch, Joseph, the concubine Hagar, and the entire people of Israel. The fact that Christ, living amidst Roman slavery, failed to condemn it in his preaching, further proves its historical legitimacy.

He theorizes that slavery may have originally come into the world as a punishment, perpetual in nature, with the children of slaves becoming slaves themselves. But it has always been a reality in God’s plan.

Then comes a remarkable departure by Thornwell from the conventional Southern narrative!

In no way does slavery reflect on the slave’s ultimate worth. Thornwell absolutely rejects the notion that Africans are biologically or morally inferior to whites. They are like everyman, searching equally for salvation. They have simply been handed their place in the social order, under a biblically approved

system. Their duty is to render obedience and service to their master in exchange for needed provisions and fair treatment.

Slavery is also essential, he says, to the progress of civilization and of industry. The notion that all men play an equal role in advancing society is patently false. Some are meant to lead by the power of their minds; others to follow, lending the sweat of their brows to completion of their assigned tasks.

Slavery is a needful stimulus to industry; all enterprise would stagnate without it.

Furthermore, the duty of slave-owners is to be just. Any abuses of slaves reflects negatively on the masters and not on the system itself. Among the highest duties of the master is to facilitate religious enlightenment – and this, Thornwell says, is one of the great blessings, the positive good, of slavery in America:

Slavery is the state in which the African is most effectually trained to the moral end of his being.

Thus Thornwell admonishes masters to construct places of worship for slaves, so they can learn about salvation and commit their life to seeking it. Lacking freedom of the body in no ways inhibits the quest for freedom of the soul. Each man’s fate is in the hands of God.

There you have it, according to Thornwell.

Slavery is sanctioned in the Bible and it exists as a part of God’s unknowable plan for mankind, with both slave and master playing out their assigned roles, each with an equal chance at what counts, eternal salvation.

Date: 1840’s

Southern Clerics Align Behind The “Biblical Defense” Of Slavery

Across denominations and over time, the Southern clergy rallies behind the Biblical defense of slavery.

The Presbyterian preacher, Robert Dabney, sums up the strategy as follows:

We must go before the nation with the Bible as the text, and “thus sayeth the Lord” as the answer. We know that on the Bible argument the abolition party will be driven to unveil their true infidel tendencies. The Bible being bound to stand on our side, they have to come out and array themselves against the Bible.

Stephen Elliott, the Harvard trained Episcopalian Bishop of Georgia, asserts that “slavery is ordained by God.”

Baptist pastor and slave-owner, Dr. Richard Furman, of South Carolina, also cites scripture:

...the right of holding slaves is clearly established in the Holy Scriptures, both by precept and example... Had the holding of slaves been a moral evil, it cannot be supposed that the inspired

Apostles ... would have tolerated it for a moment in the Christian Church. In proving this subject justifiable by Scriptural authority [Luke 12:47], its morality is also proved; for the Divine Law never sanctions immoral actions.

Methodist pastor Samuel Dunwoody finds textual support for the notion that “some of the most eminent of the Old Testament saints were slave holders,” including Abraham, Jacob, Isaac, and Job. Given this it cannot be evil.

Thus, God, as he is infinitely wise, just and holy, never could authorize the practice of a moral evil. But God has authorized the practice of slavery, not only by the bare permission of his Providence, but the express provision of his word. Therefore, slavery is not a moral evil.

Thornwell, ever true to his rigid Calvinist stance, argues that there is no room for religious debate over slavery. God sanctioned the practice in the Bible, and those who question it stand on the side of Evil.

The parties in this conflict are not merely abolitionists and slaveholders—they are atheists, socialists, communists, red republicans, Jacobins, on one side, and the friends of order and regulated freedom on the other. In one word, the world is the battleground—Christianity and Atheism the combatants; and the progress of humanity at stake.

Opponents, he says, are the same “New School” ministers – like the Unitarians and Charles Finney’s Evangelicals --who risk the salvation of their flocks by straying beyond the literal words of the Bible into their own speculations.

If the spirit of speculation on theological subjects should once become propagated among them, there is no telling where the evil would stop.”

Likewise they distort the message of the New Testament by failing to understand that Jesus Christ was not sent here to make social reforms, but to help mankind atone for its total depravity.

Thus the message from the Southern pulpit to Northern reformers becomes loud and clear:

Leave (slavery) where God has left it, and deal with it as God has dealt with it.

Chapter 138 – The Slavery Issue Causes A Schism Within The Protestant Churches



Church In Dunbarton, NH

Dates:
1607-1845

- Sections:**
- The Christian Church Is A Unifying Force In America’s History
 - The Second Awakening Begins To Fray Church Bonds
 - Laymen Critics Blast Church Silence Over The Slavery Issue
 - The Anti-Slavery Societies Also Call For Church Action
 - The Methodist Episcopal Church Breaks Apart Over Slavery
 - The Baptist Church Also Divides
 - * The Church Schisms Preview The Growing North-South Divide

Date: 1607-1825

The Christian Church Is A Unifying Force In America’s History



Church In Dunbarton, NH

Up to the 1830’s, America’s Protestant churches have played a powerful role in binding the nation together around shared Christian beliefs and aspirations - - as noted by the French visitor, DeTocqueville, in his journals:

America is...the place in the world where the Christian religion has most preserved genuine powers over souls; and the country where (Christianity) exercises its greatest empire is at the same time the most enlightened and most free.

This is true despite the vast proliferation of denominations that take hold, the most dominant in the early nineteenth century being the Methodists, Baptists and Presbyterians.

Number Of Churches In America

	1790	1860
Methodist Episcopalian	700	20,000
Baptist	900	12,000
Presbyterian	700	6,000
Roman Catholic	NA	2,500
Jewish Synagogues	NA	77

Mark Knoll, The Civil War As Theological Crisis

Amidst this diversity, the vast majority of Americans are active in their churches, either as formal members or as regular attendees at Sunday worship services.

For many, these gatherings are the centerpiece of their moral, intellectual and social lives.

Attendees look for daily guidance to their ministers, many of whom are trained at one of the nation’s sixty universities, almost all founded and run by the clergy.

