Conquering a Continent
1854–1890

CHAPTER OUTLINE

The following annotated chapter outline will help you review the major topics covered in this chapter.

I. The Republican Vision
   A. The New Union and the World
      1. Reshaping the former Confederacy after the Civil War accompanied a Republican drive to strengthen the national economy to overcome limitations of market fluctuations that took place under previous Democratic regimes.
      2. Republicans believed that failure to fund internal improvements left different regions of the country disconnected, helping to trigger the Civil War.
      3. During the Civil War and after, the Republican-dominated Congress made vigorous use of federal power, passing protective tariffs that gave U.S. manufacturers a competitive advantage against foreign firms.
      4. Republican administrations strengthened the economy through a massive public-private partnership that modern historians argue represented a turn away from a laissez faire or “hands off” approach of previous administrations towards the economy.
      5. Following the Civil War, the United States achieved greater leverage with foreign nations like Britain. American expansionists expected to add more territories to the nation.
      6. The use of the Hawaiian Islands and the invention of steam transportation facilitated expansion across the Pacific.
      7. During the 1850s, the American government initiated economic and diplomatic relations with Japan and signed the Treaty of Kanagawa, allowing U.S. ships access to two Japanese ports for refueling purposes.
      8. Union victory also increased trade with Latin America. Mexico freed itself from French rule in 1867, but it risked economic manipulation by its larger northern neighbor, the United States.
      9. International trade became a new model for asserting power in Latin America and Asia. Under the leadership of Secretary of State William Seward (1861–1869), the nation forced the Japanese to remain open to trade.
   10. Seward also advocated the purchase of strategic locations for naval bases and
refueling stations, such as Hawaii, the Philippines, and land in Nicaragua for a canal.

11. In 1868, Seward achieved significant success with congressional approval of the Burlingame Treaty with China, regulating immigration. The same year, Seward also purchased Alaska from Russia, further establishing the United States as a global power.

B. Integrating the National Economy

1. Tariffs and Economic Growth
   a. Railroad developments in the United States began well before the Civil War but peaked after the Civil War.
   b. Railroad companies, although privately owned, could not have constructed the vast network that by 1900 connected virtually every corner of the country without government loans, subsidies, and grants of public land.
   c. Railroads transformed American capitalism by adopting a legal form of organization, the corporation, enabling them to raise private capital in large amounts.
   d. Along with the transformative power of railroads, Republicans’ protective tariffs also helped build thriving U.S. industries. A Civil War debt of $2.8 billion was erased during the 1880s by income from tariffs that generated huge budget surpluses.
   e. Fierce tariff debates marked American politics in the 1880s and 1890s. Democrats argued that the tariff had not slowed poverty in the United States, and Republicans asserted that tariffs protected and uplifted workers by creating jobs.
   f. Protective tariffs had contributed to economic growth but had also helped to foster the growth of trusts, giant corporations that dominated whole sectors of the economy and wielded near-monopoly power.

2. The Role of Courts
   a. The rise of railroads and trusts prompted a pushback by companies against new state and federal regulatory laws. In *Munn v. Illinois* (1877), the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that states possessed the right to regulate key businesses, such as railroads and grain elevators, but not at the expense of fragmenting the national marketplace.
   b. In the Southwest, federal courts promoted economic development at the expense of racial justice. Although the United States had taken control of New Mexico and Arizona after the Mexican War (1846–1848), much of the land still remained in Mexican farmers and ranchers.
   c. As the post–Civil War years brought railroads and Anglo-American settlers, Mexican Americans lost about 64 percent of their lands through special courts that ruled on land titles.
   d. The Santa Fe Ring was a notorious group of politicians and lawyers who conspired to defraud Mexican Americans of their lands.

3. Silver and Gold
   a. After the Civil War, U.S. and European policymakers attempted to transform their economies to the gold standard. However, basing money supplies on gold was a divisive issue that framed U.S. politics for a generation.
   b. In 1873, Congress directed the U.S. Treasury, over a six-year period, to retire the greenback paper dollars issued during the Civil War and replace them with notes from an expanded system of national banks. After 1879, the treasury exchanged notes for gold upon request.
   c. Silver adherents received a modest victory when Congress passed the Bland-Allison Act of 1878, requiring
the U.S. Mint to coin a modest amount of silver.
e. Although adoption of the gold standard reduced the circulating money supply, it also encouraged European investments in the burgeoning American economy.
f. Republican nationalist policies fostered rapid economic growth in the form of an expansion of telecommunications, corporations, and capital, making the United States a mighty industrial power by 1900.

