CHAPTER 13

AN AGE OF EXPANSIONISM

SUMMARY
A popular mood known as “Young America” emerged in the 1840s. Its adherents brashly promoted territorial and economic expansion and development of the United States, but displayed little concern or awareness of the practical consequences of such actions.

Movement to the Far West
During the 1830s and 1840s, Americans moved westward across the continent, eventually reaching the Pacific Ocean. Some went for economic reasons, while others were attracted by the adventure the West promised or to avoid religious persecution. They brought with them American ideals and attitudes into areas already occupied by Mexico or Great Britain, precipitating diplomatic crises.

Borderlands of the 1830s
Having settled the northern border with the Canada in 1842, the Oregon territory became the major focus of U.S./British contact. As Americans moved into the area which was jointly-governed by the United States and Great Britain, they began demanding military or diplomatic action to insure total U.S. control of the area. To the southwest of the Oregon territory, American settlers began moving into a newly independent Mexico in 1821 where they encountered a well-established population of Mexicans and Native Americans.

The Texas Revolution
After gaining its independence, Mexico encouraged American migration into Texas. The resulting influx of Americans produced cultural, economic, and political conflict, resulting in Mexican restrictions on Anglo immigration and slaveholding. A revolution by the Texans followed in 1835-1836.

The Republic of Texas
Having declared independence in 1835, American Texans wrote a constitution that closely resembled that of the U.S. and installed a provisional government to wage war against Mexico. Motivated by crushing defeats inflicted by the Mexicans at the Alamo and Goliad, the Texans rallied for a major victory at San Jacinto, capturing Santa Anna and forcing his recognition of Texan independence. General Sam Houston became the first president of the “Lone Star Republic.” Though Houston immediately sought the admittance of Texas to the Union as a state, Texas remained a separate nation until 1845.

Trails of Trade and Settlement
Opened in 1821, the Santa Fe Trail introduced Americans to the riches of New Mexico. It was closed, however, after the Texas Revolution as relations soured between the U.S. and Mexico. As a result, Americans turned northward in the 1840s, and more than five
thousand Americans traveled the famous Oregon Trail to that territory in the Northwest. Americans settlers quickly outnumbered British residents, and Americans demanded an end to the joint occupation of Oregon.

The Mormon Trek
Seeking relief from public hostility to their unorthodox beliefs and practices, the Mormons moved from New York to Ohio to Missouri to Illinois, where leader and founder Joseph Smith was attacked and killed by an angry mob. Smith’s successor, Brigham Young, led a group of Mormons into Mexican-owned Utah in 1847, establishing the state of Deseret, an effective community based on discipline and cooperation.

Manifest Destiny and the Mexican-American War
As more and more Americans moved beyond the nation’s borders, politicians and propagandists began to call for the annexation of those areas occupied by Americans. Many in the United States agreed with these calls for annexation, believing that God had ordained that Americans occupy as much territory as they could. This belief in “Manifest Destiny” brought the United States into conflict with Great Britain and Mexico.

Tyler and Texas
Having become president “by accident” when William Henry Harrison died, John Tyler hoped to revive his sagging political fortunes by promoting the annexation of Texas. He believed that Americans, especially Southerners, would support his interpretation of Manifest Destiny as it embodied Texas. The Senate rejected Tyler’s treaty, however, when Secretary of State John Calhoun linked Texas too closely to the interests of the South and slavery.

The Triumph of Polk and Annexation
In spite of Tyler’s failure to annex Texas during his administration, it became the major issue of the 1844 election in which Americans had the rare opportunity to draw a rather clear-cut distinction between the platforms of the presidential candidates. In contrast to the anti-expansionist Whig candidate Henry Clay, Democrats in 1844 nominated James K. Polk, an aggressive spokesman for “Manifest Destiny” and the annexation of Texas and sole American occupation of Oregon. Ironically, the antislavery Liberty party candidate drew just enough votes away from Clay to throw the election to Polk. The “mandate” for expansion resulted in a joint resolution by Congress annexing Texas before Polk took office.

