[ʸ] a palatal glide
[yu], [jʉ], [ju] [ɪu], [ɪu] mute
[z] zoo; a voiced alveolar sibilant fricative
[ž], [ʒ] vision; a voiced palatal sibilant fricative

[ᵉ], [ᵊ] and other superscript vowels indicate a vocalic glide in a diphthong
[˜] indicates nasalization of the vowel under it
[:] indicates that the preceding sound is long
['] indicates the onset of primary stress, as in 'sofa, a'bove
[ˌ] indicates the onset of secondary stress, as in 'teleˌphone, ˌtele'phonic
[˕ ˔] indicate lowering and raising, respectively, of a preceding vowel
[˂ ˃] indicate backing and fronting, respectively, of a preceding sound

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I EXTERNAL HISTORY

John Algeo

1.1 History, external and internal

The history of a language is intimately related to the history of the community of its speakers, so neither can be studied without considering the other.

The external history of a language is the history of its speakers as their history affects the language they use. It includes such factors as the topography of the land where they live, their migrations, their wars, their conquests of and by others, their government, their arts and sciences, their economics and technology, their religions and philosophies, their trade and commerce, their marriage customs and family patterns, their architecture, their sports and recreations, and indeed every aspect of their lives. Language is so basic to human activity that there is nothing human beings do that does not influence and, in turn, is not influenced by the language they speak. Indeed, if Benjamin Lee Whorf (1956) was right, our very thought patterns and view of the world are inescapably connected with our language.

It is, of course, possible to view the history of a language merely as internal history – a series of changes in the inventory of linguistic units (vocabulary) and the system by which they are related (grammar), quite apart from any experiences undergone by the users of the language. We can describe how the vocabulary is affected by loanwords or how new words are derived from the language's own lexical resources. We can formulate sound laws and shifts, describe changes that convert an inflected language to an isolating one, or a syntax that puts an object before its verb to one that puts the verb before its object. That is, we can describe a language purely as a formal object. But such a view will be abstract, bloodless, and often lacking in explanation for the linguistic changes.

Because language is a human capacity, the history of a particular language is linked with that of its speakers. As a part of a total culture, a language

cannot be completely separated from the culture of which it is a part. To extend Meillet's dictum cited by Salikoko Mufwene (at the end of § 8.3), a culture is a system in which everything hangs together. Therefore to understand the whole culture, we must understand the language; and vice versa, to understand the language, we must understand the culture. The effort to trace the history of a linguistic system and its units (lexical, phonological, morphological, and syntactic history) is the diachronic aspect of microlinguistics. The effort to trace the history of the speakers of that language is the diachronic aspect of macrolinguistics.

This chapter does not offer a history of America, but rather a brief account of political and social events that can reasonably be seen as having had a significant influence on the English language. Some events of great moment in other ways are therefore treated lightly or not at all, and other events of small import in themselves, but with consequences for the language, are treated at greater length. The difference between the two kinds of events is, to be sure, a matter of judgment.

With respect to the events it reports, the aim of this chapter is that of Max Lerner (1987, xvi) in his cultural history of America – not to present either "a rosy and euphoric picture seen in a haze of promise or an unsparing indictment" but rather "to avoid both these sins . . . the sin of complacency and the sin of self-hatred."

The external history of American English has involved a number of factors with profound effects on the language: population mobility, innovation, discontinuity with the past, decentralization, democracy, a large land area, and a large and ethnically diverse population.

First among those factors is mobility. The colonists were by definition a moving population, but as settlers they did not simply settle in. Rather they continued moving. Americans have consequently always been a peripatetic population. The history of America has been described as one of an expanding frontier, from the first settlements along the Atlantic coast to "a small step" for a man onto the surface of the Moon.

The second factor follows from the first: mobility requires adaptability and innovation. Change of location requires change of lifestyle. The first colonists could not live in the New World just as they had in the Old. They had to adapt. Later immigrants likewise had to adjust to the new conditions they found. Change and adaptation became hallmarks of American life. Innovation became the norm of American life – in social structures, technology, and attitudes.

Innovation led to a third factor: a sense of discontinuity with the past and of perpetual youth. We can never be actually separated from our past,

but a perception of separation affects our view of ourselves. American life and language are, to be sure, unmistakable continuations of the life and language of England. And, indeed, in certain respects, Americans have been more conservative than Britons. But in other respects they are less bound to former ways. The emphasis of the "New" World has been on its newness and its break with the Old World. Immigrant populations typically retain a sentimental attachment to the "old country," but assimilate into the new pattern of life, while inevitably changing that pattern by their assimilation. The result is a perpetual sense of newness. In Oscar Wilde's bon mot, "The youth of America is their oldest tradition. It has been going on now for three [today four] hundred years."

Another consequence of mobility has been decentralization. The very structure of American government is one of a federal union of states, which retain certain prerogatives and rights. On many matters, there is no single American law, but fifty different laws. So also, though Washington, DC, is the governmental capital of the nation and New York City is a commercial capital, there is no cultural capital in the nation. No location in the United States corresponds to London as the center of the United Kingdom.

A related factor is that of democracy or, perhaps more accurately, "social mobility." The latter term's first recorded use in the *OED* is from 1925, by Pitirim A. Sorokin, founder of the Department of Sociology at Harvard: "We used to think that in the United States . . . social mobility was greatest." Equality of life in America can be and has been exaggerated. Class differences certainly exist, based on wealth, fame, education, profession, connections, and other such factors, although they may be less clearly defined and more permeable than in some other places. But there is no inherited American aristocracy to rule or serve as a model. It is part of the American myth that the only aristocracy in the land is one of merit. Myths may be untrue, yet they are powerfully influential.

In physical size, the United States is nearly as large as the entire European continent, with even greater variability in climate and topography. The sheer size of the country presents English speakers with a wide environment to respond to and with extensive resources to draw on. The major stages of territorial expansion of the United States after the post-Revolutionary settlement with Britain at the Treaty of Paris (1783) were the Louisiana Purchase from France (1803), the Florida cession by treaty with Spain (1819), the admission of the Republic of Texas (1845), the Oregon acquisition by treaty with Great Britain (1846), the Southwestern cession by conquest from Mexico (1848), the Gadsden Purchase of territory in southern

Arizona and New Mexico from Mexico (1853), the Alaska Purchase from Russia (1867), and the annexation of the Republic of Hawaii (1898).

In population, the United States is nearly five times as large as the United Kingdom, having grown from a little under 4 million in the first census of 1790 to just under 250 million in 1990. The more people who use a language, the more opportunity there is for the language to change in diverse ways.

Moreover, the mixture of ethnic groups, which began in Colonial times and has never ceased, constantly brings diverse foreign influences to bear on American English. America has always been a land of diverse immigrants. The Amerindians were early immigrants from Asia, and the process of migrating and mixing has never ceased. English has always been, and continues in Britain today to be, heavily influenced by other languages. But the diversity of such influence and the common level on which it operates are probably greater in America than in any other native-English-speaking land.

1.2 · Periods in the history of American English

The history of American English can be conventionally but usefully divided into three periods whose beginnings are marked by critical events in the history of Americans (Algeo 1991). Those periods are –

• The Colonial period, initiated by the establishment of the first permanent English-speaking colony at Jamestown, Virginia, in 1607. Though English speakers had established contact with the New World, both directly or indirectly, before this time, the Jamestown colony began the creation of a new variety of the language. Three factors brought this new variety into existence: the exposure of English speakers to new experiences on the American continent that required new ways of talking about them, the begetting of a native population to whom those experiences and the new ways of talking were normal, and the obstacle that distance made for communication with their fellow English speakers in the motherland. The result is what might metaphorically be called the gestation period of American English.

• The National period, beginning with the American Declaration of Independence from England in 1776. Political independence brought with it inevitably – and in the case of the new United States, swiftly – a quest for cultural independence that included linguistic self-awareness. Many American colonists had from the beginning displayed independence and self-assertion. Indeed, their desire for independence – economic, governmental, and ecclesiastical – was a factor in the foundation of several of the colonies, though economic ambition on the part of the sponsors of various colonies also played a prominent role. After the American

Revolution, the heady feeling of freedom from King and Parliament led to an assertion of other sorts of independence. During this period, English-speaking Americans spread over the continent from the Atlantic to the Pacific, in the process absorbing and being influenced by the cultures of other settlers. To continue the metaphor, this period might be called the childhood and adolescence of American English.

• The International period, beginning with the Spanish-American War of 1898. Though the Spanish-American War was hardly more than a skirmish – a "splendid little war," as it was called at the time – it was the turning point between some historical needs and the means of satisfying those needs. The needs were for new frontiers, new markets, and a new sense of purpose.

America had begun as a frontier land; when the first settlers arrived, the entire eastern seaboard was frontier. As the settlers spread inland, the frontier continually receded to the west. By the end of the nineteenth century, the continent had been spanned and the expansion-minded and expanding population looked for new frontiers to absorb its surplus restlessness. In addition, after the Civil War, the successfully cohesive nation underwent an explosion of economic power. America had always been a supplier to other countries, but now it needed new markets to serve and be supported by.

Perhaps most important, America's sense of national purpose, defined very early in its history and adhered to faithfully, was one of "manifest destiny." Although that catchphrase is now often regarded with irony as chauvinistic hubris, a sense of social and collective calling has been basic to the national consciousness. It underlay the foundation of the earliest New England colonies, whose members listened to the words of the Sermon on the Mount (Matt. 5.14): "Ye are the light of the world. A city that is set on an hill cannot be hid." Today, we may regard the Puritans' belief that they were that "city set on a hill" as self-righteous arrogance, but it was a motivating force for them. The Founding Fathers also went about their task of creating a new nation with a sense of historical inevitability and purpose. The nineteenth-century belief that it was America's "manifest destiny" to expand over the continent from east to west was only one expression of a much wider sense of national purpose. But when that expansion had been accomplished, the nation felt called upon to look for its destiny elsewhere.

The immediate results of the Spanish-American War included the independence of Cuba, the acquisition of the territory of Puerto Rico by the United States, and the forced sale of the Philippines by Spain. But the long-range result was the movement of America into international politics. The Spanish-American War was followed by the nation's late entry into World War I, critical entry into World War II, and decisive role in bringing about

the fall of the Iron Curtain, thus ending the division of the world into two evenly balanced power camps.

The spread of the English language and its culture over the world is a major event in human history. That spread was effected chiefly by two impulses: the creation of the British Empire, which was at its height in the nineteenth century, and the spread of American technological and economic hegemony, which reached an apogee at the turn of the twentieth into the twenty-first century. The worldwide dissemination of English, most recently in its American variety, affects other languages around the globe, but it also affects English, which is changed by its contacts with other languages, just as it changes them. So one sequel to that "splendid little war," lasting only a few months, was the influence that American English has come to exert on other languages and the reciprocal influence they exert on English through its American variety. The otherwise minor Spanish-American War marked the maturity of American English and its entrance onto the world stage.