American Universities Founded By Churches

Name	Year	Church Affiliation
Harvard	1636	Congregationalist
William & Mary	1693	Church of England
Yale	1701	Congregationalist
Princeton	1746	Presbyterian
Columbia	1754	Church of England
Penn	1757	Anglican/Methodists
Brown	1764	Baptist
Rutgers	1766	Dutch Reformed
Dartmouth	1769	Congregationalist

Each denomination develops its own doctrines, governing hierarchies and liturgies – and each is focused on solidifying and expanding its membership rolls.

Despite doctrinal differences, most church-goers hear a fairly common message from the pulpit. Read “the good book;” live according to the Golden Rule; band together to make America into St. Augustine’s “shining city on a hill,” a beacon of God’s light for the rest of the world to see and to emulate.

America’s churches and divinity schools and clergymen are there to insure, as De Tocqueville says, that the “soul” of the country remains enlightened and dedicated to “essential goodness.”

They are also there to preserve the Union. The old world has been torn apart by religious conflicts, but America has always found in its churches a powerful source of national unity.

Date: 1825 - 1840

The Second Awakening Begins To Fray Church Bonds

This church unity, however, begins to fray in response to the religious revivals of the 1825-1840 period known as the Second Great Awakening.

At first the turmoil centers on religious doctrine, mainly within the Presbyterian denomination. It pits the so-called “Old School” ministers such as Charles Hodge and Lyman Beecher, often associated with the Princeton Theological Seminary, against the “revivalist” preachers of the “New School,” such as Charles Finney and the Unitarians.

At stake, according to the “Old Schoolers,” is the very essence of Calvinism, which shuns the notion of individual men interpreting the Bible on their own, “reforming their own way” to salvation, or mixing religious and secular affairs.

Doctrinal Debate Among The Presbyterians

	“Old School”	“New School”
Salvation open to:	The Elect	Everyman
Based upon:	Predestination	Free Will
Bible interpretation:	Literal	Figurative
Final authority:	Church Hierarchy	Each Individual
Preaching style:	From The Pulpit	In The Crowd
Symbols:	Charles Hodge Lyman Beecher	Charles Finney The Unitarians

As “New School” revival meetings win more converts, it becomes clear that differences here are irreconcilable.

At their 1837 general assembly, the Old School faction carries a vote to oust the four main New School synods, thus effectively dividing the Presbyterians for good.

But the effects of the Second Awakening extend far beyond internal debates over Presbyterian doctrine.

Instead they foster a new generation who believe that every man is capable of achieving eternal salvation by striving for Christ-like “moral perfection” – reforming both themselves and their society as a whole.

Soon enough these “reformers” band into organized movements. Some promote temperance; others try to strike down abuses directed at child labor, the indigent or the incarcerated; a few seek greater rights for women, especially related to suffrage.

But one “cause” soon takes center stage – putting an end to slavery in America.

In large part this results from the work of one man in particular, the Presbyterian New School preacher Charles Grandison Finney – who directly touches the hearts and minds of many of the most important white abolitionists of the time, including Lloyd Garrison, Theodor Dwight Weld, Arthur and Lewis Tappan, Gerrit Smith and James Birney.

Together these and other reformers begin to pressure the Protestant churches to end the “moral stain” of slavery.

Date: 1830's - forward

Laymen Critics Blast Church Silence Over The Slavery Issue

From Jamestown forward, the only consistent church opposition to slavery has come from the Quakers and from black clergymen.

The others have simply chosen to look the other way.

This evasion is now challenged by white reformers like Lloyd Garrison who call on the churches to play a decisive role in ending slavery.

Nothing but extensive revivals of pure religion can save our country. Emancipation has to be from Christianity.

By 1836, however, Garrison concludes that the institutional church has substituted "legal righteousness and ritual observance" for the true meaning of the Gospel. His wrath is particularly directed at the passivity of churchmen like his fellow Bostonian, Old School Pastor Lyman Beecher, who he says...

Sides only with the rich and powerful, goes with the South, lulls conscience-ness, aligns with traffickers in souls.

Garrison is not alone in his castigation of the white churches. Another very visible critic is the fiery Stephen Symonds Foster.

Foster grows up in New Hampshire, in a family which speaks out against slavery. He decides to do missionary work and attends Dartmouth College, where he invites the abolitionist Angelina Grimke to speak to the Young Men's Anti-Slavery Society. After graduation, he enrolls at Union Theological Seminary, but leaves when the administration tries to silence his dissent. Henceforth he will embrace the label of a "come outer," after the biblical admonition "come out from among them...and touch not the unclean thing, and I will receive you."

In 1839 Foster becomes an itinerant lecturer for the New Hampshire Anti-Slavery Society, and is nearly beaten to death three years later by a mob in Portland, Maine, intent upon silencing his demand for emancipation.

In his 1843 book, *The Brotherhood of Thieves: A True Picture of the American Church and Clergy*, Foster skewers the church clergy.

Taken together they are apologists and supporters of the most atrocious system of oppression beneath which humanity has ever groaned – while Southerners perpetuate slavery for the sole purpose of supplying themselves concubines from among the hapless victims.

Foster is also famous for delivering his attacks by standing up during Sunday services and aiming his opinion directly at the minister in the pulpit, a practice which gets him ousted from his own Congregational church.

Later in life, Foster marries the reformer, Abby Kelley, and together the two crusade on for abolitions and for female equality and suffrage.

Date: 1840

The Anti-Slavery Societies Also Call For Church Action

Pressure on America's churches also comes from Anti-Slavery Societies at both the local and national level.

By 1836, the American Anti-Slavery Society has grown to over 500 chapters in the three short years since its founding through the combined efforts of Lewis Tappan and Lloyd Garrison and their inner circles.

Chapter resolutions related to church positions on slavery multiply quickly.

A New England convention in 1836 asks whether opposition to slavery should become a necessary sign of "the true and real church of God." A year later this same group adopts a call to "urge the necessity of ex-communication for slave owners."

The 1839 national convention passes a proposal to "push the slave question in churches, to abolitionize them if possible, and if not, to secede from them."

The Massachusetts Society in 1840 holds that "a man who apologizes for slavery, or neglects to use his influence against it, has no claim to be regarded as Christ's minister, and churches who do not take a stand against slavery should not be supported."

That same year the umbrella organization, the American Anti-Slavery Society, splits in two over the issue of how best to achieve abolition -- with the Tappan/New York wing favoring political action and the Garrison/Boston wing holding out for grass roots public pressure.

Despite the division, both the national and local groups continue to call for the hierarchy within all churches to take a formal stand in favor of abolition and to cleanse their ministries of all slave-owners.