The Doctrine of Manifest Destiny
Journalist John L. O’Sullivan coined the phrase “manifest destiny” to signify the growing feeling among Americans in the 1840s that God intended them to extend their ideals of republican government and economic opportunities to the unsettled as well as “under-settled” portions of the continent.
Polk and the Oregon Question
Publicly claiming all of Oregon, Polk brought the United States closer to war with Great Britain than at any time since 1812. The rallying cry “Fifty-four forty or fight” among Americans who demanded all of the territory reveals the depth of expansionist fever fed by Polk’s public stance. In private, however, Polk was willing to divide Oregon at the 49th parallel, and in 1846, the United States and Great Britain signed a treaty dividing Oregon, giving the valuable Puget Sound to the United States, while allowing Britain to retain Vancouver Island. For many Northerners, the acquisition of all of the Oregon territory was the only thing that had made the annexation of Texas palatable. Their disappointment fed the belief that Polk was a southern president working for the benefit of South, not the nation.

War with Mexico
Mexico’s refusal to accept Texan (and American) claims to a Rio Grande boundary as well as a refusal to sell additional lands led the United States to declare war in May 1846. American forces scored a succession of military victories under Zachary Taylor in northern Mexico, Stephen Kearney in New Mexico, and John C. Frémont in California, but the Mexicans refused to surrender until Winfield Scott led a decisive campaign to capture the capital of Mexico City.

Settlement of the Mexican-American War
Ignoring radical demands for the annexation of all Mexico, American diplomat Nicholas P. Trist negotiated a successful end to the Mexican War with the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in February 1848. The treaty provided for the Mexican cession of New Mexico and California to the United States for $15 million, recognition of the Rio Grande border, and the assumption by the United States government of American claims against Mexico. The war with Mexico divided Americans. Some northern opponents of the war asserted that the real reason for the war had been to secure more slave-territory for the South and increase that region’s political power. Sectional division was a major legacy of the Mexican War (see Chapter 14).

Internal Expansionism
Although Young America certainly focused on Manifest Destiny and the acquisition of new territories, they saw a clear link between such expansion and other forms of growth. New technologies, such as the telegraph and the railroad, aided internal development, including a substantial increase in industrialization and urbanization.

The Triumph of the Railroad
In the 1840s and the 1850s, the railroad industry experienced tremendous growth, replacing canals as the primary means of transportation for America’s freight traffic. Expansion of the railroads stimulated the domestic iron industry, encouraged modern methods for financing business enterprise, and set the precedent for government assistance in the form of land grants.
The Industrial Revolution Takes Off
Technological advances, especially the development of sophisticated machine tools, helped bring about mass production techniques in American industry, spurring a period of tremendous growth. The factory mode of production, first used in the textile industry, expanded to industries producing iron, shoes, firearms, clocks, and sewing machines. Despite industry’s growth, agriculture remained the dominant source of livelihood for American individuals, and the dominant contributor to the gross national product. It, too, experienced a technological revolution with the invention of the steel plow, mechanical reaper, seed drills, cultivators, and threshing machine. Coupled with greater railroad mileage, American farmers were more efficient, productive, and accessible to markets.

Mass Immigration Begins
The growth of industrial work opportunities in the United States, combined with economic hardships in many parts of Europe, sparked a period of mass immigration, especially from Ireland and Germany. The Irish, mostly Catholic, poor, and unskilled, crowded into urban slums and accepted low-paying factory jobs, evoking scorn from those Americans whose descendants had earlier established themselves in the country. Their settlement in the rapidly growing cities increased urban problems.

The New Working Class
The shift in agriculture and industry produced changes in the make-up of America’s working class. In established industries and older mill towns, many workers were of American stock. They were willing to organize into craft guilds and unions for the bettering of their labor conditions. The Female Labor Reform Association in Lowell, Massachusetts is a prime example of such an organization. By contrast, the new working classes of the 1830s and 1840s, who were mostly recent immigrants, resisted organization but did “protest” long hours and low pay in more subtle and indirect ways—by tardiness, absenteeism, and drunkenness.

Conclusion: The Costs of Expansion
The age of expansionism had extracted a tremendous price on the United States. External (territorial) expansion generated a diplomatic crisis, a war, and sectional conflict that would eventually divide the nation while internal (economic) expansion fueled class and ethnic rivalries and threatened America’s self-image as a land of opportunity and upward mobility.
LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After mastering this chapter, you should be able to:

1. Describe the conditions of the western “borderlands” of the 1830s as well as the factors attracting American settlers.
2. Explain the causes, events, and results of the Texas revolution.
3. Discuss the importance of the Santa Fe and Oregon Trails in expanding American trade and settlement.
4. Trace the development of the Mormon Church and the westward trek of its members.
5. Identify the candidates and issues and explain the outcome and consequences of the election of 1844.
6. Evaluate the successes and failures of James K. Polk’s administration.
7. Discuss the rationale for expansion as expressed in the doctrine of manifest destiny.
8. Summarize the causes, events, and outcomes of the Mexican War, including the experiences of “Hispanic America.”
9. Discuss the factors that contributed to American economic growth from 1830 to 1860.
10. Describe the changing composition and attitudes of the American working class during this era.