The future is always uncertain. It is practically certain that other English-speaking countries will come to play an increasing role in the world history of English, and it is probable that some of them will in time become principal players on that field, joining or perhaps displacing Britain and America. It is also possible that the English language will one day be replaced as the dominant means of communication for science, technology, commerce, and world culture generally. But that day gives no sign of dawning soon. During the foreseeable future, world culture (as distinct from local, national, and ethnic cultures) is being expressed through the English language, and increasingly through its American variety.

How the big consequence of the present-day role of American English on the world stage developed from the small beginnings of colonial settlement and how English was changed in America during the process is the subject of this book. The focus of this chapter is on the experiences of Americans during the four hundred years of their history as those experiences impacted the language they speak.

1.3 The Colonial period

The English language began to be influenced by the New World long before any English speakers settled there. That influence came partly from the exploration of North America by English adventurers, and partly indirectly from contacts between English speakers and other Europeans with experience in the New World. But such influences were on English generally; they

did not create a new variety of the language. For the latter to come into being, it was necessary that communities of English speakers should settle in America and be cut off from easy and frequent contact with their fellows in the motherland.

The process of diversification between British and American English began with the settlement of Jamestown by about a hundred colonists in 1607. That colony was also the site in British America of the first cultivation of tobacco, the first representative governmental body (which evolved out of the 1619 House of Burgesses), the first African slave population, and the first Anglican Church. It was, however, never a thriving colony, partly because it was built on unhealthful marshland and partly because the first settlers were not self-sufficient. They were "gallants" faced with an inhospitable landscape and none of the amenities of civilization they had known (Kraus 40).

The first permanent New England colony was Plymouth, settled in 1620 by Pilgrims. They, unlike the Puritans, had left the Anglican Church and sought to establish their own separatist theocracy in America after having spent a dozen years in Leiden, Holland. The Pilgrims were a closely organized minority in the colony, who controlled it during its early decades. Plymouth Colony was not chartered, but became part of the Massachusetts Bay Colony in 1691.

The major English colonization of America started about 1630. David Hackett Fischer (1989) has proposed a history of settlement of the American colonies in four major waves, involving different places of origin, classes and customs, places of settlement, and times. His argument is that the total life of the colonists falls into four cultural patterns, embracing dialect, housing styles, attitudes toward life, religion, superstitions, food, dress, education, entertainment, government, naming, childcare, family customs, values, and indeed folkways and mores generally. He further postulates that these four patterns of culture continued after the Colonial period, assimilating new immigrants from non-English countries, and that they still exist in contemporary forms marking basic differences in the national life. Fischer's is the most ambitious theory of American cultural history ever put forward.

There were, to be sure, other movements of settlers and other cultural complexes than Fischer's four primary ones, but the latter were these:

(1) Puritans from eastern England to Massachusetts Bay, 1629–41.
(2) Gentry and their servants from southern England to Virginia, 1642–75.
(3) Quakers from the North Midlands and Wales to the Delaware Valley, 1675–1725.

(4) Common people from northern England, northern Ireland, and Scotland to the Appalachians, 1717–75.

Fischer's overview of the settlement and subsequent history of America is subject to the flaws of all grand generalizations and can be criticized in various of its details and as an oversimplification. Nevertheless, it provides a useful schema for tracing and relating together the external and internal history of America.

1.3.1 *Puritans in New England and the northern colonies*

The first great wave of settlement was the Puritan migration, which took place during a decade (the 1630s) of great social uncertainty in England. King Charles I was attempting to rule without Parliament, and Archbishop William Laud was trying to purge the Anglican Church of its Puritan faction and to require high-church practices like genuflection and chanting, anathema to the Puritans. In addition, the cloth industry, in which nearly a fourth of the early New England colonists had worked, was depressed. During the decade, more than 20,000 Puritans emigrated to Massachusetts, leaving some English towns half depopulated. At the end of the decade, the migrations suddenly stopped and even reversed, with Puritans returning to England. In the 1640s the Civil War broke out which was to result in the establishment of the Commonwealth and the temporary dominance of Puritan interests in England.

The primary motive for the Puritan emigration was religious and political, although the settlers included some economic refugees as well. The Puritan leaders came to Massachusetts to found a new Zion on the new continent. They were largely educated and middle class, with a notable absence of lower-class members, and they came not singly but by families. Although they came from all over England, East Anglia was their principal place of origin. The typical Puritan leader was well-educated, a graduate of Cambridge, with a strong religious and social commitment. The typical Puritan follower was a craftsman – literate, urban, disciplined, and pious. The Massachusetts colony was remarkably homogeneous, especially in its leadership.

The institutions and attitudes of the New England colonies were very influential: "Their heavy reliance on the Bible, and their preoccupation with platforms, programs of action, and schemes of confederation – rather than with religious dogma – fixed the temper of their society, and foreshadowed American political life for centuries to come" (Boorstin 1958, 19). The

Puritan insistence on written laws and agreements, rather than on an oral common law, foreshadowed the American Constitution as a secular bible.

The colonists brought with them the speechways of their native counties. The "Norfolk whine," associated with a high-pitched nasality, was the forerunner of the "Yankee twang" of eastern New England (Fischer 57–62). From Massachusetts, the New England colonists ultimately migrated southward to New Jersey, eastward to Maine and Nova Scotia, northward to Canada, and westward to upper New York and on to the Pacific coast. In doing so, they took with them their customs and dialect, which became the basis of the Northern dialect of American English.

New Hampshire's first settlement was established in 1623, although the region was not named after the English county until 1629. Between 1641 and 1679, the region was under the government of Massachusetts. In 1679, it was made into a royal province.

Rhode Island was settled by dissidents from the Massachusetts Bay Colony – by Roger Williams and his congregation in 1636, by William Coddington and Anne Hutchinson in 1638, and by others later. A confederacy of the settlements was established in 1647, and a royal charter issued in 1663 became the foundation of the colony's government well into the nineteenth century.

Connecticut was also first settled from the Massachusetts Bay Colony between 1633 and 1638. Settlements in that region were united under a single government in 1665.

1.3.2 *Catholics in Maryland*

In one of the minor emigrations, the English settled Maryland in 1634 under the leadership of Leonard Calvert, younger brother of Cecil Calvert, Lord Baltimore. The colony was intended as a haven for Roman Catholics, but because of a lack of Catholic colonists, Protestants were in the majority from the beginning. The economic base of the colony was tobacco farming, using indentured servants from England and, after the late 1630s, African slaves. Religious tolerance was established by law, but applied only to those professing a belief in the divinity of Jesus, and denial of the Trinity was a capital crime. The city of Baltimore was founded in 1729.

1.3.3 *Cavaliers and others in the South*

The second great wave of English settlement, to Virginia, took place during the Civil War and the resulting Commonwealth and Protectorate

(1642–60), when Royalists were not in favor in England. The nickname of the state, "Old Dominion," may allude to the loyalty of its colonists to the exiled Charles II. The dominance of the Puritan oligarchy in England during the Commonwealth and Protectorate sent large numbers of cavaliers to Europe and Virginia. Virginia's elite, many of whom were younger sons of English gentry, were Royalist in politics and Anglican in religion. Two-thirds of them were from the south or west of England; and a third had lived for some time in London.

Whereas the New England settlers were primarily middle class, Virginia settlers were mainly lower and upper class, or at least would-be upper class: "In England in the later 17th century the ambition of a prosperous tradesman was to become a country gentleman" (Boorstin 1958, 99), and Virginia offered that possibility. The ruling elite, of whatever origin in the motherland, were only a small fraction; 75 percent of all immigrants were indentured servants. Most of the Virginia colonists were rural rather than urban, farmers or unskilled laborers rather than craftsmen, and illiterate. Three quarters of them were males between the ages of fifteen and twenty-four. They came from the same southern and western counties as the elite.

Features of Virginia speech have been traced to the dialects of southern and western England (Fischer 256–64). Citing such scholars as Bennett Wood Green (1899) and Cleanth Brooks (1985), as well as Hans Kurath (1972, 66) and Raven McDavid (1967), Fischer (259) concludes:

> Virtually all peculiarities of grammar, syntax, vocabulary and pronunciation which have been noted as typical of Virginia were recorded in the English counties of Sussex, Surrey, Hampshire, Dorset, Wiltshire, Somerset, Oxford, Gloucester, Warwick or Worcester.

The upper classes of Virginia, and later South Carolina, maintained a closer and more sympathetic connection with the establishment in the motherland than did those of any of the other colonies (Fisher in §§ 2.8.3, 2.9). The speechway that developed in these colonies blended upper-class and lower-class British usage with later influences from the African slave population. It became the basis of the Southern dialect of American English.

Following earlier efforts by the Spanish and the French to settle the Carolina coast, in the 1650s Virginia settlers began moving into the territory that had been called Carolina as early as 1629. In the 1660s a royal grant established the colony of Carolina and settlers from England arrived in 1670. The colony was governed from Charleston, founded in 1680. North Carolina was set apart and governed by a deputy from Charleston, and

eventually North Carolina and South Carolina were established as separate colonies. In 1731, Georgia was created from the southern part of the area.

Georgia was the last of the original thirteen colonies to be established. The first English settlement was in Savannah in 1733. James Oglethorpe, a philanthropist, obtained a charter for the colony to provide a refuge and new opportunity for the economically depressed of England. The colony was to be a buffer between the other English colonies to the north and the Spanish to the south. It was also to produce silk and other commodities for England through a system of small villages inhabited by yeoman farmers. Slavery was outlawed to avoid large plantations. The utopian scheme failed, partly because the land was unsuited for the type of agriculture envisioned, and in 1752 the proprietors turned the colony back to royal control.

1.3.4 *Quakers and others in the Middle states*

Of all the American colonies, those on the middle of the Atlantic coast were, from the time of their first settlement, the most mixed in origin. Because of that very fact, they developed into the typical American culture of later times.

The third great wave of migration began as the second was tapering off after the Restoration of King Charles II. The third wave consisted mainly of Quakers and Quaker sympathizers and was so substantial that by the middle of the eighteenth century the Society of Friends was the third largest religious group in the colonies. From that high point, the relative strength of the Quakers precipitously declined, but in Colonial days, they were a major force in America. The Quakers settled in the Delaware Valley, chiefly in Pennsylvania, but also in nearby West Jersey, northern Delaware, and northern Maryland. Non-Quakers also settled in the region and by the middle of the eighteenth century came to outnumber the Quakers.

The motive for Quaker migration was similar to that of the Puritans – to escape persecution at home and to find a place where they could put their religious principles into practice. But the Quaker principles were in contrast with the Puritan. Quakers relied on the "inner light" and eschewed professional clergy, as well as sacraments and ceremonies. They were, at least during a critical phase of colonization, socially active and engaged, and dedicated to religious freedom and social pluralism. Their ideals embraced the work ethic, education, and simplicity of life.

Although Quaker immigration to the Delaware Valley had begun earlier, the founder of the Pennsylvania colony was the Quaker William Penn, who in 1681 received a grant of land to the west of the Delaware River from

Charles II in compensation for a debt the king had owed to Penn's father. Penn aspired to found there a commonwealth inspired by the Quaker ideals of life, referring to it as "a holy experiment." In 1682 Penn wrote a governing plan for the colony, guaranteeing personal rights and freedom of worship, and including a formal provision for amendments to the plan, presaging the amendment provision of the American Constitution. In 1696, the foresighted Penn even drafted a plan for uniting the American colonies, a concept that had to wait nearly a century for its realization.