II. Incorporating the West
A. Mining Empires
1. Conquest and development of the American West became the domestic foundation for national supremacy in the late 1800s. Farm development was as vital as factory development to Republican policymakers.
2. Republicans sought to bring families to the West by offering 160 acres of land through the Homestead Act (1862).
3. Innovative federal policies, such as the series of geological surveys, charting western territory and resources, and the Morrill Act, establishing land-grant universities, contributed to the opening up and settlement of western lands.
4. These federal policies helped to incorporate the trans-Mississippi West.
5. In the late 1850s as California gold panned out, other mineral discoveries helped to develop the Far West in places like Nevada, the Colorado Rockies, and South Dakota’s Black Hills.
6. The Comstock Lode in Nevada was a major silver discovery. The boombtown of Virginia City followed the path of many mining towns: it became a ghost town surrounded by a devastated environment.
7. Congress passed the General Mining Act of 1872 to encourage development of western resources.
8. The idealized independent, hard-working prospector was a rarity among speculators who set up massive mining and smelting operations in several far-flung places. Although mines created town and jobs, conditions were dangerous and wages were low.
9. Western mining created a market for Oregon’s produce and timber and hastened the growth of Pacific Northwest cities such as Portland, Tacoma, and Seattle.

B. Cattlemen on the Plains
1. To make room for cattle, professional buffalo hunters eliminated the buffalo.
2. Texas ranchers inaugurated the famous Long Drive, hiring cowboys to herd cattle hundreds of miles north to the railroads that pushed west across Kansas.
3. Public grazing lands attracted investors in the beef industry, but natural disasters and overgrazing of the plains’ native grasses contributed to the collapse of the cattle boom.
4. As railroads reached the Texas range country during the 1870s, ranchers abandoned the Long Drive. Stockyards appeared beside the rapidly extending railroad tracks, and trains took these gathered cattle to giant slaughterhouses in large Midwestern cities like Chicago. These places became the center of a new industry, meatpacking.

C. Homesteaders
1. Women in the West
   a. Upon first encountering the Great Plains, Euro-Americans thought the land barren and referred to it as the Great American Desert.
   b. Railroads, land speculators, steamship lines, and the western states and territories did all they could to encourage settlement of the Great Plains.
   c. New technology—steel plows, barbed wire, and strains of hard-kernel
wheat—helped settlers to overcome obstacles.
d. Between 1878 and 1886, settlers experienced exceptionally wet weather instead of the more typical dry weather.
e. “American fever” took hold in northern Europe as Norwegians and Swedes came to the United States.
f. For some southern blacks known as Exodusters, Kansas was the promised land; by 1880, 40,000 blacks lived in Kansas—the largest concentration of blacks in the West aside from Texas.
g. By the turn of the century, the Great Plains had fully submitted to agricultural development. In this process, there was little of the “pioneering” that Americans associated with the westward movement; farming required capital investment and the willingness to risk boom and bust cycles just like any other business.
h. Although miners, lumber workers, and cowboys were overwhelmingly men, many women accompanied families as homesteaders.
i. Westward movement brought Americans into closer contact with Mormons already living in Utah.
j. Most Americans disliked Mormons because of the practice of polygamy and the powerful role of women in Mormon life, including their right to vote since 1870.
k. When Utah became a state in 1896, several women won seats in the new legislature, illustrating that, despite hardship and controversy, women living in the West had striking new opportunities.

2. Environmental Challenges
a. A hostile environment existed on the Great Plains in the form of grasshoppers, prairie fires, hailstorms, droughts, tornados, blizzards, the lack of water, and minimal wood supplies. Many families built homes made of sod.
b. When the more typical dry weather returned to the Great Plains by the late 1880s, over 50,000 homesteaders fled the Dakotas and many others gave up their settled lands.
c. Dry farming techniques helped to alleviate some of the challenges of Great Plains farming. But it favored the growth of large corporations. Family farms required over 300 acres of grain to survive low prices and harsh weather conditions.
d. By 1900, about half of the nation’s cattle and sheep, one-third of its cereal crops, and nearly three-fifths of its wheat came from the Great Plains. But environmental costs multiplied as wasteful anti-biodiversity agricultural practices continued.
e. Encouragement from experts like John Wesley Powell, a geologist who explored the West, to infuse federal funding into western development ignited a debate over corporate versus small family farms.
f. Eventually, federal funding for dams and canals would support intensive agriculture in many parts of the West.

D. The First National Park
1. Rampant overdevelopment led to a preservation movement by Congress. In 1864, Congress gave 10 square miles of the Yosemite Valley to California for public use. In 1872, Congress set aside 2 million acres of Wyoming’s Yellowstone Valley as the world’s first national park.
2. Railroad tourism, a new western industry on the rise, accompanied the movement to preserve nature for the enjoyment of the public. National parks, however, lacked consistent management policies until the early 1900s.
3. The U.S. Fisheries Commission, created in 1871 with the task of stemming the decline of wild fish, would become the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service in the 1930s.

4. Indian eviction accompanied land preservation. In 1877, the Nez Perce under Chief Joseph utilized Yellowstone for survival as they fled forced reservation life by the federal military. Americans realized that the West was not empty.

III. A Harvest of Blood: Native Peoples Dispossessed

A. The Civil War and Indians on the Plains

1. Before the Civil War, Congress gave the Great Plains to Native Americans because they thought it could not be farmed. But railroads, steel plows, and the desire for land reversed that decision.

2. In Minnesota, the Dakota Sioux, who had agreed to settle on a small strip of federal land in exchange for regular payments and supplies, became disillusioned because corrupt Indian agents, contractors, and territorial officials skimmed most of the funds.