The effects of these efforts will soon be felt in America's two largest churches.

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But now comes up the new doctrine of compromise! Let it be banished from the breast of every patriot, philanthropist, and Christian... Shall we turn our backs upon the cause of suffering humanity, because public opinion frowns upon us? No! Never!!

...The principle of slavery—the principle which justifies holding and treating the human species as property, is morally wrong—or, in other words, that it is a sin. The principle, aside from all circumstances, is evil, ONLY EVIL, and that CONTINUALLY! ...no hand could sanctify it—no circumstances could change it from bad to good. It was a reprobate—too bad to be converted—not subject to the law of God, neither indeed could be... Circumstances might palliate, and circumstances might aggravate, but no circumstances could justify the principle." "He who has made of one blood, all nations of men to dwell on the earth' [Acts 17:26] must look with disapprobation upon such a system of complicated wrongs, as American slavery...

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This places Andrew in the awkward positioning of defending himself in public. He says that he never bought nor sold a slave on his own. Instead his first slave was inherited, while another four have come his

way through two marriages. While Georgia law prohibits manumission, he claims that all have been told to “live wherever they so choose.”

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The Conference spends the next twelve days trying to find a compromise solution. Some argue that a judicial trial is needed to remove a bishop. Others propose that a final decision be delayed until the next meeting in 1848.

Along the way, however, attendees also learn that Andrew’s case is not unique, that another 1200 or so Methodist clergymen are current slave owners.

At this point the conflict ratchets up, with Southern bishops digging their heels in to support Andrew, citing the now familiar arguments that slavery is sanctioned in the Bible and is a “positive good” for society.

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Because of this membership tilt toward the South, the Baptists are especially inclined to avoid controversy over slavery for as long as possible. But this strategy breaks down, as various Northern ministers begin to attack the institution.

One of them is Abel Brown, an intensely religious youth, who becomes a Baptist minister after studying at Hamilton College. His first cause is intemperance, and his approach to stamping out “demon drink” is to cite the names of known offenders in a public forum. For this he is attacked by a mob and run out of town in Auburn, New York. He turns his attention to slavery in 1838, speaking against it from the pulpit,

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Brown eventually becomes a leading figure in operating the Underground Railroad, joins the Liberty Party in 1840, and serves as an itinerant lecturer on behalf of abolition before his premature death in 1844 at age thirty-four.

A second Baptist opponent of slavery is Reverend Elon Galusha, whose father and uncle have both served as Governors of Vermont. Galusha takes up the ministry after studying law, and serves his first sixteen years in Oneida County, New York, the hotbed of early revivalism and abolitionism. In 1839 he becomes the first president of the Baptist Anti-Slavery Society, whose constitution calls for the church to repent for its participation in sin:

Slavery is utterly at variance with the gospel of Jesus Christ....(It) is a sin in which the churches have largely and criminally participated, we feel it our duty to do all we can to induce repentance and by kind, prudent, prayerful, and persevering measures endeavor to exert a purifying influence upon the churches with which we are associated.

In 1840 the Society turns up its rhetoric:

As Christians we can have no fellowship with those who, after being duly enlightened on the subject, still advocate and practice its abominations and thus defile the church of God.

In response, Southern Baptist ministers fire back.

Our brethren at the South with great unanimity deprecate the discussion as unwarranted, the measures pursued as fatal to their safety and complain of the language occasionally employed as cruel and slanderous.

An immediate crisis is delayed by the fact that governance of the Baptist Church is far less centralized than in other denominations. Each local church is free to operate as it chooses, as long as the principle of “baptism of professed believers through total immersion” is maintained.

The closest thing to a forum on national policy is a triennial “General Convention of the Baptist Denomination in the United States.” It is formed to seek consensus on which missions – both domestic and foreign – the membership wishes to fund in the next three year period.

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As the 1844 cycle rolls around, Southern members decide to “test” the will of the Triennial board. They do so in April of that year through a Georgia Convention recommendation to appoint Elder George Reeves to a Home Missions position. The application states that Reeves is a current slave-owner.

The Alabama Convention follows by demanding a Triennial policy making slave-owners eligible for any missions being funded in part or whole by Southern members.

The Home Missions council is now forced to make a decision – and they choose to ignore the Reeves nomination on the basis that their policy is to remain neutral on any and all controversies over slavery.

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By 1845 all of the dominant Protestant denominations have divided over slavery.

While the Methodists and the Baptists are most visibly split along North – South lines, similar tensions also strike the Presbyterians and the Congregationalists.

Even families and friends diverge.

The conservative “Old School” Presbyterian icon, Lyman Beecher, witnesses his son and daughter, swing sharply to the abolitionist cause. The Unitarians are aligned in their opposition to slavery, but not on the remedy. The abolitionists are “too showy, too noisy” for Ellery Channing and “they would jeopardize peace with the South.” Meanwhile younger hardliners such as Theodore Parker and

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Nor does it signal any wish in the North to invite freed slaves into their midst, to embrace them and make them citizens. The schisms are not about abolition and assimilation. They are not about abandoning the anti-black stereotypes entrenched in American culture since Jamestown.

Instead they are more about appearances than substance. Perhaps the churches should not seem to be condoning ownership of slaves by its officials. So say the Northerners.

This is a subtle shift, but still sufficient in the climate of 1844 to blow apart the bonds of good will that have held the three major churches together.

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Chapter 138a – Slavery Divides The Sects Along North Vs. South Lines



Dates:

June 1844 –
May 1845

Sections:

- * The Methodist Episcopal Church Breaks Apart Over Slavery
- * The Baptist Church Also Divides
- * The Church Schisms Preview The Growing North-South Divide

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Chapter 139 – The Question Of Texas Annexation Again Assumes Center Stage

	Dates: 1836-1844	Sections: <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Texas Annexation Stalls Between 1836 And 1843• John O’Sullivan “Manifest Destiny” Vision Resonates With The Public• Benton Momentarily Foils Tyler’s Attempt To Annex Texas
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Date: 1836-1843

Texas Annexation Stalls Between 1836 And 1843

As John Tyler nears the end of his “accidental” term as President in 1844, he makes a decision that will eventually lead to the dissolution of the Union.

It involves the lingering question of whether or not to annex the Republic of Texas.