In ethnic origin the Quaker colonists were mainly English, Welsh, Scotch-Irish, and German. They were generally of the lower middle class, being husbandmen, artisans, manual workers, and shopkeepers. Although they came from all over England, the main source of English Quaker immigrants was the North Midlands, especially Cheshire, Derbyshire, Lancashire, Nottinghamshire, and Yorkshire.

Because the Delaware Valley settlement was more mixed in origin than Massachusetts Bay or Virginia, its dialect may be presumed also to have been more mixed. It became, however, the ancestor of the contemporary North Midland dialect of American English, which is arguably the most typically "American" of all contemporary regional dialects (Fischer 470–5).

The area of New Jersey had come under English control in 1664, although the Dutch continued to claim it for some years afterwards. In 1676 the area was divided into two colonies, East Jersey and West Jersey (a Quaker settlement); in 1702 the two colonies were reunited. New Jersey and New York shared the same governor until 1738.

New York was first colonized as New Netherland by the Dutch. In 1624 they settled Fort Orange (later Albany) and in 1625 established New Amsterdam (later New York City). The Dutch governor, Peter Stuyvesant, surrendered to an English invasion of New Amsterdam in 1664, and by 1669 the whole colony had become English and was renamed for the Duke of York, the future King James II. Dutch influence was prominent, however, in both Albany and New York City, and was memorably described by Washington Irving in his satirical *History of New York*.

Although the Dutch colonization was modest, it had significant effects on American life, many prominent families, including the Roosevelts, being descended from Dutch colonists. Its linguistic influence is also apparent from terms like *boss*, *coleslaw*, *cookie*, *Santa Claus*, and *Yankee*. Upstate New York was settled heavily by colonists from Massachusetts and Connecticut, and Germans established several settlements there as well.

Delaware was settled by Swedes in 1638 as the colony of New Sweden. The colony was captured by the New Amsterdam Dutch in 1655, and by

the English in 1664. It was governed as a part of New York until 1682, when it was transferred to William Penn, who wanted to unite it with Pennsylvania. In 1704, however, Delaware acquired its own legislative assembly, although it shared a governor with Pennsylvania. The colony was called *Delaware* after the bay, which had been named for Sir Thomas West, Baron De La Warr.

1.3.5 *The Scotch-Irish in Appalachia*

By the end of the seventeenth century, the population of the American colonies was about 220,000: 95,000 in the southern colonies, 80,000 in New England, and 45,000 in the middle colonies (Kraus 92). But major immigration was still to come.

The settlers of the fourth great wave, unlike the others, were not united or motivated by religion or politics. What they had in common was that they were marginalized, geographically and economically. They came from the north of England, from Scotland, and from Northern Ireland and have traditionally been referred to in America as Scotch-Irish. Their immigration was a folk migration, rather than a movement inspired by a cause or directed by a leader.

This migration lasted longer than any of the others, stretching over much of the eighteenth century, and it involved more immigrants. They traveled in families, women were well represented, and so were all age groups except the elderly. Their social backgrounds were diverse, but only a few were of the higher classes, though also few would have been of the lowest orders simply because the poverty stricken could not afford travel. Few came as indentured servants, because there was little demand for the services of the Scotch-Irish.

The Scotch-Irish came to escape economic privation and in quest of a better material life, but the reality they came to was often one of prejudicial discrimination. They were, along with Amerindians and African blacks, an underclass in Colonial society. In turn, they were themselves xenophobic, clannish, conservative, and given to feuds. But they were also loyal to family and friends, respectful of individual rights, and believers in the necessity of "elbow room."

Some came into Boston and moved to the western frontier of New England. Many arrived in the port of Philadelphia but were immediately encouraged by the Quakers to move westward. They passed into the interior of Pennsylvania, and into the mountainous regions of Maryland, Virginia, and Carolina. From about 1760, the Scotch-Irish settled the inland

parts of the Carolinas. They became frontiersmen, the inhabitants of Appalachia, and later expanded into Arkansas, Missouri, Texas, and on to the far southwest. Their speechways became the South Midland dialect (Fischer 652–5).

1.3.6 *Late migration*

During the fifteen years between 1760, when the French and Indian War ended in America (1.3.8), and 1775, when the American Revolution began, a great immigration to the colonies took place (Bailyn 1986b): 125,000 from the British Isles (55,000 Northern Irish, 40,000 Scots, 30,000 English), 12,000 from Germany and Switzerland, and 84,000 from Africa. The immigration from Britain was so great that Parliament considered a bill banning emigration to North America (Bailyn 1986b, 29–66). Whereas the Europeans came mainly into ports in the middle colonies, the bulk of them as part of the fourth great wave from Britain, the Africans came mainly as slaves to the southern colonies.

Not all of the British immigrants during this late period were Scotch-Irish. Of those entering the colonies on the eve of the Declaration of Independence, nearly a fourth were from metropolitan London and a sizable number from the Home Counties. They were predominantly young, male, unmarried, and indentured (Bailyn 1986a, 11–13). They were not necessarily London natives, however, for the capital city was a magnet attracting the mobile and ambitious from all over the island.

The chief motive for migration was economic – the quest for better living conditions by those who came voluntarily and the need for cheap labor by those who bought the services of bound workers. Bound workers were of four types. Indentured servants contracted themselves before immigrating to serve for a specified period of time. Redemptioners after arriving in America offered themselves as workers in return for the payment of their transportation. Convicts were freed from prison in return for their labor. Slaves were involuntary workers whose servitude had no terminal date. The treatment of indentured servants, redemptioners, and convicts from Britain was not significantly different from that of slaves from Africa. And all such bound workers often sought to escape the bonds of servitude by running away from their masters to make a new life for themselves (Bailyn 1986b, 324–52).

The intense immigration from abroad was accompanied by an extensive in-migration. The result was a mixture of populations that inevitably affected their speechways. The cultural continuity that doubtless linked various of the American colonies to counties and regions of Britain was

balanced with a jumbling of regional cultures. The result was not a homogeneous blend, but a mixture ensuring that American local differences cannot be traced back to the motherland by any simple direct line. Individual features and, in some cases, even complexes of features have been so traced, but on the whole, the colonies were the breeding ground for a new variety of English language and culture.

1.3.7 *Contacts with non-English populations*

When European settlers arrived in the New World, they found it already inhabited by the native Amerindian populations. They were not a single people, but a large number of different tribes. It has been estimated that North America held as many as 2,000 different Amerindian languages and consequently cultures. The history and relationships of these languages are not well known and have been a matter of scholarly dispute. Many of the Amerindian languages became extinct as their speakers died out after European colonization of the continent, and today some of them are imperfectly known, attested only by sketchy word lists or descriptions.

The English settlers along the Atlantic coast were cheek by jowl with a variety of tribes, such as the Delaware, Massachusett, Mohegan, Nanticoke, Narraganset, Pamlico, Pennacook, Pequot, and Powhatan. From these groups they borrowed names for the landscape and terms for flora, fauna, and Amerindian cultural features. The influence of Amerindian languages on American English was exclusively lexical, although the influence of native tribes on American culture was not insignificant. The early settlers learned much about coping with their new environment from their Amerindian neighbors despite the violence and antagonism that typically characterized their relationships.

The non-Europeans who were to have the greatest influence on American English were, however, African slaves. The Southern colonies were the last of the slave economies to develop in the New World, Brazil and the Caribbean being earlier. The first Africans were brought to the American colonies in 1619 by Dutch slave traders, who sold twenty slaves in Jamestown. Between that event and the abolition of the slave trade by Congress in 1807, an estimated 400,000 Africans were brought to the English colonies. Many of them were brought directly from the Caribbean; that area and Brazil contained the largest number of African slaves in the hemisphere.

The height of the slave trade to America was the eighteenth century, when the development of plantation culture in the South created a demand for cheap labor. The typical American sense of the word *plantation* arose at

that time: "an estate or farm . . . on which cotton, tobacco, sugar-cane, coffee, or other crops are cultivated, formerly chiefly by servile labor" (*OED*, in which the first citation for the sense is dated 1706).

Slaves were used to raise the cash crops on which the colonial economy rested: tobacco in Virginia and Maryland, rice in Carolina, and cotton in Georgia. The African population in America consisted of three broad groups. The first were field hands, generally newly imported slaves who grew the cash crops and the need for whose services created the "peculiar institution," so much at variance with the religious and later Enlightenment ideals that otherwise framed American society. The second were house servants, who often lived in intimate relations with their white owners. The third were craftsmen or skilled workers. The latter two groups were usually native born in the colonies.

The extent and exact nature of the African influence on early American English and culture are matters of scholarly dispute (see ch. 8), though its reality is generally accepted. This influence continued throughout later periods in the history of the national variety and remains a potent force in present-day America.

During the Colonial period, however, the most noted contacts were with other European powers. The English had competition in America: the French to the north in Canada and the Spanish to the south in Florida and to the far west in Mexico and later California. And other nations were also seeking to colonize the same general area as the English, as noted above. The Dutch moved into what is now New York, founding the colony of New Netherland in 1624. That colony lasted until 1664, when the English took control of it. Through this colony, Dutch had some influence on American English. There was moreover a short-lived Swedish colony in the area that became Delaware.

Settlers also came from other European countries, such as Germany, notably the Palatinate, without establishing a colonial base in America, but significantly influencing American language and customs. French Huguenots settled throughout the colonies, but especially in Carolina; a notable early descendant of Huguenot forebears was Paul Revere, whose family name had been remodeled from *Rivoire* (Kraus 104). Smaller contingents of Scandinavians and Jews came as well.

1.3.8 *Colonial wars*

A consequence of the mixture of European colonial powers in North America was that European conflicts had their echoes on the American

continent. Four colonial wars had increasing effects on the American colonies. The names of these differ between Europe and America. In the colonies the first three were called by the names of English monarchs, the implication being that they were the doings of overseas kings and queens – of little concern to the American colonies.

The European War of the League of Augsburg (1689–97), known in the colonies as King William's War, had little effect in America, producing no territorial changes there.

The War of the Spanish Succession (1702–13), known in America as Queen Anne's War, was brought to an end by the Treaty of Utrecht, which gave Britain the French colonies of Newfoundland and Acadia (renamed Nova Scotia) and the territory around Hudson Bay.

The War of Jenkin's Ear with Spain merged into the War of the Austrian Succession with Prussia, France, and Spain (1740–48), called King George's War in America; it ended with the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle. In that war, New England troops took the French fort of Louisbourg, which controlled the approach to the St. Lawrence River. The fort was, however, returned to the French by the treaty, a severe disappointment to the colonists.