3. In 1862, the Sioux responded by massacring white settlers.

4. Minnesotans reacted by hastily trying and sentencing to death over 300 Dakota Sioux. Although President Lincoln reviewed the trial records and commuted most of the sentences, he authorized the hanging of 38 Dakota men and exiled the remainder from the state.

5. The Dakota Sioux uprising escalated tensions elsewhere between whites and Indians. In 1864, Colorado militia leader John M. Chivington led his troops to commit the Sand Creek massacre of Cheyenne in eastern Colorado.

6. The Sioux and Arapaho responded with more attacks. In December of 1866, the Sioux wiped out eighty men under Captain Fetterman and successfully closed the Bozeman Trail.

7. General Sherman’s intent to fight and defeat defiant Indians failed.

8. By 1869, public opinion had turned against warfare as an effective means to subdue Indian tribes. Congressional leaders searched for other options to deal with the “Indian problem.”

B. Grant’s Peace Policy

1. Indian Boarding Schools

a. Christian reformers heavily influenced the Grant administration’s peace policy, arguing that Indians could be transformed into whites through education and religious indoctrination.

b. Reformers focused on Indian youth, suggesting that true acculturation could occur only in boarding schools, far away from tribal influence, where strictly disciplined children would speak only English and learn the proper gender roles of farming and housekeeping. The first boarding school opened at Carlisle in 1879.

c. Corruption, racism, and denominational in-fighting reduced the effectiveness of the boarding school campaign.

d. To Indian leaders, reformers became just another interest group.

e. Indian tribes were forced by political circumstances to accommodate. In 1871, Congress abolished further treaty making with Indian tribes.

f. The Supreme Court further eroded tribal power in *Lone Wolf v. Hitchcock* (1903), stating that Congress could make any policies it chose and could ignore existing treaties. In *Ex Parte Crow Dog*, the Court ruled that Indians were not citizens unless approved by Congress. Indians would remain wards of the government until the 1930s.

2. Breaking Up Tribal Lands

a. Another assimilation measure attempted to free Indians from their tribal past, this time through land
taking. The Dawes Severalty Act of 1887, intending to transform Indians into individual land owners, held that all Indians would receive allotments of reservation land and the remainder would be sold to non-Indians.

b. The Bureau of Indian Affairs’ carelessness, corruption, and greed doomed the act. A commission seized more than 15 million “surplus” acres from native tribes in Indian Territory by 1894, facilitating the birth of the state of Oklahoma.

c. By 1934, native peoples had lost 66 percent of their allotted lands.

C. The End of Armed Resistance

1. By 1873, only Sitting Bull, the great Lakota Sioux leader, openly refused to go to a reservation.

2. A crisis came on the northern plains in 1876 when the Sioux refused to sell the Black Hills as demanded by the federal government.

3. In June 1876, George A. Custer pursued a reckless strategy and suffered annihilation by Chief Crazy Horse’s Sioux and Cheyenne warriors at the Battle of Little Big Horn.

4. Sensationalized accounts of Custer’s “last stand” encouraged Americans to conquer Native Americans.

5. This was the last victory of the Plains Indians against the U.S. Army. Relentless pressure, declining buffalo herds, and widespread famine convinced the Plains Indians to submit to reservation life.

6. The Apache hated their reservation, so they made life miserable for white settlers in the Southwest until their chief Geronimo was finally captured in 1886. The United States had completed its military conquest of the West.

D. Strategies of Survival

1. Despite living on reservations and halting armed resistance, most native people continued to practice traditional languages, ceremonies, and arts.

2. Most native people also selectively adopted white ways, including use of the English language and skills such as agriculture. Most native people blended old and new ways.

3. One of the most famous native people who assimilated during this era was Dr. Charles Eastman, a Santee Sioux boy trained in white schools to become a medical doctor.

4. The Ghost Dance movement symbolized the syncretism, or blending together, of white and Indian ways. The dance drew on Christian and native elements, spreading from reservation to reservation across the West and unifying Indian communities.

5. The Ghost Dance alarmed many local whites. On December 29, 1890, at Wounded Knee Creek in South Dakota, U.S. Army soldiers massacred at least 150 Lakota Sioux people. The soldiers feared that the Ghost Dance would provoke war.

E. Western Myths and Realities

1. National folklore has associated the American West with “savage” Indians, brave pioneers, rugged cowboys, and gunslinging sheriffs.

2. One of the most influential myth-makers was Buffalo Bill Cody whose Wild West show supposedly represented the authentic frontier experience.

3. As the nation celebrated the Wild West, historian Frederick Jackson Turner proclaimed that the frontier, which had shaped American’s national character, had come to an end.

4. The public wholeheartedly embraced Turner’s references to American uniqueness and peaceful expansion and ignored the reality of hardship, violence, and military conquest.

5. General Sherman’s career as an Indian fighter and soldier during the Mexican
War reflected the era of conquest and consolidation of national power.

6. By 1891, the year Sherman died, the United States included forty-four states stretching from the Atlantic to the Pacific, an industrial economy that rivaled Britain and Germany, steady immigration, and inklings of becoming a major player in foreign places.