GLOSSARY

To build your social science vocabulary, familiarize yourself with the following terms:

1. **indigenous** living naturally in a particular region or environment. “The number represented only a small fraction of the original indigenous population . . .”
2. **empressarios** managers; promoters. “Some fifteen other Anglo-American empressarios were similarly granted land in the 1820s.”
3. **disfranchisement** deprivation of a legal right, especially the right to vote. “News . . . accompanied by rumors of the impending disfranchisement . . .”
4. **sovereignty** supreme power over a body politic. “Five thousand Americans . . . were demanding the extension of full American sovereignty over the Oregon country.”

5. **Zion** the ideal nation, heaven. “. . . a western Zion where they could practice their faith unmolested . . .”

6. **vigilante** one who takes the law into his own hands. The Mormons were “The target of angry mobs and vigilante violence . . .”

7. **dissident** differing from an opinion or a group. “Held in jail . . . on a charge stemming from his quarrels with dissident Mormons . . .”

8. **joint resolution** a resolution passed by a majority vote of both houses of Congress. “Tyler then attempted to bring Texas into the Union through an alternative means - a joint resolution . . .”

9. **conclave** a gathering or convention of a group. “Postponement of the Democratic conclave until May 1844 weakened his chances.”

10. **dark horse candidate** a candidate whose ability is not known or whose chances for success are not good. “After several ballots a dark horse candidate - James K. Polk of Tennessee - emerged triumphant.”

11. **polarization** division into opposite groups. “Fear that growing numbers would lead to diminished opportunity and European-type polarization of social classes.”

12. **abrogation** the act of abolishing or nullifying. “Abrogation of the joint agreement implied that the United States would attempt to extend its jurisdiction . . .”

13. **emissary** one sent on a mission as the agent of another. “By dispatching John Slidell as an emissary to Mexico City . . .”

14. **cession** a yielding to another. “A short and decisive war . . . would force the cession of California and New Mexico to the United States.”

15. **exacerbated** aggravated; made more severe or worse. “Large numbers of immigrants exacerbated the already serious problems of America's rapidly growing cities.”
IDENTIFICATION

Briefly identify the meaning and significance of the following terms:

1. “Young America”

2. Stephen F. Austin

3. Oregon Trail

4. Joseph Smith

5. John Tyler

6. James K. Polk

7. Manifest Destiny

8. “Fifty-four Forty or Fight”

9. Zachary Taylor

10. Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo
MATCHING

A. Match the following leaders with the appropriate description:

_____1. John Slidell  a. led American settlers in California in revolt against Mexican authorities

_____2. Zachary Taylor  b. headed a diplomatic mission to Mexico in hopes of averting war

_____3. John C. Frémont  c. commanded the seizure of Vera Cruz and Mexico City

_____4. Stephen Kearny  d. captured control of northern Mexico

_____5. Winfield Scott  e. negotiated the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo

f. captured Santa Fe and proclaimed the annexation of New Mexico by the United States

B. Match the following inventors with the appropriate accomplishment:

_____1. Samuel F. B. Morse  a. invented the sewing machine in 1846, laying the basis for the modern clothing industry

_____2. Elias Howe  b. invented the steel plow in 1837, enabling farmers to cultivate the prairie sod

_____3. Charles Goodyear  c. demonstrated the steam locomotive in 1830 as practical and profitable

_____4. Cyrus McCormick  d. discovered the process for the vulcanization of rubber in 1839

_____5. John Deere  e. in 1834, patented the mechanical reaper, an important labor-saving device for harvesting grain

f. perfected and demonstrated the electric telegraph in 1844
COMPLETION

Answer the question or complete the statement by filling in the blanks with the correct word or words.

1. In 1818, the United States and Great Britain agreed to a ten-year joint occupation of ____________________.

2. The Texans’ hope for local self-government suffered a blow in 1834 when _____________ made himself dictator of Mexico and abolished the federal system of government.