The French and Indian War (1754–63) was a different sort of conflict, being more important to the colonists and following a reverse geographical pattern from that of the three earlier wars. It began in America and spread to Europe as the Seven Years War (1756–63). France, in an attempt to control the land west of the Appalachians into which English colonists had begun to penetrate, built a line of forts including Fort Duquesne on the location of present-day Pittsburgh. The governor of Virginia sent George Washington, who was then a young surveyor, to negotiate. But the French rejected him. A second mission in which Washington was accompanied by a small force of 150 fared no better. The British then sent an army of Redcoats, accompanied by Washington and a small colonial troop to enforce their claims. But they were ambushed near Fort Duquesne and driven back. The war then spread to Europe. Under the direction of William Pitt, the Elder, the British were successful, and the treaty ending the war gave Britain the territory of Canada and all land east of the Mississippi River, including Florida.

As a result of the Seven Years War, Britain became the premier colonial power in Europe. In the colonies, however, the French and Indian War had mixed consequences for both the British and the Americans. Removal of the French threat to the west eliminated the colonists' need for defense by the motherland. Gratitude to the British, and especially Pitt, for whom Fort Duquesne was renamed, was coupled with elation at the prospect of an unimpeded opening to the west. However, there was also a dark side.

Subsequent British attempts to impose taxes raised a resentment that fed upon the disaffection which had arisen between Redcoats and the colonial forces during the war.

While admiring the Redcoats' professional skills, the colonists found their behavior in other respects to be objectionable, particularly their profanity and crudeness and the hauteur and severe discipline enforced by the British officers. On the other hand, the British regarded the American colonials as incompetent soldiers, undisciplined, insubordinate, cowardly, and unkempt. The scorn with which the British officers viewed colonial troops led them into a grave misjudgment during the later Revolutionary encounters, when they assumed that the ragamuffin colonial forces would break and run at the sight of Redcoats marching in close ranks with bayonets.

> Such opinions reflected the degree to which English and colonial values and traditions had diverged, and they suggest that separation of the two societies was not merely possible but probably inevitable.
> [Garraty 207]

1.3.9 *The development of English in Colonial America*

The Colonial period of American history was the foundational one for American English. It began with the isolation of groups of English speakers from their fellow countrymen in Britain. The ocean separating the colonies from the motherland was a grave impediment to frequent and free intercommunication. Transportation and communication across the Atlantic were by sailing vessel, relatively slow and costly. Consequently, although intercourse with Britain was maintained, it was not on a mass scale or of an intimate, everyday type. Consequently the language of the colonies and that of the mother country began to drift apart.

The drift between American and British usage was widened by the fact that in the new land the colonials had to cope with a new environment – new topography, new flora and fauna, new economic and social conditions. Their response to that challenge was inevitably reflected in their language, most apparently in the vocabulary. New words were borrowed and coined. Old words changed their meanings and uses under the pressure of the new environment.

In addition, on the North American continent the English colonists encountered speakers of other languages – French, Spanish, Dutch, German, Amerindian, African, and so on – under conditions that differed greatly from the contacts Britons had elsewhere with foreigners. Although English throughout its history has been heavily influenced by other languages, the foreign influences on it in America were unique and not shared directly by other English speakers.

As the first colonists settled in and begot families, their descendants accepted the New World – its environment, culture, and language – as their native inheritance and as the natural state of affairs. The colonists became native Americans, and that fact was a powerful psychological factor molding their attitudes toward their own language and the English of Britain. Though the British standard was still held up, on both sides of the Atlantic, as the defining variety of correct English and exerted a powerful influence on Colonial English, the base of the latter became American during the Colonial period.

The foregoing developments are the factors that produce dialect split. And during the Colonial period they created a split between English in America and English in Britain, which also was continuing to change and evolve in new directions – but not in the same directions as the English of the colonists. The American vocabulary had expanded significantly, drawing on both foreign and native resources. The fact that Englishmen expressed disapproval of American lexical innovations helped to consolidate a sense of Americanness among the colonies.

On the other hand, roads and stagecoaches, weekly newspapers and almanacs, and Benjamin Franklin's postal service, all increased the ease and frequency of communication among the colonies. As a result, the colonies grew closer together in culture, opinion, and language, just as they were collectively growing farther apart from and less dependent on the motherland.

The colonists had brought with them a diversity of British cultural patterns, from various regions and classes of the motherland. They were motivated by various visions. But from the first settlement of America, the colonists found that practical concerns of survival and adaptation outweighed whatever intellectual assumptions they may have brought with them. The result was a shared pragmatic attitude (Boorstin 1958, 149–58).

Differences there certainly were among the colonies and the classes of colonists. But the perception of difference depends on a standard of comparison. British visitors to the colonies in the eighteenth century remarked on the uniformity and propriety of American English (quoted by Boorstin 1958, 274–5):

> The Planters, and even the Native Negroes generally talk good English without Idiom or Tone.
>
> The propriety of Language here surprized me much, the English tongue being spoken by all ranks, in a degree of purity and perfection, surpassing any, but the polite part of London.

> In North America, there prevails not only, I believe, the purest Pronunciation of the English Tongue that is anywhere to be met with, but a perfect Uniformity.
> A striking similarity of speech universally prevails; and it is strictly true, that the pronunciation of the generality of the people has an accuracy and elegance, that cannot fail of gratifying the most judicious ear.

The impression of uniformity may be explained, at least partly, by a comparison with the diversity to be encountered in Britain. But it may also be partly a consequence of communication between the colonies and of a common response by the colonists to their environment.

1.4 The National period

1.4.1 *The American Revolution*

The French and Indian or Seven Years War created conditions that led on to the American Revolution by a series of escalating reactions. The Seven Years War had been very expensive for Britain. Government expenditures more than doubled during the war, and consequently taxes in Britain were at an all-time high. Those taxes fell heavily on the landed and ruling classes, who not unnaturally thought that the colonies should share the burden of a war that had started in America. Defense of the colonies was going to be an on-going and costly need because of the threat of the Indians and the Spanish, to whom France had ceded the Louisiana territory west of the Mississippi, as well as of a potential revived threat by the French. Moreover, the civil administration of the colonies was costly; for example an inefficient customs service cost three and a half times as much to maintain as it raised in revenue (Kraus 183).

Consequently the British government began a policy of finding ways to tax the colonists, who until that time had been taxed only slightly. In addition, Britain sought to exploit the fur and other trade with the Indians in the area between the Appalachians and the Mississippi, a trade that had been largely a French monopoly before the war. Consequently a royal proclamation of 1763 defined a line through the Appalachians that separated eastern and western areas. To the east of the line colonists were free to settle; to the west, British commissioners were to have exclusive rights to Indian trade and Indians were to be free of encroachment by colonial settlers. The limitations did not sit well with the colonists, who looked to the trans-Appalachian territory for future settlement and who objected to Britain's intervention.

Of a number of taxes levied by Parliament, the Stamp Act of 1765 evoked the strongest response. The Act put a tax on a variety of paperwork, such as bills of lading for shipping, legal documents, and newspaper advertisements. This tax affected most directly colonists like merchants, lawyers, journalists, and bankers, who were also the most powerful of the colonists. It was, in addition, the first entirely domestic tax put upon the colonists by Parliament. All earlier taxes had been import duties, which could be justified as regulating commerce between the mother country and its colonies. The Stamp Act had no rationale other than raising revenue for Parliament.

Because this kind of tax was normal in Britain, its government did not anticipate the violence of the American response. Riots broke out in Boston and elsewhere, complaints against taxation without representation were articulated, and representatives from nine states met in New York to write a statement of rights and grievances and to petition Parliament for the repeal of the Act. The Stamp Act was repealed, but at the same time Parliament affirmed its unconditional right to tax the colonies. It asserted that right by imposing tariffs on a large number of basic commodities that were imported, including tea.

The position of many colonials was that Parliament could pass laws governing the empire as a whole and the relationships between its various constituents, but had no right to control internal matters of the individual colonies. They also invoked their rights as Englishmen not to have taxes imposed on them by a Parliament in which they had no representation and thus no voice concerning the imposition of the taxes. The colonies therefore responded by adopting a policy against importing any commodities that were taxed. In 1770, the British government rescinded the tariffs, except that on tea, which it kept as a token of its right to tax. The colonials engaged in a policy of noncooperation with customs officials, with consequent frequent skirmishes, in one of which British troops killed five persons, an event known as the Boston Massacre.

In 1773, the British government gave the East India Company, which had fallen on hard times, the exclusive right to sell tea directly to the colonists, rather than through colonial merchants – thus cutting out middlemen and their profits. This would have made available good quality tea at reasonable cost to the consumer, to compete favorably with the untaxed inferior tea that was being smuggled in. But it would also have cut out the colonial merchant. Colonial commercial sentiments were outraged. When the tea shipments arrived in Charleston, they were impounded. When they arrived in New York and Philadelphia, they were returned to England. But

when they arrived in Boston, they had a reception that became a national symbol.

A group of Bostonians, dressed as Indians, stormed the tea-bearing ships at anchor in Boston Harbor and threw tea worth £10,000 into the water. In reprisal, the British closed the Boston port, set aside the colony's charter, appointed a government with broad powers to replace the elected body that had been functioning for more than eighty years, forbade the traditional New England town meeting, and quartered troops in the houses of the citizenry. They also punitively joined the territories along the Mississippi River to Canada for administrative control, blocking the prospect of colonial advancement westward.

The colonial response to these "Intolerable Acts" was to convene the first general representative body, the Continental Congress, in Philadelphia in 1774. Thomas Jefferson prepared a statement asserting that colonies such as the American ones were separate entities, with the King as their head, but not under the legal control of Parliament. This first Continental Congress did not envision violence but aimed at using economic pressure to achieve its goals. By the time of the second Continental Congress in 1775, however, skirmishes had taken place at Lexington and Concord, which accordingly became emotionally charged symbols of colonial resistance to British tyranny. The Congress began to raise an army. The King declared a state of insurrection to exist and banned commerce with the colonies. An American army invaded Canada and captured Montreal but could not hold it.

Early in 1776, Thomas Paine's pamphlet *Common Sense* was published and was highly influential in turning sentiment in the colonies toward independence from Britain. Congress urged the colonies to form governments independent of Britain and appointed a committee to write the Declaration of Independence, which was drafted by Jefferson. That document based itself, not on the common-law rights of Englishmen, but on a theory of natural rights, affirming that any government exists only by the consent of those whom it governs.

The American Revolution or War of American Independence, as the British call it, began as a civil war, in which about a fifth of the colonists remained loyal to the British government. It expanded, however, to an international war when France, which had been supporting the colonies earlier, entered the war formally in 1778, Spain in 1779, and the Netherlands in 1780. The Revolution succeeded because the Americans had a high stake in winning, the British generals were ineffective, and other nations, particularly France, assisted.

In 1781, the British General Cornwallis surrendered his army of some 8,000 soldiers at Yorktown, Virginia, in the last major campaign of the war. An exodus of upwards of 80,000 colonial loyalists fled their homes for Britain, Canada, or the West Indies. Many more remained, some converting to the sentiments of the new nation, but others having a difficult time with resentful neighbors.