Eight years earlier, in 1836-37, Presidents Andrew Jackson and Martin Van Buren, both committed expansionists, decide against this move, after Henry Morfit, emissary to the Texas leader, Sam Houston, warns that annexation will result in war with Mexico and renewed national controversy over slavery.

The courtship, however, carries on. The Texans have solidified their territorial hold by March 1837, when the United States officially recognizes them as an independent nation. In January 1838 South Carolina Senator William Preston introduces a bill to negotiate an annexation treaty with Mexico and Texas, but it is vigorously opposed in the House by John Quincy Adams, citing his opposition to warfare and to slavery.

In early January 1839, the Texans finally break off unification talks and decide to go it alone as an independent Republic.

The reaction in Mexico is one of growing hostility toward the American intruders. On September 11, 1842 the Texas town of San Antonio is attacked and occupied. A year later, on August 23, 1843, President Antonio Lopez de Santa Anna openly warns the U.S. that annexation would be regarded as a declaration of war.

This warning fails to deter Tyler, who continues to add Texas as another accomplishment in his legacy. He is swept along in this regard by a rising tide of public interest in opening the west.

Among Southern slave owners, such a move is an economic necessity, to grow more cotton and sell more slaves.

For others, the expansionary fervor seems to build off publicity surrounding the Fremont expeditions and cheerleading from journalists such as Horace Greeley and John L. O'Sullivan.

Date: 1839

John O'Sullivan "Manifest Destiny" Vision Resonates With The Public

The cheerleader for westward expansion is John L. O'Sullivan is an Irish immigrant who arrives in the States in 1813 as an infant. He graduates at age eighteen from Columbia University, and takes up law before settling on a career in journalism. In 1837 he founds the *United States Magazine and Democratic Review*, based in Washington.

The paper unabashedly supports Andrew Jackson and O'Sullivan first articulates his own views on the subject in an 1839 article titled "The Great Nation of Futurity."

He begins by asserting that the United States represents a fundamental break with the past – the beginning of a new history for mankind in the realm of moral, political and national life.

The American people having derived their origin... on the great principle of human equality...have, in reality, but little connection with the past history of any (other nations).... On the contrary, our national birth was the beginning of a new history...which separates us from the past and connects us with the future only; and so far as regards the entire development of the natural rights of man, in moral, political, and national life, we may confidently assume that our country is destined to be the great nation of futurity.

Unlike prior societies where humanity was oppressed, America's core values make it "destined for better deeds."

What friend of human liberty, civilization, and refinement, can cast his view over the past history of the monarchies and aristocracies of antiquity, and not deplore that they ever existed?

America is destined for better deeds. It is our unparalleled glory that we have no reminiscences of battle fields, but in defence of humanity, of the oppressed of all nations, of the rights of conscience, the rights of personal enfranchisement.

Its "destiny" lies in "manifesting to mankind the excellence of divine principles."

The far-reaching, the boundless future will be the era of American greatness. In its magnificent domain of space and time, the nation of many nations is destined to manifest to mankind the

excellence of divine principles; to establish on earth the noblest temple ever dedicated to the worship of the Most High -- the Sacred and the True.

Given this calling, America will become the “great nation of futurity.”

For this blessed mission to the nations of the world, which are shut out from the life-giving light of truth, has America been chosen.... Who, then, can doubt that our country is destined to be the great nation of futurity?

O’Sullivan’s themes mirror those of the Puritan preacher, Jonathan Edward, one hundred years earlier.

He goes on to amplify his vision through-out the 1840’s – most notably some six years later in a second more famous article titled “Annexation.” It steps into the realm of foreign policy with an argument that becomes known as Manifest Destiny – the notion that to realize its full potential, America must extend its national borders all the way to the Pacific.

It is by the right of 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.

O’Sullivan’s call, however, is not for warfare – rather an expectation that other nations, like Mexico, will recognize the exceptional character of America’s democracy and choose to unify peacefully.

Date: April – June, 1844

Benton Momentarily Foils Tyler’s Attempt To Annex Texas



Thomas Hart Benton (1782-1858)

By 1844, Tyler is convinced that annexation of Texas will be popular with the public, and pave the way for his independent party candidacy in the upcoming election.

He order his Secretary of State, Abel Upshur, a Virginian Whig dedicated to the cause of expanding slavery to the west, to open a new round of treaty negotiations with Sam Houston, President of the Texas Republic.

Houston’s primary aim is to avoid conquest by a militarily superior Mexico.

After the 1836 Alamo defeat, he looks to the US as a savior, and certainly the average Texan always favors that solution. But other political leaders disagree. One is the powerful Miramar Lamar, a Georgian by birth, who wants to rid Texas of Comanches and Mexicans alike and make it a new and independent nation, with borders extending to the pacific. Over

time, Houston is also tempted by this vision, which includes a potentially explosive component -- an alliance between Texas and Britain.

Negotiations are well along when Upshur is killed suddenly by the explosion of a naval gun on the USS Princeton being demonstrated during a celebratory outing on the Potomac. To the amazement of all, Tyler names John C. Calhoun, another man without a party, to take Upshur's place.

Calhoun quickly closes on a proposed treaty, with several key terms, applauded across the South:

- Texas would enter the Union as a state, and not a territory;
- It would be allowed to retain slavery;
- The U.S. would assume its national debts, in exchange for its public lands; and
- The U.S. would be obligated to defend Texas against any attacks by Mexico.

Tyler submits the treaty to the U.S. Senate for approval, on April 22, 1844, first arguing that it is essential to keeping Texas out of the hands of the British. Opponents counter by downplaying this threat, especially in relation to the near certainty that annexation would provoke a costly war with Mexico.

The President now bumbles forward, alienating various constituencies. When he offers to placate Mexico by forgiving \$6 million in debt, he undermines the Texan's standing as an independent republic. From there he plays up the benefits of acquiring new slave territory and voting power for the South, immediately alienating Northern congressmen. Calhoun secretly pushes the point even further, suggesting that the matter comes down to "Texas or Disunion."

When the treaty debate begins in May, it is the Missouri Senator, Thomas Hart Benton, who leads the opposition.

Benton is a Southerner, a loyal Democrat, Jackson man and ardent expansionist. He is also a slave-holder, albeit beginning his shift away from support for the institution. Still he cannot stomach what seems like outright theft of land rightfully belonging to Mexico.