3. The hero of San Jacinto and the first president of the Texas republic was ____________________.

4. Americans traveled the Santa Fe Trail to exchange manufactured goods for Mexican goods as _____________, _____________, and _____________.

5. The Mormons were led to Utah by ________________.

6. The first vice president to enter the White House upon the death of a president was ________________.

7. The phrase “manifest destiny” was coined and popularized by journalist ________________.

8. The most important single battle of the Mexican War came in April 1847 when General Winfield Scott led American forces to victory over the Mexican army at ___________ ___________.

9. The most important factor in the transformation of the American economy during the 1840s and 1850s was the rise of the ____________________.

10. One and one-half million Irish left their homes for America between 1845 and 1854 when a series of blights hit the _____________ crop, their principal source of subsistence.
TRUE/FALSE

Mark the following statements either T (True) or F (False).

_____ 1. The Webster-Ashburton Treaty helped resolve the conflict between the United States and Great Britain over the proper boundary line between Maine and Canada.

_____ 2. The Texas revolution can be accurately described as a fight for freedom after a long period of oppression.

_____ 3. The notion of manifest destiny coincided with the traditional Puritan belief that Americans were God’s chosen people.

_____ 4. John C. Calhoun was successful in securing Senate approval of the treaty for the annexation of Texas.

_____ 5. The slogan “fifty-four forty or fight” indicated a willingness on the part of some Americans to go to war against Britain for control of British Columbia.

_____ 6. Nicholas Trist, negotiator of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, was praised by President Polk for his efforts and acclaimed as a national hero.

_____ 7. Historian Norman Graebner contends that the major American objective of the Mexican War was acquisition of California ports to promote expanded American commerce on the Pacific.

_____ 8. By 1840, railroads had replaced canal boats as the major mode of freight transportation in the United States.

_____ 9. Peak periods of European immigration to the United States before the Civil War coincided very closely with times of domestic prosperity and high demand for labor.

_____ 10. By the 1850s, most factory workers were unionized, eagerly responding to appeals for solidarity along class lines.
MULTIPLE CHOICE

Circle the one alternative that best completes the statement or answers the question.

1. The “Young America” ideal came to be identified primarily with young Democrats who sought to purge their party of its traditional
   a. support for territorial expansion.
   b. fear of the expansion of commerce and industry.
   c. opposition to the institution of slavery.
   d. scorn for European literary models and themes.

2. In the 1820s and 1830s, California
   a. contained huge agricultural estates and large herds of cattle.
   b. contained a large portion of Indians who enjoyed a peaceful, profitable coexistence with Hispanic inhabitants.
   c. did not impress American visitors as a suitable site for expansion.
   d. all of the above

3. By 1829, American settlers in Texas had displeased Mexican authorities by
   a. refusing to emancipate their slaves.
   b. evading import duties on goods from the United States.
   c. failing to convert to Catholicism.
   d. all of the above

4. Which of the following events of the Texas revolution is true?
   a. Stephen F. Austin was imprisoned by Texans for his refusal to support revolution against Mexico.
   b. Juan Seguin led the Mexican attack on the Alamo.
   c. San Jacinto proved to be the decisive battle of the war due to the capture of Santa Anna by the Texan army.
   d. Texans executed an army of 350 Mexicans at Goliad in a desire to avenge Texan deaths at the Alamo.

5. During its years as the “Lone Star Republic,” Texas
   a. attracted ever increasing numbers of American settlers with free grants of land.
   b. suffered economic devastation following the Panic of 1837.
   c. expanded trade with Mexico along the Santa Fe Trail.
   d. received offers of financial aid from Britain in return for a pledge to abolish slavery.
6. The members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints (Mormons)
   a. accepted the teachings of Brigham Young, founder of the church following a
divine revelation in 1830.
   b. encountered hostility from neighboring “gentiles” because of their unorthodox
   beliefs and practices.
   c. abandoned the settlement of Nauvoo, Illinois, because of economic bankruptcy.
   d. welcomed United States administration over the territory of Utah.

7. John Tyler could be characterized as a(n)
   a. antislavery advocate.
   b. “accidental” president, profoundly out of sympathy with the rest of his party.
   c. typical Whig who favored a strong national government in support of economic
   expansion.
   d. opponent to the annexation of Texas.

8. The major issue of the election of 1844 concerned
   a. recharter of the Bank of the United States.
   b. territorial expansion.
   c. abolition of slavery.
   d. nullification of the tariff.