A preliminary treaty was signed at Paris in 1782 between Britain and America, and the following year all participants agreed upon a comprehensive series of treaties known collectively as the Peace of Paris. In those treaties, Britain recognized the independence of the colonies and ceded all territory between them and the Mississippi to the new nation. Britain kept Canada but gave Florida back to Spain.

The American Revolution began, as Emerson said, at Concord with "the shot heard round the world." It was the first in a series of uprisings that were to sweep the globe from the Bastille to Latin America, Greece, the Kremlin, China, and Vietnam, and it was to transform social and political structures. It established the first large-scale democratic government anywhere (Bushman 944).

But just as the British Empire was not only the greatest, but also the most enlightened and humane of colonial powers, so the American Revolution was the most conservative and least radical of revolts in its social consequences. And the linguistic consequences of the Revolution were also in many ways conservative. The colonies had begun lexical innovation early, but they were also old-fashioned and conservative in many aspects of grammar (such as the participle *gotten*) and pronunciation (such as rhotacism and "flat" *a* in words like *path*), as well as in some word choices (*fall* for the season).

1.4.2 *The Constitution*

The Revolution successful, the independent colonies had to figure out how they could become a nation. The process of doing so was to be a gradual one, for their history had been one of squabbling among themselves, and their traditions were diverse, in spite of their all being English. Until the formation of the Continental Congress, the colonies had not worked together and had little sense of national unity. They had no tradition of shared or common institutions. They had no means of financing collective governmental operations, no common systems of transportation or communication. On the other hand, newspapers in the various colonies had drawn on common sources, and so provided a relatively consistent view of

events. And the American colonists had long experience in self-government. They knew very well how to form representative bodies and conduct business through them.

In 1787 a convention was held in Philadelphia to correct the flaws in the weak Articles of Confederation, which had been adopted in 1781 as a stopgap fundamental law for the independent colonies. The representatives from Virginia urged a radical replacement of those Articles to create a unified national government. The Constitution that was written in response established a three-fold government with separate powers: a presidential executive with veto power over actions of the legislature; a bicameral legislature, one house having representation proportional to population and the other equal representation for each state; and a federal judiciary to hear cases between states or involving federal law. Despite being a written Constitution, the document has evolved by both amendment and interpretation. Thus, although the Constitution does not explicitly give the federal judiciary the right of judicial review over the constitutionality of laws passed by the Congress or state legislatures, the Court early assumed that right, which has become institutionalized as a key element in the separation of powers.

The Constitution represented a striking new view of America as a unified nation, rather than a collection of separate states. Its opening seven words articulated the vision of a single people:

> *We the People of the United States*, in Order to form a more perfect Union, establish Justice, insure domestic Tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general Welfare, and secure the Blessings of Liberty to ourselves and our Posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.

The Constitution was ratified by the requisite number of states and took effect in 1789, when George Washington was unanimously chosen as the first president. The adoption of the Bill of Rights (the first ten amendments to the Constitution) in 1791 completed the fundamental law of the land by guaranteeing certain freedoms derived from English common law and from the concerns of Americans over what they had seen as abuses under British sovereignty.

1.4.3 Westward expansion

Thomas Jefferson, who became the third president in 1801, more than doubled the land area of the United States by the Louisiana Purchase from

France in 1803. Spain had ceded the territory west of the Mississippi back to France, and James Monroe, Jefferson's representative in France, arranged for its purchase from Napoleon without authorization or prior approval by Congress. Jefferson sent Meriwether Lewis and William Clark on an expedition lasting from 1804 to 1806 to explore the territory and discover what the purchase consisted of.

The United States remained neutral during Britain's wars with Napoleon (1803–14), but both combatants engaged in naval activities restricting trade between America and the other side. In addition, Britain impressed men into naval service, sometimes seizing Americans for that purpose. Old hostilities and resentments flared, and in 1812 Congress declared war on Great Britain. Hostilities lasted through 1814. The most positive outcome of the War of 1812 was the establishment of a boundary commission to settle disputes about the border between Canada and the United States, which subsequently became known as the longest unguarded border in the world.

The War of 1812, a conflict that many even at the time thought should have been avoided, was the last hostility between Britain and America. Thereafter, although the two nations have disagreed from time to time about specific policies, a "special relationship" has in fact existed, largely perhaps because of a coincidence of views and interests.

National expansion was furthered by the acquisition of Florida by President James Monroe in 1819 after the first Seminole War (1817–18), which responded to runaway African slaves seeking asylum with the Seminoles. Monroe went on to articulate what has been called the Monroe Doctrine, which reaffirmed George Washington's advice to steer clear of European affairs and accordingly warned European powers against interfering in the Americas. The Doctrine was a statement of general national views rather than a specific formulation of policy, but it was in keeping with the tenor of the times.

In the 1820s American settlers began moving into Texas under a grant from the Mexican government. In 1836 the Republic of Texas was established with the support of many Mexicans in Texas. After an earlier unsuccessful effort to be annexed, Texas was finally admitted as a state in 1846.

The annexation of Texas and a dispute over its border with Mexico led to the Mexican-American War (1846–48). The result was that the United States acquired half a million square miles of Mexican territory stretching all the way to California. The 1849 gold rush brought adventurers and settlers to the West Coast to exploit the gold strike made the year before at Sutter's Mill, near the Sacramento River.

The Gadsden Purchase of 1854 (named for James Gadsden, minister to Mexico, who negotiated it) acquired some 30,000 square miles of Mexican territory, in what is now southern Arizona and New Mexico, as a passage for a railroad line across the Southwest. The purchase price was $10,000,000.

Americans began moving into the Pacific Northwest in the 1830s, and in 1846 the Oregon country became American territory by treaty with the British.

After the murder of Joseph Smith near the Mormon settlement of Navoo, Illinois, Brigham Young led a mass migration of Mormons on the 1000-mile trek to Utah, where they settled in 1847. An early petition for statehood was denied, but Utah was admitted as a territory in 1850, and statehood was delayed until near the end of the century.

In 1867, Alaska was purchased as the result of a tender by Russia, in spite of widespread opposition in the United States. The purchase at a price of $7,200,000 was arranged by the Secretary of State, William Seward, and was consequently nicknamed "Seward's Folly."

The expression "manifest destiny" was coined in 1845 by the editor of the *United States Magazine and Democratic Review*, John L. O'Sullivan, as an expression of his belief that divine providence had called Americans to settle the continent from coast to coast. It became a catchphrase invoked in practically every westward territorial expansion thereafter.

1.4.4 *Technological and social expansion in the early nineteenth century*

The nation underwent a series of economic and technological revolutions in the decades following the War of 1812. In 1812 Robert Fulton and Robert Livingston began a steamboat service between New Orleans and Natchez, Mississippi; it was the beginning of a system that provided the dominant commercial transportation in the central part of the country until after the Civil War. The Erie Canal, a project of the New York governor DeWitt Clinton, was constructed between 1817 and 1825. It was the largest public works project in the United States until the construction of the Interstate Highway system after 1956. By connecting the Great Lakes with New York City through the Hudson River, the canal opened the upper Midwest to settlers by providing a cheap route for shipping raw material eastward and manufactured goods westward.

Railroads appeared in the 1820s and became a national network of 30,000 miles by 1860 and of 164,000 miles by 1890 (Stover 906–7). In 1859, George Pullman introduced the sleeping car. Roads were also constructed

to satisfy the mobile population and hotels sprang up to accommodate them. Anthony Trollope in his travel book on America in the 1860s commented on the abundance of hotels (cited by Boorstin 1965, 141):

> Hotels in America are very much larger and more numerous than in other countries. They are to be found in all towns, and I may almost say in all villages . . . Whence are to come the sleepers? . . . The hotel itself will create a population, – as the railways do. With us railways always run to the towns; but in the States the towns run to the railways. It is the same thing with the hotels.

Telegraphy became a significant means of communication as lines were strung across the nation during the 1840s, following Samuel Morse's invention of the technique of the electric telegraph and the Morse Code in the 1830s. Other inventions included Goodyear's vulcanizing of rubber, the Colt revolver, and the McCormick reaper. In addition, the factory system was developed, and labor unions came into existence, beginning with the Federal Society of Journeymen Cordwainers in Philadelphia in 1794.

The population was increasing at the rate of a third every ten years. That increase was fueled during the 1830s and 1840s by a flood of immigrants, especially from Germany and Ireland. German immigrants settled especially on farms in the Ohio Valley, but the Irish were poor, unskilled, and Catholic, which made them unwelcome in much of the country. They tended therefore to concentrate in urban centers, where they were low-paid menial workers. During the thirty years between 1815 and 1845, a million Irish came to America (Kraus 392). By the middle of the century New York City had a population of half a million, of whom 45 percent were foreign born.

A myth sprang up about American life, abetted by the report of Alexis de Tocqueville, whose *Democracy in America* (1835–40) painted a portrait of the land and its society as idealistically egalitarian. American society was comparatively open, but by mid century there were more millionaires in America than in Europe. In the large cities of the Northeast, 1 percent of the population owned half the wealth. Still America lacked a hereditary nobility. And American manners tugged the forelock for no squire, so an aura of egalitarianism pervaded the land. The myth, or ideal, was also held by Americans themselves, who believed that self-reliance, in the Emersonian sense, or a more materialistic ideal of the self-made man was possible for everyone. The very expression "self-made man" was originally an Americanism, the first recorded use in the *OED* being from a Congressional Register of 1832: "In Kentucky, . . . every manufactory . . . is in the hands of enterprising self-made men."

Another aspect of the American myth was that Classical values and ideals were being reembodied in the New World. Greek Revival architecture swept over both Europe and the United States in the first half of the nineteenth century, but in America the revival was not limited to columned mansions, though there were enough of those, especially in the South. It extended to place names as well. Classical names like Athens, Rome, Sparta, and Troy were reused in Alabama, Georgia, New York, North Carolina, Ohio, South Carolina, and Texas from the late eighteenth through the nineteenth century. The revival also extended to behavior. George Washington consciously followed the model of the Roman general Lucius Quinctius Cincinnatus, who assumed command of the Roman forces at a crisis in the history of the republic but returned to his farm when the crisis was past. In 1783 officers of the Continental Army formed the Society of the Cincinnati, with Washington as its first president. Cincinnati, Ohio, was named for them in 1790.

Public education received increased attention in the nineteenth century. The *McGuffey Readers*, first published in 1836, became the most widely used elementary textbooks in the nation, selling two million copies a year. Called "the most influential volumes ever published in America" (Dulles 104), they propagated such legends as the story of young George Washington and the cherry tree. In 1839 Horace Mann, "the father of the American common school," founded the first state normal school for the education of teachers. Land-grant colleges were started all over the country as a result of the Morrill Act (1862). Johns Hopkins University, founded in Baltimore in 1876, introduced graduate education on the German model.

Established as a library for legislators in 1800, the Library of Congress grew during the nineteenth century to be the major cultural repository and the national library.

In the 1830s, the "penny press" made its appearance – four-page daily newspapers written for mass appeal, the forerunner of twentieth-century tabloids. They were balanced by such quality magazines as *Harper's* (1850) and the *Atlantic Monthly* (1857).