The treaty, in all that relates to the boundary of the Rio Grande, is an act of unparalleled outrage on Mexico. It is the seizure of 2,000 miles of her territory without a word of explanation with her, and by virtue of a treaty with Texas, to which she is no party.

The vote on the treaty occurs on June 8, 1844, and it provides the Whigs, who dominate the Senate, with one more chance to humiliate Tyler. Needing a two-thirds majority for passage, the treaty garners only 16 ayes against 35 nays, with all but one of the 29 Whigs in opposition.

At this point, Texas annexation again feels like a dead issue.

But that is about to change as the election of 1844 nears.

Sidebar: Thomas Hart Benton

Thomas Hart Benton will make his presence known in American politics across nearly four decades – forever on the side of protecting the Union against all external and internal threats.

He is born on a plantation in North Carolina in 1782. As a young man he moves to Tennessee to oversee his family's 40,000 acre estate, studies law and passes the bar in 1805.

When the War of 1812 breaks out, he volunteers and serves as an aide on the staff of General Andrew Jackson.

Both men share volatile tempers, and Benton is quick to blame Jackson for apparently provoking a duel involving his brother, Jesse. The time for vengeance arrives on September 4, 1813 when Jackson, bullwhip in hand, calls out the two brothers in a Nashville bar. Both draw their guns and fire at Jackson, shattering his left shoulder and almost causing him to bleed to death.

But, remarkable as it seems, the two strong-willed combatants will subsequently make up and become loyal friends for life.

Benton soon moves to St. Louis, where he builds his legal reputation and becomes editor of the *Missouri Enquirer* newspaper. In 1817 his short-fuse again leads to violence, and he kills Charles Lucas, an opposing attorney, in a duel.

Still his popularity continues to grow across Missouri, and when the state is admitted to the Union in 1821, he becomes its first Senator.

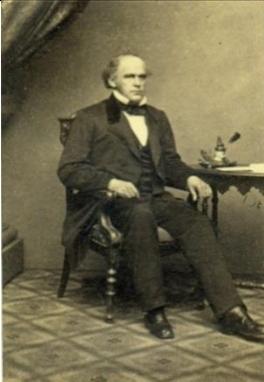
From then on, he is a leading force in Congress, intent on passing Democratic Party legislation, especially in opposition to a federal bank and in favor of hard money. These traits earn him the nickname "Old Bullion," and explain this reminiscence about his one-time foe:

General Jackson was a very great man. I shot him, sir. Afterward he was of great use to me, sir, in my battle with the United States Bank.

His sharp mind will forever be matched by an equally sharp tongue and a willingness to push his rivals over the edge -- as evidenced by a Mississippi colleague who points a pistol at him on the floor of the senate.

Despite his many controversies, Thomas Hart Benton will also be remembered as a principled man, prone to question his own moral compass, especially later on around the propriety of the Mexican War and the practice of slavery. His opposition to expanding slavery into the new west will end his senate career in 1851.

Chapter 140 – Three Parties Nominate Candidates For The Pivotal 1844 Election



Dates:
1842 – Fall 1844

- Sections:**
- The Whigs Suffer Big Set-Backs In The Mid-Year Elections
 - The Liberty Party Again Nominates Abolitionist James Birney
 - The Whigs Again Call On Henry Clay
 - The “Young America” Movement Re-shapes The Democrat Party
 - Stephen A. Douglas Symbolizes The Young Americans Movement
 - The Democrats Choose A “Dark Horse” In James Polk
 - The Nativist American Party Makes Its First Appearance

Date: Fall 1842

The Whigs Suffer Big Set-Backs In The Mid-Year Elections

Whig Party anxiety mounts as the 1844 election approaches, and for good reason.

With Harrison dead after only one month in office, and the apostate Tyler in charge since then, almost none of Clay’s American System policies have escaped the veto pen. In turn, the economic recovery promised by the Whigs in 1840 has failed to materialize – with GDP trends falling back into negative territory by 1842.

Short-run Economic Trends

GDP	1840	1841	1842
Total (\$000)	1574	1652	1618
% Change	(5%)	5%	(2%)
Per Cap	92	94	89

Vetoes notwithstanding, the country signals its displeasure with the Whigs by returning overwhelming control of the House to the Democrats in the 1842 mid-term election.

Off Year Congressional Election Of 1842

House	1840	1842	Chg
Democrats	98	148	50
Whigs	144	73	(71)
Anti-Masonic			
Conservative			
Other		2	2
Senate			
Democrats	22	23	1
Whigs	29	29	NC
Anti-Masonic			
Conservative			
Other			
	Har	Tyler	

Date: April 1, 1844

The Liberty Party Again Nominates Abolitionist James Birney



Salmon Chase (1808-1873)

The anti-slavery Liberty Party is first to hold a nominating convention in 1844, meeting in the western New York town of Arcade.

Its delegates are drawn from the New York and Ohio wings of the abolitionist movement, as distinct from the Boston-based supporters of Lloyd Garrison.

Both groups seek an end to slavery, but they differ fundamentally on the means required. Garrison remains committed to writing and speaking out against the slave-holders, the churches and the federal government – most recently calling the Constitution “an agreement with hell” and urging people not to vote. The Liberty Party men view Garrison as naïve, and argue that only through political action will their end be achieved.

The party’s first foray into politics occurs in 1840 and it is a fiasco, with nominee James Birney winning less than 7,000 votes nationwide in the election. This time around, they intend to do better.

Leading their political thinking and strategy is the Ohioan, Salmon P. Chase, who joins the cause in 1837, after Birney is attacked in Cincinnati by anti-abolitionist mobs. For the next seven years, Chase attempts to build the Liberty Party into a national force.

As a highly skilled lawyer, Chase recognizes that the Constitution and the Northwest Ordinance affirm the lasting presence of slavery in the Southern states east of the Mississippi. But, he argues, that principle does not extend to other new states admitted to the Union. Stopping its spread is not the full answer

sought by the Garrison forces, but Chase regards it as a solid starting place to bring politics and law to bear on the South.

Over time this strategy – stopping the future expansion of slavery – will fuel the Republican Party and lead to Southern secession and civil war.

But in 1844 the Liberty Party still lacks a political candidate capable of competing on the national stage. It again is left with James Birney to head the ticket, along with Tom Morris, ex-Senator from Ohio, as his running mate.

Together they will garner a paltry 2% of the popular vote in the upcoming election – although many will later argue that their showing in New York actually costs Henry Clay a victory.