9. Which of the following factors contributed to the defeat of Whig candidate Henry
   Clay in the election of 1844?
   a. A substantial number of Whigs defected from the party to support the independent
   candidacy of President John Tyler.
   b. Clay made a “gentleman's agreement” with Van Buren to avoid discussion of
   territorial expansion during the campaign.
   c. Clay failed to develop an adequate platform concerning proposals for economic
   recovery.
   d. Clay waffled on the issue of Texas annexation, losing the support of northern anti-
   slavery Whigs to the Liberty party.

10. A basic argument offered in support of Manifest Destiny was the idea that
    a. God favored American expansionism.
    b. American expansion would mean an extension of democracy.
    c. population growth necessitated territorial acquisitions.
    d. all of the above

11. The United States and Great Britain agreed to
    a. a permanent joint occupation of Oregon in 1827.
    b. allow the United States sole possession of Oregon up to the 54 40' parallel.
    c. submit the dispute over Oregon to international arbitration in 1845.
    d. a compromise arrangement splitting Oregon at the 49th parallel.
12. The U.S. war with Mexico was
   a. provoked by the Mexican slaughter of Texans at the Alamo.
   b. an unexpected and unwelcome development for the Polk administration.
   c. longer than expected because Mexico refused to make peace, despite a succession of military defeats.
   d. prolonged by United States efforts to capture control of all of Mexico.

13. Factors accounting for economic advances in the United States from 1830 to 1860 included all of the following except
   a. technological innovations and mass production techniques.
   b. rapidly increasing European immigration to the United States.
   c. a declining interest in agriculture.
   d. new techniques for the gathering and control of private capital.

14. Most European immigrants to America from 1840 to 1860 came from
   a. Ireland and Germany.
   b. Switzerland and the Netherlands.
   c. Sweden and Norway.
   d. Poland and Italy.

15. The invention of the telegraph by Samuel F. B. Morse
   a. resulted from the inventor’s study of art.
   b. ensured a successful political career for the inventor.
   c. produced few economic changes for the country during the inventor’s lifetime.
   d. helped create a stronger sense of connection among Americans.

THOUGHT QUESTIONS

To check your understanding of the key issues of this period, solve the following problems:

1. What factors lured Americans to the Far West—California, New Mexico, Oregon, and Utah—from the 1820s through the 1840s?

2. Were the Texans justified in revolting against Mexico in 1836? Explain.

3. Americans have seemingly always believed that their nation was blessed with a divine mission. Explain. How did that notion relate to the concept of Manifest Destiny? Does such a sense of mission persist today?

4. Define imperialism. Was the Mexican War an imperialistic venture by the United States? Why, given the expansionist spirit of the age, did the United States not seek to acquire all of Mexico?
5. What were the most important factors contributing to American economic growth from 1830 to 1860?

6. How did increasing industrialization affect the conditions and attitudes of the new working class?

CRITICAL THINKING QUESTIONS

Read the following selections: “The Great Nation of Futurity” (1845) by John L. O’Sullivan and “Testimony Before the Massachusetts Legislature” (1845) by the Female Labor Reform Association. Answer the questions following the reading selections.

John L. O'Sullivan, "The Great Nation of Futurity" (1845)

The American people having derived their origin from many other nations, and the Declaration of National Independence being entirely based on the great principle of human equality, these facts demonstrate at once our disconnected position as regards any other nation; that we have, in reality, but little connection with the past history of any of them and still less with all antiquity, its glories, or its crimes. On the contrary, our national birth was the beginning of a new history, the formation and progress of an untried political system, 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.

It is so destined, because the principle upon which a nation is organized fixes its destiny, and that of equality is perfect, is universal. It presides in all the operations of the physical world, and it is also the conscious law of the soul—the self-evident dictate of morality, which accurately defines the duty of man to man, and consequently man's rights as man. Besides, the truthful annals of any nation furnish abundant evidence that its happiness, its greatness, its duration, were always proportionate to the democratic equality in its system of government.

How many nations have had their decline and fall because the equal rights of the minority were trampled on by the despotism of the majority; or the interests of the many sacrificed to the aristocracy of the few; or the rights and interests of all given up to the monarchy of one? These three kinds of government have figured so frequently and so largely in the ages that have passed away that their history, through all time to come, can only furnish a resemblance. Like causes produce like effects, and the true philosopher of history will easily discern the principle of equality, or of privilege, working out its inevitable result. The first is regenerative, because it is natural and right; and the latter is destructive to society, because it is unnatural and wrong.