American politics of the period became more egalitarian as the right to vote was expanded. In the early part of the century, in many states it was necessary to own land and to be a taxpayer in order to be qualified to vote, and most states used their legislatures to choose electors who would vote for the president of the country. In the course of a few decades all that changed: the franchise was extended to adult white males generally (extension to blacks and women was to come considerably later), and the presidential vote became in fact a popular election.

The two decades leading up to mid century were called an "age of reform," not in politics alone, but in a variety of social movements. Groups were dedicated to the betterment of working conditions, public education, prison reform, the humane treatment of the insane and the handicapped, an end to capital punishment, pacifism, women's rights, and the temperance movement. The abolition movement to support the end of slavery became a political force.

Utopian communities were founded, such as the Transcendentalist-inspired Brook Farm, Massachusetts, the scientifically oriented New Harmony, Indiana, and the messianic and sexually unconventional Oneida, New York. More conventionally religious enterprises included Bible and tract societies, home missionary societies, and the Sunday School Union. Some reform was not collective and social, but individual and inward directed, of which that inspired by Ralph Waldo Emerson was the most notable. He drew on such sources as Neoplatonism, Swedenborg, and Hindu philosophy in developing his view of the potential of the human spirit to rise above material limitations.

1.4.5 *Slavery and abolition*

The most pressing concern during the first two-thirds of the nineteenth century and the least amenable to a generally acceptable solution was the problem of slavery. It was an ethical, economic, and political dilemma.

During the Colonial period and the first years of the new nation, slavery was not a major economic factor anywhere in North America. Slave holding was most common in the areas where a cash crop was the basis of the economy, but in the normal course of events, the early demise of slavery might have been expected because of the growing sentiment against it. As early as 1816, the American Colonization Society was formed to resettle freed slaves in Africa, and for the next thirty years it repatriated Africans to an area on the coast of West Africa that in 1847 became Liberia.

However, at the end of the eighteenth century, a technological advance was made that radically changed the role of slavery in America: Eli Whitney's invention of the cotton gin in 1793. The gin was a machine for separating the fibers of the cotton boll from the seeds, a task which, if done by hand, was slow and laborious. The gin greatly increased the production of cotton fiber and made commercially viable the use of short-fiber plants to produce cheaper and thus more salable cotton fabric.

Cotton culture became highly profitable as the main export commodity of the Southern states, and thereby increased the need for cheap field

labor. "King Cotton" ruled the South (the catchphrase derived from *Cotton Is King*, an 1855 book by David Christy). As new territories in the South were settled – Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Texas – cotton culture was extended westward, and the demand for slave labor likewise increased. By the middle of the nineteenth century, two-fifths of the population of the South were African slaves, and two-thirds of them worked the cotton fields. The economy of the South had come to depend on slavery.

In the North, on the other hand, where slavery provided no significant economic benefit, most of the states had abolished it by the first decade of the century. The result was a sharp divergence between the cultures of the North and the South. Yet all was not well with Northern blacks. Although they were freemen, their condition was comparable to that of the new Irish immigrants, with whom they competed for unskilled jobs. As an underclass, they were discriminated against economically, educationally, politically, and socially, with no effective means for correcting the injustice. But at least they could not be bought and sold.

Most of the free states had less than 1 percent of blacks in their population (New Jersey was the highest at 4 percent). Of the Deep South states, none had less than 25 percent black population (South Carolina was the highest at nearly 60 percent). That difference created sharply different views of the issue. In the North it was almost solely an ethical question. In the South it was, in addition, an economic and social dilemma.

The issue of slavery became bitterly divisive. Several churches, including Methodists and Presbyterians, underwent schisms over it in the 1840s. From the 1830s on, the abolitionist movement became a crusade aimed at the immediate end of slavery and racial discrimination. It was based partly on religious conviction and partly on intellectual and social conscience, but included radical and violent activists like John Brown.

The diverging economic and cultural orientations of North and South affected politics. The North wanted new states coming into the Union to be free; the South wanted them to be slave-holding in order to maintain balance in the Senate and thus prevent or at least stave off the inevitable end of slavery, which would revolutionize the Southern economy. The result was an ongoing contest over new western territories, with a series of political accommodations. The most influential of these, the Missouri Compromise (1820), allowed for the admission of Maine as a free state and of Missouri as a slave-holding state, but otherwise restricted slave-holding west of the Mississippi to the area south of Missouri's southern border.

1.4.6 *The Civil War and Reconstruction*

Eventually it became clear that the nation could not continue divided between free and slave-holding states. The South's response to this realization, crystallized by the election of Abraham Lincoln, was to form a new nation. Accordingly in early 1861, just before Lincoln's inauguration, delegates from the Deep South met in Montgomery, Alabama, to form the Confederate States of America. In April of that year, Confederate forces besieged Fort Sumter, South Carolina, and the Civil War began.

It was an unequal contest. The Union had twenty-three states: all nineteen of the free states (California, Connecticut, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Maine, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Vermont, and Wisconsin) and four "border" states, which were slave-holding but remained with the Union (Delaware, Kentucky, Maryland, and Missouri). The Confederacy had eleven states (Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia). Population in the Union was 21,000,000; in the Confederacy, 5,500,000 whites and 3,500,000 black slaves. Manufacturing plants in the Union numbered 100,000; in the Confederacy, 18,000. The Union had more than 70 percent of the railroads; the Confederacy, less than 30 percent.

What the Confederacy chiefly had was passion. But in addition the South had skilled military leaders, a long coastline that was difficult to blockade, and the hope of foreign support, which, however, never materialized.

The war lasted four years and was a turning point in military history. Among the features it introduced to warfare were ironclad warships, a submarine, machine guns, land and water mines, balloon reconnaissance, photographic records, newspaper reportage, telegraphic communication, and organized medical care for troops.

The Civil War was a disaster, whose positive outcomes were both the abolition of slavery and the establishment of the inviolability of the Union. Although slavery was at the heart of the conflict, it did not figure as the primary motive on either side. The North fought the war primarily to preserve the Union, and only secondarily to abolish slavery and secure civil rights for African-Americans. The South fought the war mainly to establish state autonomy and cultural independence, and only secondarily to maintain the institution of slavery. In fact, it was clear on both sides that slavery would eventually have to end; the questions were when and under what circumstances.

Lincoln's 1863 Emancipation Proclamation had no basis in Constitutional law. It was four things: a statement of principle, a tactic to put pressure on the Confederacy (the threat to issue it in 1862 was an unsuccessful attempt to induce compromise on the part of the South), a successful foreign relations move to make support of the Confederacy by European powers more difficult, and a means of bringing black troops into the Union army (some 180,000 enlisted between the Proclamation and the end of the war). The actual emancipation was accomplished by the thirteenth amendment to the Constitution, ratified in December 1865.

The Confederacy, on the other hand, in early 1865 had communicated with European powers, offering to emancipate the slaves in return for diplomatic recognition and support. But the offer came too late and was not accepted. It was, however, evidence that the South recognized the need to abandon its "peculiar institution."

The period of Reconstruction, the process of governing the Southern states after the war and of reintegrating them into the Union, was confused and contentious. Some Northerners sought to use Reconstruction as a means of punishing the South for its insurrection. Some Southerners sought to find ways of bypassing the effects of the thirteenth amendment freeing the slaves and of the subsequent fourteenth (1868) and fifteenth (1870) amendments, guaranteeing civil and voting rights.

1.4.7 *Technological and social expansion in the later nineteenth century*

As the nation recovered from the trauma of the Civil War and its aftermath, a period of remarkable growth and development followed. The population increased by 50 percent during the last two decades of the century, much of it from the 9,000,000 immigrants who entered the United States then. The majority of these immigrants, like earlier ones, came from western and northern Europe. At the end of the century, however, that pattern changed to immigration from eastern and southern Europe, and with that change was to come a shift in attitudes toward immigration generally.

North American territorial expansion had been completed with the purchase of Alaska in 1867. By the end of the century, forty-five states had entered the Union, with Arizona, New Mexico, and Oklahoma to follow shortly thereafter. The continental frontier – an aspect of American life for 300 years – had disappeared. The westward movement was being replaced by urbanization. During the last two decades of the nineteenth century, the urban population of the United States increased from 28 to 40 percent. In

1850 there were eighty-five cities with a population greater than 8,000; in 1900 their number increased sevenfold (Dulles 89).

Part of the new wealth of the nation came from the discovery of mineral deposits. The California gold rush of 1849 was followed by the discovery of the Comstock Lode of silver in Nevada in 1859 and more gold fields in the Black Hills, South Dakota, in 1874 and at Cripple Creek, Colorado, in 1891.

Cattle raising dominated the life and economics of a central portion of the country from Texas north to the Great Plains in the 1870s and 1880s (Boorstin 1973, 5–41). It gave rise to the mystique of the hard-riding, straight-shooting cowboy, clad in sombrero, chaps, and spurred boots, who herded cattle on the open range. Killing freezes in 1886 and 1887 depleted the herds and ended that way of life, leaving only a myth behind.

The first transcontinental railroad was achieved by the joining of the tracks of the Central Pacific, running eastward from Sacramento, California, and those of the Union Pacific, running westward from Council Bluffs, Iowa. They met in Utah in 1869. Railroads spread out across the country, a web of transportation binding the states into one network.

The Brooklyn Bridge was built between 1869 and 1883, with the longest span in the world. Nearly fifty years later it inspired Hart Crane's visionary poem *The Bridge*, about the human ability to unite past and future.

A period of economic prosperity beginning in 1878 lasted for twenty years. Manufacturing, factories, and factory workers all doubled during the period. The iron and steel industries boomed. Public utilities were established for electric, gas, and telephone service, and transportation by streetcars came to the cities. Inventions that were to transform American life included the air brake (George Westinghouse, 1869), typewriter (Christopher Latham Sholes, 1867, marketed 1874), telephone (Alexander Graham Bell, 1876), refrigerator train car (Gustavus Franklin Swift, commissioned 1877), phonograph (Thomas Alva Edison, 1877), practical incandescent lighting (Thomas Alva Edison, 1879), linotype (Ottmar Mergenthaler, 1884), and calculating machine (William Seward Burroughs, 1885, patented 1892).

The end of the century saw the growth of big labor, big business, and big government. The first major national labor organization was the Knights of Labor, founded in 1869; the American Federation of Labor followed in 1881. The end of the century saw a series of labor actions, such as the national 1893 Pullman Strike, led by Eugene V. Debs and Louis W. Rogers. The move to megabusiness was made by Andrew Carnegie in steel and John D. Rockefeller with the foundation of the Standard Oil Trust in 1882.

J. P. Morgan's name became a byword in banking. The United States Civil Service Commission was established in 1883 to take career government jobs out of the patronage system. The Interstate Commerce Commission, established in 1887, was the first government regulatory agency in the United States. The Sherman Antitrust Act of 1890 dealt with monopolistic practices interfering with open competition.

The game of baseball became the national sport during the last part of the century. Developed from the English game of rounders, also called "base ball," the American sport has been misattributed to an 1839 invention of Abner Doubleday, the Union commander of the troops that fired the opening shots of the Civil War at Fort Sumter. The game was popular with the army during that war, and afterwards evolved from an amateur to a professional sport. The National League was formed in 1876.