Date: May 1, 1844

The Whigs Again Call On Henry Clay

Despite the mid-term losses, the Whigs continue to believe the public, both North and South, will again support their platform for building the country's infrastructure.

They are heartened by party solidarity against the annexation of Texas in the Senate – even though over half of all Whigs in the chamber are from slave-holding states.

Likewise in the House, where one of their emerging spokesmen, Alexander Stephens of Georgia, dismisses the Tyler-Calhoun treaty proposal as a “humbug,” designed simply to weaken Whig unity..

Instead of promoting costly, and dangerous, military schemes to expand America, the Whigs want to consolidate and improve the capacities of states already in the Union. As Clay says:

I think it is far more wise an important to compose and harmonize the present confederacy, as it now exists, than to introduce a new element of discord and distraction (i.e. Texas) into it.

This has been the Whig's message since their origin in 1828.

America's greatness will follow from its ability to create an economic juggernaut, advantaged over the rest of the world. Successful international trade is one aspect of this, but vital “home markets” are its essence. The efficient production and distribution of goods from the East coast to the Mississippi will guarantee the “American dream” for all citizens.

It will result from the Whig's “American System” of investments in infrastructure and education, a sound currency and reliable banks, and sensible regulations and tariffs.

And no one speaks for this system better than its founder, Henry Clay.

Though thoroughly beaten by Jackson in 1832 and rejected in favor of the war hero, Harrison, in 1840, Clay is certain his time has come to succeed Tyler in the White House.

The Whigs signal their confidence in him through a brief, mostly perfunctory, national convention in Baltimore on May 1, 1844, where he is nominated by acclaim, and ex-New Jersey Senator Theodore Frelinghuysen, is chosen as his running mate.

Date: 1840's

The “Young America” Movement Re-shapes The Democrat Party

For the Democrats, the 1840 loss to Harrison serves as a wake-up call to transition from the Jackson-Van Buren era to a new generation of national leaders.

The path they choose is the “Young America Movement,” patterned after similar “young” initiatives materializing across Europe. The author Cornelius Matthews, describes it in a speech he delivers on June 30, 1845:

Whatever that past generation of statesmen, law-givers and writers was capable of, we know. What they attained, what they failed to attain, we also know. Our duty and our destiny is another from theirs. Liking not at all its borrowed sound, we are yet (there is no better way to name it,) the Young America of the people: a new generation; and it is for us now to inquire, what we may have it in our power to accomplish, and on what objects the world may reasonably ask that we should fix our regards.

In the hands of the politicians, the message is one of “American Exceptionalism.”

It is marked by a rugged assurance that the nation is destined by history to lead the world in everything, government to commerce, intellectual to cultural advances.

It embraces free trade across the globe, certain that it will profit most by opening new markets.

It welcomes wide open borders, with immigrants from all over given a chance to share in life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness – while also joining the Democratic Party.

It breaks beyond the constraints of the agrarian-centric economy and supports industrialization, infrastructure upgrades, even modest tariffs to support domestic manufacturing.

And it is absolutely committed to expanding the nation's borders to the west coast, and even into the Caribbean and central America.

Date: 1840's

Stephen A. Douglas Symbolizes The Young Americans Movement

In 1843 a new figure leaps onto center stage in Congress, representing the Young America Movement and dedicated to restoring Democratic Party control in Washington. That figure is Stephen A. Douglas, of Illinois.

Stephen Douglass (he later drops the second "s") is born in Brandon, Vermont in 1813 to a sixth generation New England family. His father is a physician who dies suddenly at age thirty-two when he is only months old. He is raised by his mother and her bachelor brother (his uncle) on their combined family farms. He is also influenced as a youth by his grandfather, Benajah Douglass, an outspoken five term member of the Vermont General Assembly.

His early formal education is very limited, only 3-4 months of schooling whenever his duties on the farm allow. At age fifteen, he is fed up with his situation and decides to move out on his own, some 14 miles away to the town of Middlebury, where he apprentices as a carpenter. While he is there for only eight months before moving back home, it is during the 1828 presidential campaign, a moment where he first becomes enthralled with politics and aligns himself with the Democratic Party principles of Andrew Jackson.

Douglas remains in Brandon for two more years, working as a carpenter and attending grade school. When his mother marries a man from Canandaigua, New York, he accompanies her there in December 1830, and enrolls in the Canandaigua Academy. He is known as a diligent student, who actively engages in in the debate club and is seen as a future politician by his peers.

Upon graduating, Douglas sets his sights on becoming a lawyer, but recognizes that the standards for passing the bar in New York State require four more years of study. This prompts his decision to head out west, where no such academic rigor is demanded. In June 1833 he begins a six month journey which includes brief stops in Cleveland and St. Louis before finally settling down in Winchester, Illinois. Once there, he runs a grade school for 40 students to earn a living, while adding enough bits and pieces of legal know-how to pass a brief oral exam and secure a law certificate.

In 1834 Douglas opens a practice in Winchester, but quickly finds that his true calling lies in the political arena. He dedicates himself to organizing a vibrant Democratic Party in Morgan County, 36 miles west of Springfield, which becomes the state capital in 1839. He attends sessions of the Illinois General Assembly as a lobbyist, and persuades legislators to pass a bill whereby states attorneys in Illinois are chosen by the people rather than appointed. In turn, he is elected to his first official office on February 10, 1835, as States Attorney for the First District, riding the circuit across eight counties, meeting voters, initiating his moniker as "Judge Douglas."

From there his career gains momentum. In August 1836 he is elected to represent Morgan County in Illinois's Tenth General Assembly, which includes Abraham Lincoln, James Shields, Edward Baker, James Semple and other future political leaders.

In March 1837, his campaign work on behalf of Van Buren's presidential election lands him a patronage job paying \$3,000 a year as Registrar of the Springfield Land Office. In November of that year his

Democratic Party nominates him to run for the U.S. House – but he loses in 1838 by 36 votes (out of 36,495 cast) to John Stuart, a Whig and law partner of Abraham Lincoln.

On March 2, 1839 he resigns as Registrar and devotes himself to strengthening his party and re-electing Van Buren in his race vs. Harrison. This leads to the first series of public debates against his local rival, Abraham Lincoln, to be repeated nearly twenty years later when both vie for a U.S. Senate seat. One topic where they already disagree is over a bill to ban abolition societies in Illinois. The bill passes 77-6 with Douglas supporting it and Lincoln in the minority.