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? What philanthropist can contemplate the oppressions, the cruelties, and injustice inflicted by them on the masses of mankind and not turn with moral horror from the retrospect?

America is destined for better deeds. It is our unparalleled glory that we have no reminiscences of battlefields, but in defense of humanity, of the oppressed of all nations, of the rights of conscience, the rights of personal enfranchisement. Our annals describe no scenes of horrid carnage, where men were led on by hundreds of thousands to slay one another, dupes and victims to emperors, kings, nobles, demons in the human form called heroes. We have had patriots to defend our homes, our liberties, but no aspirants to crowns or thrones; nor have the American people ever suffered themselves to be led on by wicked ambition to depopulate the land, to spread desolation far and wide, that a human being might be placed on a seat of supremacy.

We have no interest in the scenes of antiquity, only as lessons of avoidance of nearly all their examples. The expansive future is our arena and for our history. We are entering on its untrodden space with the truths of God in our minds, beneficent objects in our hearts, and with a clear conscience unsullied by the past. We are the nation of human progress, and who will, what can, set limits to our onward march? Providence is with us, and no earthly power can. We point to the everlasting truth on the first page of our national declaration, and we proclaim to the millions of other lands that "the gates of hell"—the powers of aristocracy and monarchy—"shall not prevail against it."

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. Its floor shall be a hemisphere, roof the firmament of the star-studded heavens, and its congregation of Union of many
Yes, we are the nation of progress, of individual freedom, of universal enfranchisement. Equality of rights is the
cynosure of our union of states, the grand exemplar of the correlative equality of individuals; and, while truth sheds
its effulgence, we cannot retrograde without dissolving the one and subverting the other. We must onward to the
fulfillment of our mission—to the entire development of the principle of our organization—freedom of conscience,
freedom of person, freedom of trade and business pursuits, universality of freedom and equality. This is our high
destiny, and in nature's eternal, inevitable decree of cause and effect we must accomplish it. All this will be our future
history, to establish on earth the moral dignity and salvation of man—the immutable truth and beneficence of God. For
this blessed mission to the nations of the world, which are shut out from the lifegiving light of truth, has America been
chosen; and her high example shall smite unto death the tyranny of kings, hierarchs, and oligarchs and carry the glad
tidings of peace and good will where myriads now endure in existence scarcely more enviable than that of beasts of the
field. Who, then, can doubt that our country is destined to be the great nation of futurity?

Female Labor Reform Association, Testimony Before the Massachusetts Legislature (1845)

The first petitioner who testified was Eliza R. Hemmingway. She had worked 2 years and 9 months in the Lowell
Factories; 2 years in the Middlesex, and 9 months in the Hamilton Corporations. Her employment is weaving—works
by the piece. The Hamilton Mill manufactures cotton fabrics. The Middlesex, woolen fabrics. She is now at work in the
Middlesex Mills, and attends one loom. Her wages average from $16 to $23 a month exclusive of board. She
complained of the hours for labor being too many, and the time for meals too limited. In the summer season, the work
is commenced at 5 o'clock, a.m., and continued till 7 o'clock, p.m., with half an hour for breakfast and three-quarters of
an hour for dinner. During eight months of the year, but half an hour is allowed for dinner. The air in the room she
considered not to be wholesome. There were 293 small lamps and 61 large lamps lighted in the room in which she
worked, when evening work is required. These lamps are also lighted sometimes in the morning. About 130 females,
11 men, and 12 children (between the ages of 11 and 14) work in the room with her. She thought the children enjoyed
about as good health as children generally do. The children work but 9 months about of 12. The other 3 months they
must attend school. Thinks that there is no day when there are less than six of the females out of the mill from sickness.

Miss Bagley said, in addition to her labor in the mills, she had kept evening school during the winter months,
for four years, and thought that this extra labor must have injured her health.
1. What “evidence” does O’Sullivan use to justify his claim that the United States is “the great nation of futurity”?

2. What groups of people does O’Sullivan seemingly disregard when he proclaims the United States as “the nation of progress, of individual freedom, of universal enfranchisement”?

3. Describe the working conditions for female workers in the factories of Lowell, Massachusetts during the 1840s.

4. What particular factory conditions does Sarah Bagley cite as detrimental to the health and well-being of female workers?

5. Why do you think the testimony of the Lowell factory women achieved such limited results at the time?