1.4.8 The development of English in the National period

The Revolutionary War had won political independence for the United States, but cultural independence had yet to be gained. Movement in that direction came almost immediately. The Founding Fathers of the body politic had their linguistic counterpart in Noah Webster (1758–1843).

Webster's *American Spelling Book* or "Blue-Backed Speller" (part 1 of *A Grammatical Institute of the English Language*, 1783) was amazingly successful. With total sales of perhaps 100,000,000 copies, it taught literacy to generations of early Americans and provided a standard for American spelling. Webster is often called a spelling reformer. It is true that he tried to introduce a number of reforms into American orthography, but they were unsuccessful. What are often thought of as Webster's "reforms" were for the most part spelling variants found on both sides of the Atlantic but popularized in America through Webster's enterprise and prestige.

During the seventeenth century, when America was first settled, English spelling was far from standardized. During the eighteenth century, it became relatively stable, but with a number of variations, between which English writers vacillated. They included options like *center/centre, honor/honour, magic/magick, paneling/panelling*, and *realize/realise*. In the case of such options, Webster chose the one he thought simpler, more historical, or analogous, and that one generally became the American preference, whereas in many cases British English went in a different direction.

Webster was an American patriot. He called the language of the new country "Federal English" and praised it as the use of American "yeomen." He scorned what he thought were the affected uses of the

English royal court and society. His highly didactic reader for schools, first published in 1785, preferred selections by American authors or about American themes.

A nation that committed itself to a written Constitution might also be expected to turn to a written standard of language. Although some of the early Founding Fathers toyed with the idea of an American Academy, a fancy they inherited from their British cultural forebears, the idea came no more to fruit on the American side of the Atlantic than it had on the British. Instead, for a source of linguistic authority, Americans came to rely on a semi-mystical book, "the dictionary." So far as that archetype had a physical realization, it was in the lexicographical work of Noah Webster.

Webster is best remembered as a lexicographer, and much of his life work was devoted to recording in dictionaries the English language used in America, from his 1806 *Compendious Dictionary of the English Language* to his two-volume 1828 *American Dictionary of the English Language*. Webster's dictionaries became the most influential works on the English language in America, and they gave rise to the longest continuous lexicographical tradition in the English-speaking world: the Merriam-Webster dictionaries. Webster's name became a synonym for dictionaries, appropriated by others for its talismanic merchandizing value.

Webster's "Blue-Backed Speller" and his dictionaries were the symbols of language authority in the United States. Language attitudes in America have always been Janus-like. On the one hand, there has been a concern for purity in language, defined by the authority of dictionaries. So John Pickering (1816, in Mathews 1931, 65) observed: "The preservation of the *English language* in its purity throughout the United States is an object deserving the attention of every American, who is a friend to the literature and science of his country." On the other hand, Walt Whitman, speaking as the American Everyman, could boast in "Song of Myself": "I sound my barbaric yawp over the roofs of the world" and write an essay in defense of slang (1885) at a time when it was widely considered to be a disease of language.

American English was more distinctive from British in vocabulary and pronunciation than in grammar. But it was also distinctive in style (Boorstin 1965, 275–324). Thomas Pyles (1952, 125–53) called the nineteenth-century style "tall talk, turgidity, and taboo," and Daniel Boorstin (1965, 296–8) referred to "booster talk," for example the euphemistic use of *home* instead of *house*. The declamatory style of oratory, both political and religious, was also mocked by the conscious illiteracy and homespun anecdotes of the cracker-barrel philosophers. They sprang from Benjamin Franklin's

Poor Richard and ranged through the apocryphal writings of Davy Crockett, James Russell Lowell's Hosea Biglow, Charles P. Browne's Artemus Ward, Henry Wheeler Shaw's Josh Billings, Finley Peter Dunne's Mr. Dooley, and on to the twentieth-century Will Rogers and Al Capp's Mammy Yokum.

Another aspect of cultural independence was the development of a distinctive American literature written by American authors who were acknowledged internationally for their contributions to English literature. American belletristic authors productive during the National period included:

- Washington Irving (1783–1859)
- James Fenimore Cooper (1789–1851)
- William Cullen Bryant (1794–1878)
- Ralph Waldo Emerson (1803–82)
- Nathaniel Hawthorne (1804–64)
- Henry Wadsworth Longfellow (1807–82)
- Edgar Allan Poe (1809–49)
- Oliver Wendell Holmes (1809–94)
- Henry David Thoreau (1817–62)
- James Russell Lowell (1819–91)
- Herman Melville (1819–91)
- Walt Whitman (1819–92)
- Emily Dickinson (1830–86)
- Samuel Langhorne Clemens, pen name Mark Twain (1835–1910)
- William Dean Howells (1837–1920)
- Henry James (1843–1916)
- Stephen Crane (1871–1900)

The English of America, especially its vocabulary, was constantly changed by the events of the National period. The development of improved means of communication and transportation served to make American English more uniform. Likewise, the great migrations westward, in which settlers from various regions of the East mixed in the Far West, promoted a homogeneity of language. On the other hand, the large size of the continent created barriers to communication that promoted the formation of new dialects. And the tendency to urbanization gave the first indications of a future replacement of purely geographical dialects by a rural-urban split.

The National period saw the creation of a new nation, its preservation under the threat of division by civil war, and its expansion geographically, socially, and economically to the cusp of the twentieth century. It likewise saw the development of the language used by Americans into a standard form, distinctively different from any of the regional and social dialects of the first settlers and likewise different from the standard form that had developed in Britain from the same roots as those of the first American colonial speech. At this point, British and American English, each changing separately and divergently, seemed on the road to becoming different languages, as Italian and Spanish had 1,500 years earlier. But that divergence was not to continue.

1.5 The International period

1.5.1 *The Spanish-American War*

The Spanish-American War lasted a bare four months in 1898. It was hardly more than a skirmish and merits only passing concern in the military history of the United States. But it had very great political and social consequences because it was a turning point in the history of the country, directing the nation's attention outside its own borders to the world stage. Internationalists and isolationists have vied with each other throughout the history of the nation, but after the Spanish-American War, the turn was to internationalism.

The history of the United States during the twentieth century was one of interlinked expansion on two fronts: international and economic. That expansion was not consistent but was moderated by periodical deflation on both fronts – some minor blips and two major retrenchments, one on international expansion in the years following World War I and the other on economic expansion during the Great Depression. But on the whole, the country moved from a focus within its own borders on the American continent to a global perspective and from a prosperous agrarian society with developing industry to an economic superpower.

Throughout the nineteenth century, the nation had followed, more or less closely, George Washington's advice to steer clear of foreign entanglements. But toward the end of the century a number of factors combined to change American attitudes. Following the Civil War, the United States had become powerful economically, and policy makers in the country felt the urge to wield that power. Moreover, a concern for the defense of the nation seemed to require a sizable navy, which in turn required bases in other parts of the globe for its effectiveness.

At the same time, the end of the continental frontier created a need, both psychological and economic, to look for new worlds. Americans were motivated by a vision of the nation's destiny inherited from some of the earliest settlers (Boorstin 1973, 557):

> The nation's view of its future and of its relations to the world never lost the mark of its earliest past. The Puritans were sent on their "Errand into the Wilderness" not by a British sovereign or by London businessmen, but by God Himself. Whatever names later Americans used to describe the direction of their history – whether they spoke of

> "Providence" or of "Destiny" – they still kept alive the sense of mission. "We shall nobly save or meanly lose," Lincoln warned, "the last best hope of earth."

The end of the frontier also created a commercial need to find new territories to expand into. As Bernard Bailyn (1986a, 67) remarked apropos of westward expansion during the Colonial period: "There was never a time in American history when land speculation had not been a major preoccupation of ambitious people." The lack of fresh land on the continent directed the attention of Americans abroad.

The emergence of America on the international stage in a significant way placed the country in a role that Americans as a whole were unprepared for, but which Theodore Roosevelt defined for them (Dulles 157):

> In foreign affairs, we must make up our minds that, whether we wish it or not, we are a great people and must play a great part in the world. It is not open to us to choose whether we will play that great part or not. We have to play it. All we can decide is whether we shall play it well or ill.

The entrance on that role was the Spanish-American War. In 1895 a revolution begun by Cubans against Spanish rule provoked violence on the island, with exaggerated reports in sensationalist American newspapers. Public opinion in the United States was aroused against Spain. Then in 1898 the USS *Maine* exploded and sank in Havana harbor. A naval court of inquiry attributed the explosion to a mine. When Spain refused to accept an American demand for Cuban independence, the war began.

The conflict was "a splendid little war" – in the memorable phrase of John Hay, the Secretary of State – "begun with the highest motives, carried on with magnificent intelligence and spirit, favored by the fortune which loves the brave" (Dulles 168). Later assessments have been less self-congratulatory, but the importance of the war as a symbolic turning point is clear. At the settlement, less than four months after the declaration of war, Spain gave Cuba its independence, transferred Puerto Rico and Guam to the United States, and passed control over the Philippines into American hands in return for $20,000,000.

1.5.2 *Imperialism and progressivism*

Its new Caribbean and Pacific territories launched the United States as an imperialist power, although more economic and cultural than political. However, the die of internationalism had been cast. Hawaii, which had been an independent kingdom, became a republic controlled by American

commercial interests in 1893 and was annexed by the United States in 1898, during the Spanish-American War. It became a territory in 1900 and was finally admitted to statehood in 1959.

It is notable that all of the territorial expansion of the United States proper took place during the nineteenth century, before the end of the Spanish-American War. Territorial acquisitions after that war were few and mostly small, and a number of them, notably the Philippines, were granted independence or, notably the Canal Zone, returned to the country from which they had been acquired. Puerto Rico by repeated popular vote has retained its special commonwealth status rather than change to statehood or independence. The American "empire" has been commercial and cultural, rather than territorial.

At the end of the century, the United States proposed to Britain, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, and Russia an "Open Door" policy to control the monopolizing of Chinese trade or the colonization of China by any of the great powers. American interest was not altruistic but centered on the exporting of cotton goods to China. Despite violations by Japan, the Open Door policy generally held until World War II, after which the communist rise to power in China ended traditional trade arrangements. Theodore Roosevelt's mediation, ending the Russo-Japanese War of 1904–5, at a peace conference in Portsmouth, New Hampshire, won him the Nobel Prize for Peace in 1906.

After an abortive French effort to build a canal across Panama, the United States purchased the French assets in 1902, but Colombia, which was then sovereign in the Panamanian isthmus, balked at a proposed treaty. Panama, with American support, declared independence in 1903. In 1904, a treaty was signed with Panama creating the Panama Canal Zone, and construction of the canal was begun – the greatest engineering project up to its time. The sovereignty exercised by the United States over the Canal Zone was a continuing source of annoyance to Panama; in 1977 the Panama Canal Treaty abolished the Zone, recognizing Panamanian sovereignty there but retaining the American right to operate the canal until the end of 1999.