All in all, Douglas makes some 207 speeches around the state on behalf of the Democrats and Van Buren, who carries Illinois while losing out nationally.

Douglas’s political efforts are again rewarded when the Democratic controlled legislature appoints him as Illinois Secretary of State in November 1840 and then as Associate Justice of the state Supreme Court in 1841. Despite the fact that he is only twenty-eight years old, he has already argued fifteen cases before the high court, winning twelve and losing three. During his two year stint on the court he comes down hard against an abolitionist for harboring a run-away slave, while supporting Joseph Smith and the Mormons, earning their lasting praise.

In 1842 he loses his second political race, this time for a U.S. Senate seat, which goes to another, more senior Democrat, Sidney Breese. He is typically undaunted by the set-back and bounces back on August 7, 1843 by winning a race for the U.S. House. When the 28th Congress convenes on December 4, Douglas joins an impressive freshman class which includes the Georgia Whigs, Cobb and Stephens, anti-slavery men, Hale and Hamlin, states rights southerners, Slidell and Clingman.

But none will come to representing the diverse factions within the Democratic Party better than Stephen Douglas, over the next fifteen years. He is a northern man by birth; an expansionist westerner by choice; a full-fledged protégé of Andrew Jackson; a believer in the sacred Union, the Constitution, the will of the people; and, by 1848, an owner through marriage of a Mississippi plantation and over one hundred slaves.

He also brings an aggressive style to the floor of congress that justifies his nickname as “the Little Giant.” He is 5’4” tall, with a large head and a barrel chest mounted on short stubby legs, and a stentorian voice firing short assertions seldom lacking in certainty.

With Jackson aging toward death in June 1845, and Van Buren on the ropes after his difficult term, Stephen Douglas at age thirty intends to revitalize the Democratic Party and ride it into a White House win for himself.

The Amazing Rise Of Stephen A. Douglas To National Prominence

Date	Milestones
April 23, 1813	Douglas born in Brandon Vt to MD father and Sally Fisk
June 1813	Father dies and mother and her brother merge farms
1820-1827	Youth works on farm and attends 3-4 months of grade school per year
Spring 1828	Moves to Middlebury, apprentice carpenter, interest in politics
Winter 1828	Back in Brandon, rejects farming, carpentry, Andrew Jackson backer
December 1830	Mother remarries and he moves with her to Canandaigua, New York
1831-1833	Finishes grade school, begins to read law with well-known attorneys
June 24, 1833	Departs for west since NY bar standards requires 4 more years of study
Summer 1833	Stays briefly in Cleveland

Fall 1833	Another brief stop-over in St Louis before off to Jacksonville, Illinois
November 1833	Out of funds and walks to Winchester, IL to settle down
December 1833	Opens grade school for 40 children for support while studying law
March 1834	Closes school after 4 months and obtains a law certificate despite “gaps”
Spring 1834	Opens practice and decides to organize Democratic Party in his county
December 1834	Attends Illinois legislative session in capital of Vandalia to build Party
January 30, 1835	Bill he writes as lobbyist to have people choose states atty’s passes
February 10, 1835	He is elected States Attorney for 1 st District riding circuit for 8 counties
1835	Law practice sputters and he settles on politics as his true calling
April 1835	Arranges first Democratic Party convention in Morgan County, IL
August 1836	Wins election to represent Morgan Cty in 10 th Illinois General Assembly
March 9, 1837	Resigns Leg seat & named by MVB Registrar of Springfield Land Office
November 1837	Nominated by Dems to run for US House vs. John Stuart, AL law partner
Fall 1838	Douglas loses to Whig Stuart by 36 votes out of 36,495 cast
March 2, 1839	Resigns Land Registrar job to focus on building Dem party and himself
November 1839	He and Lincoln begin series of debates over us bank, MVB admin, etc.
March 1840	Over 1,000 in Jacksonville hear a Douglas-Lincoln debate
Summer 1840	Douglas delivers 207 political speeches across Illinois
November 30, 1840	Dem controlled Illinois State Senate names him Secretary of State
By end 1840	Has argued 15 cases before Illinois Supreme Court with 12-3 record
1841	Resigns as Sec of State and named (at 28) to Illinois Supreme Court
June 1841	Judge Douglas orders Mormon leader Joseph Smith to be freed from jail
1842	MVB visits during election season and Dems win in August elections
December 16, 1842	Douglas loses US Senate nom to Sidney Breese on 19 th conv ballot by 56-51
April 1843	Decides against abolitionist Richard Eells for harboring run-aways
June 5, 1843	Douglas wins nomination for US House vs. Whig Orville Browning
June 28, 1843	He resigns from Supreme Court after 2 years
August 7, 1843	He is elected to House at age 30
December 4, 1843	Opening session of 28 th congress/news

Date: May 27, 1844

The Democrats Choose A “Dark Horse” In James Polk



George Bancroft (1800-1891)
Who Nominates Polk

Based on the collapse of the Whig agenda after Harrison’s death, and their strong showing in the 1842 off-year elections in the House, the Democrats are confident they can retake the presidency in 1844.

The only thing standing in their way is agreement on the right presidential candidate.

The party’s nominating convention convenes in Baltimore on May 27, four weeks after the Whigs have selected Clay. It plays out in the context of the fiery debate in the Senate over whether or not to annex Texas. So far, the opponents have been prevailing, led on the Democratic side by Thomas Benton of Missouri. In April, Martin Van Buren is drawn into the controversy and, like Clay, he publicly argues against a Texas deal, fearing war.

What he fails to realize at the time is that his mentor, Andrew Jackson, has switched positions, now favoring the annexation, and still wielding enough political power within the party to get his way.

Still, when the opening gavel sounds, Van Buren remains the clear cut favorite to win the nomination for a third straight time, despite his loss to Harrison in 1840. His main challenger is a sixty-one year old westerner, Lewis Cass, whose credentials are splendid -- Exeter Academy, freemason, general in the 1812 War, first Governor of the Michigan Territory, Jackson’s Secretary of War and Ambassador to France, supporter of adding Texas.

Alarm bells sound immediately in Van Buren’s camp when his opponents – who refer to him as “Van Ruin” --pass a rule requiring the nominee to win by a two-thirds majority, a near impossibility now for the ex-president.

Van Buren does lead after the first ballot, but then falls steadily until the fifth round when Cass overtakes him.

First Five Ballots In 1844 Race (174 To Win)

Candidate	1	2	3	4	5
Van Buren-NY	146	127	121	111	103
Lewis Cass-Mich	83	94	92	105	107
Rich Johnson-Ky	24	33	38	32	29
Calhoun-SC	6	1	2	0	0
Buchanan-Pa	4	9	11	17	26

The Michigan man adds a few more delegates in the next two ballots reaching the 123 level, still well short of the 174 votes needed to win. By the eighth ballot, it's clear that neither man can win, and the search is on for a "dark horse" or compromise candidate.

Andrew Jackson has had one in mind all along, his fellow Tennessean, James Knox Polk.

Polk arrives at the convention with almost no standing. He plans to support Van Buren and, if the New Yorker wins, hopes to be considered as Vice-President. But the odds are against him, until the convention is stalemated.

At that point, Polk's mentor Jackson seizes the initiative. Three supporters, Gideon Pillow, his ex-law partner, advisor Cave Johnson, and George Bancroft, of Massachusetts join forces and offer his name on the eighth ballot, before either James Buchanan or Richard Johnson can try to fill the void. A quickly convened ninth ballot becomes a stampede in favor of Polk. Governor George Dallas, from Pennsylvania, is chosen as Vice-President – and the Democrats have their ticket for 1844.

Full Voting Results At The 1844 Democratic Convention (174 To Win)

Candidate	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Van Buren-NY	146	127	121	111	103	101	99	104	0
Lewis Cass-Mich	83	94	92	105	107	116	123	114	29
Rich Johnson-Ky	24	33	38	32	29	23	21	0	0
Calhoun-SC	6	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
Buchanan-Pa	4	9	11	17	26	25	22	0	0
Polk-Tenn								44	231

So it will be "Little Hickory." A Southerner, successful lawyer, militia man, slave-holder, pro-states' rights and anti-US Bank, friend of Jackson and Sam Houston, and ardent supporter of "manifest destiny."

But Polk's surprising win will come at the expense of unity within the Democratic Party – especially among the powerful New York block who feel that Van Buren has been robbed by Southerners in Baltimore. In the years ahead they will seek revenge, earning the nickname as party "Barnburners."

Date: 1844

The Nativist American Party Make Its First Appearance

One other nascent political party also makes its first appearance during the 1844 election cycle. It is referred to early on as the American Republican Association, before morphing into the Native American Party and finally, the "Know Nothings."

It originates with a South Carolinian named Lewis Charles Levin, son of Jewish parents, who graduates from his state university and tries his hand at the law and teaching before becoming a Methodist preacher. His temperament, however, is anything but pastoral, and he is known for engaging in fistfights and gun duels. After one such incident he is forced to leave Mississippi, and lands in Philadelphia.

Once there, he throws himself into a crusade against alcohol, carried out in his newspaper, the *Temperance Advocate*, and in elaborate public events dubbed “bonfires of booze,” aimed at shutting down taverns. This cause, however, soon gives way to another, his obsessive attacks against Catholic immigrants.

Since the early 1830’s, immigration to America is on the rise, with most of it coming from Roman Catholics fleeing Ireland and Germany.

Immigration Trends By Country

5 Years	Total	Irish	German	All Other
1820-4	74.8	11.7	1.9	25.1
1825-9	130.3	40.0	3.8	46.0
1830-4	326.5	54.1	39.3	137.1
1835-9	389.8	116.6	85.5	105.8
1840-4	481.2	181.7	100.5	117.8

Levin regards the Catholics as untrustworthy and dangerous for reasons mirroring the Anti-Masonic fervor in upstate New York in 1828. There is a secret society, he says, whose allegiance is to the Pope in Rome, not to the government in Washington. Its corrupt religious practices and authoritarian rule are what drove settlers to America in the first place – so what sense does it make to open the nation’s borders to a proven enemy.

Having latched on to these themes, Levin organizes the American Republican Association in Philadelphia in 1844 and publishes another newspaper, *The Daily Sun*, devoted to attacking Catholic immigrants.

A flashpoint comes when Francis Kenrick, the Bishop of Philadelphia, asks the local School Controllers to excuse Catholic students from participating in the traditional practice of reading from the Protestant Bible at the start of each day. When the request is granted, Levin’s backers claim that the real intent is to eliminate all traces of the Protestant religion from the school curriculum.

What follows in Philadelphia in the spring and early summer of 1844 is a recreation of European-style religious battles between Protestant and Catholic. The first outbreak takes place on May 3, 1844, after an attempt by Lewis Levin to speak in the Catholic neighborhood of Kensington is broken up by Irish protesters. Levin returns with 3,000 supporters and fighting continues through May 8, with local police outmanned and unable to quell the mobs. The toll includes some fourteen deaths, another fifty injured, and two hundred left homeless. The Sisters of Charity Seminary is attacked, along with the Hibernia fire station. Two Catholic churches – St. Michaels and St. Augustine’s -- are burned to the ground, and the rioting ends only after the state militia under General George Cadwallader is called into action.

A second outbreak occurs in July, centered on St. Philip Neri’s Catholic Church. Fearing a nativist attack during the July 4 celebrations, the church pastor asks Pennsylvania Governor David Porter for support from the militia. On the evening of July 6, a sizable defensive force, again under Cadwallader, confronts a rock-throwing mob of several thousand, the result being a momentary stand-off. This truce breaks down a day later and open warfare – including cannon fire from both sides in the streets – leaves another fifteen killed and many others wounded. This time a military force of some 5,000 troops is needed to end the carnage.

Newspapers across the country report on the alarming level of violence in Philadelphia, and the difficulty faced by officials in stopping it. The Catholic Church sues the city for failing to adequately protect its property, winning a \$45,000 payment, and begins opening its own schools to teach the faith. Meanwhile the city fathers pass bills requiring that one policeman be hired for every 150 residents, and designating a full infantry regiment, along with artillery and cavalry support, for call-up in case of any more disturbances.

While not yet sufficiently organized to impact national voting in 1844, it does elect six U.S. House members.

One of them is Levin himself, joined by one other Pennsylvania congressman and four from neighboring New York.

Together they begin the campaign to halt further immigration and secure America for “real Americans,” not foreigners.