The dissatisfaction of several European powers with the failure of some Latin American countries to honor their debts led to the 1904 Roosevelt Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine. Whereas the latter warned European nations against intervention in the Americas, the former asserted the intention of the United States to require Latin American countries not to give cause for European intervention. The first instance was Theodore Roosevelt's 1905 appointment of a financial manager for

the Dominican Republic to oversee its revenue collections when it defaulted on obligations.

William Howard Taft introduced a foreign policy dubbed "dollar diplomacy," which was an extension of the Roosevelt Corollary. It was intervention in the affairs of other nations, especially in Latin America, for the purpose of maintaining their fiscal stability and of protecting American financial interests. The policy naturally generated resentment where intervention occurred, and the term came to be used pejoratively.

Woodrow Wilson, while publicly abjuring dollar diplomacy, continued the policy by imposing a government on Haiti in 1915, occupying the Dominican Republic in 1916, and intervening in Nicaragua during that time. He also bought the Virgin Islands from Denmark in 1916 to prevent their being acquired by Germany.

While the nation was expanding its spheres of influence abroad, at home a complex of reform movements collectively called progressivism took shape. Progressivism was a movement responding to the social changes following the urbanizing and industrializing of the country. Religious leaders began to preach the Social Gospel. Journalists turned to yellow journalism – banner headlines, illustrations, and human-interest stories – and to "muckraking," an old term given a new sense by Theodore Roosevelt – the reporting of corruption and exploitation. Writers like Upton Sinclair became social critics with works like his 1906 novel, *The Jungle*, an exposé of the stockyards and meat packing, which helped to pass the Pure Food and Drug Act.

The sixteenth and seventeenth amendments to the Constitution were ratified in 1913. The sixteenth amendment authorized an income tax by the Federal government. The seventeenth provided for the direct election of senators by popular vote, instead of their selection by state legislatures. Its effect was to make the Senate more responsive to the will of the electorate and less reactionary.

1.5.3 *World War I and its aftermath*

The outbreak of hostilities in Europe in 1914 inevitably engaged American interests, initially through the efforts of the British to establish a blockade of the Continent and of the Germans to control shipping by submarine warfare. The German sinking of American ships led to a declaration of war in 1917. By 1918, more than a million men of the American Expeditionary Force reached France. They and the US Navy's assistance in overcoming the German submarine threat helped to bring the war to a close in November of that year.

President Woodrow Wilson, a practical idealist, envisioned the war as one to "make the world safe for democracy." He hoped for general agreement among the powers, but when the other Allied governments showed no interest in his idealistic plans, Wilson presented those plans to Congress in January 1918 as fourteen points: (1) reliance on open diplomacy rather than secret agreements, (2) freedom of the seas, (3) free trade, (4) disarmament, (5) adjudication of colonial claims with respect for the sovereignty of the colonial peoples, (6) assistance to Russia, (7) respect for the integrity of Belgium, (8) restoration of French territories, (9) adjustment of the border of Italy based on ethnicity, (10) autonomy for the peoples of Austria-Hungary, (11) guarantees for the independence of the various Balkan states, (12) self-determination for the peoples of the Ottoman Empire and free passage through the Dardanelles, (13) independence for Poland, and (14) the formation of a League of Nations to guarantee independence for all countries, large and small. The Germans opened armistice talks on the basis of those fourteen points, but later held that the Treaty of Versailles undermined their principles.

After the war, sentiment for isolationism rose in the United States. Opposition to the treaty, especially the establishment of the League of Nations, was waged by a group of conservative Republican senators. In the course of campaigning for his vision, Wilson suffered a stroke. He was succeeded by Warren Harding, under whom American approval of the treaty and membership in the League became a dead issue. The United States concluded a separate peace with Germany in 1921. A benefit of the isolationist sentiment was the improvement of relations with Latin America through a policy of nonintervention that culminated in Franklin Roosevelt's Good Neighbor Policy and lasted through World War II but then lapsed during the anticommunist activities of the Cold War.

The postwar revival of isolationism coincided with xenophobia, social reactionism, a Red scare, racial unrest, and labor troubles. Immigration was restricted both in numbers and by country of origin. During the 1920s the Ku Klux Klan became a political and social force with an estimated membership of five million. Christian fundamentalism offered emotional security, especially in rural areas and small towns, by emphasizing moral values and a literal interpretation of Scripture. The eighteenth amendment to the Constitution, prohibiting the manufacture, sale, and transportation of alcoholic drinks, was passed in 1919 and was repealed by the twenty-first amendment in 1933. During the fourteen years of its existence, national Prohibition was probably the most widely violated law the country has ever had.

The height of fundamentalist influence was exemplified by the trial of John T. Scopes, a Tennessee teacher of biology who challenged a 1925 state law forbidding the teaching of evolution. The resulting Scopes Trial pitted William Jennings Bryan as prosecutor against Clarence Darrow as defending lawyer and was widely reported, notably by the social critic H. L. Mencken. Scopes was found guilty and fined $100 but was acquitted on appeal because the fine was judged excessive.

The dozen years following the end of World War I were a temporary, though not unique, reversal of the usual twentieth-century movement toward greater international involvement and intellectual sophistication. On the other hand, they also saw a number of social and technological changes that undermined the resurgence of isolationism and social reaction. Those changes caused the period to be dubbed the Roaring Twenties and the Jazz Age. The passage of the nineteenth amendment in 1920, giving women the right to vote, was a critical factor leading to increased efforts for sexual equality later in the century.

The year 1927 saw the last of the Ford Model T cars and the first of the Model A. In 1929, four and a half million passenger cars were sold in America, one car for every twenty-seven persons in the country, a rate not to be surpassed until after World War II. The mass-produced and widely available automobile brought personal mobility on a scale never before known, with consequent social change.

The telephone had been developed in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, but during the Roaring Twenties, significant technological improvements were made. For example, in 1927, AT&T (American Telephone and Telegraph) developed a handset combining transmitter and receiver elements.

Commercial radio began with one station in 1920. Two years later there were 564 stations in the nation. The first radio network was NBC (National Broadcasting Company), which acquired a New York station in 1926 and began producing daily programs for other stations. In 1927, the FCC (Federal Communications Commission) was established to regulate the growth of broadcasting.

Motion pictures were shown in France as early as 1895, but the form is especially associated with America (Lear). In 1905–8, cheap nickelodeons attracted more than 25 million viewers each week. D. W. Griffith's 1915 *Birth of a Nation* was the first popular feature film. During the 1920s, motion pictures became a significant industry in America and a major form of entertainment. *The Jazz Singer* of 1927 was the first film with spoken dialog, and the 1920s also saw the introduction of the first Technicolor, although full-color Technicolor did not appear until the 1930s. Weekly attendance at the movies rose to forty million persons, half that number being minors. By the late 1930s weekly attendance had doubled to eighty million. The fact that the movies appealed especially to the young, coupled with a drift toward sexually suggestive content, led to self-censorship through the Hays Office, an advisory group that established guidelines for acceptability in content and presentation. The Hays code did not forbid innuendo or violence, but prescribed the manner in which they could be depicted and the context in which they were shown. As Hollywood movies were shown around the world, they depicted American values and standards.

The print media saw the birth of a number of influential magazines during the 1920s: Henry R. Luce's *Time* (1923), H. L. Mencken's *American Mercury* (1924), and Harold Ross's *New Yorker* (1925).

The alternative name for this period, the Jazz Age, reflects a new improvisational musical style. Jazz music has its roots in African rhythms and grew from early nineteenth-century plantation and later minstrel band music, as transmitted through a syncopated musical style of the late nineteenth century known as ragtime. The word *jazz* is of unknown etymology, but is perhaps derived from a creole sexual term applied to dance movements. Jazz developed in New Orleans about the turn of the century and developed into what is called the "Chicago style" during the 1920s and later into a style called "swing." Jazz, which became the music of Prohibition speakeasies (clandestine places serving alcohol illegally), featured a series of solo variations on a musical theme, performed on various instruments.

The history of jazz is one of social amelioration and geographical spread. It began as the music of New Orleans brothels, became more sophisticated in Prohibition speakeasies all over the country, developed as the respectable orchestral music of swing, and finally appeared in concerts around the globe. Jazz as a distinctive style has, however, retained its association with the African-American community. Its later developments, such as swing, bebop, and rock, became part of world pop culture.

1.5.4 *The Great Depression and World War II*

After the stock market had reached an all-time high in August 1929, on October 29, known as "Black Tuesday," a record sixteen million shares were traded, and the market collapsed, sending the nation into the longest and most severe economic depression in its history. The depression quickly spread internationally since the United States had become the principal creditor for European recovery after World War I. Four years later, stock

prices averaged only a fourth or fifth of their 1929 value, many financial institutions and other businesses had declared bankruptcy, a quarter of the work force was unemployed, and wages were halved.

Major political and social repercussions followed. In 1932 Franklin Delano Roosevelt was elected President of the United States, to become the longest-serving holder of that office. Government control of financial matters became common in order to regulate economic stability. New agencies were established, such as the TVA (Tennessee Valley Authority) to build dams and power plants and the WPA (Works Progress Administration), PWA (Public Works Administration), and CCC (Civilian Conservation Corps) to employ workers. The Social Security Act of 1935 began the creation of a safety net for the elderly, unemployed, handicapped, and dependent.

In Germany, Adolf Hitler rose to power in 1933. The depression ended in Germany with increased production of armaments, and in the United States with a similar increase in industrial production after the outbreak of hostilities in Europe.

World War II began with Germany's 1939 invasion of Poland, following an unsuccessful 1938 policy of appeasement that acquiesced in Hitler's occupation of Austria and annexation of the Sudetenland from Czechoslovakia. In early 1941, the Lend-Lease Act made it possible to support the Allies by giving them supplies on credit. In August of that year, Roosevelt and Churchill met on shipboard off the coast of Newfoundland to promulgate the Atlantic Charter, whose principles echoed some of those of Woodrow Wilson: self-determination, free trade, open seas, disarmament, and international cooperation to promote economic and social well-being.

By November 1941, American intelligence knew that the Japanese were planning imminent military action, but expected it in the Philippines. The December 7 surprise attack on Pearl Harbor, Hawaii, put out of commission the American battleship force, as well as nearly 350 airplanes, and caused more than 3,500 personnel casualties. That attack united public opinion in the United States and for the remainder of the century ended the policy of isolationism as a dominant force in the nation.

In 1941 the Office of Scientific Research and Development was created to enlist scientists and academics, whose assistance proved crucial to the conduct of the war. Wartime production and mobilization geared up in the United States and by early 1944 was twice as great as that in all of the Axis powers taken together. On June 6 of that year, American, British, and Canadian forces landed on the beaches of Normandy and a push was

begun into Germany. Eleven months later, the German forces formally surrendered.

In the Pacific theater, American strategy was to move gradually from island to island toward Japan. By mid 1945, enough island bases had been captured to permit heavy bombing of Japan in preparation for an invasion. However, the development of the atomic bomb resulted in its first test on July 6, and on July 26 Truman issued Japan a demand for surrender, with the alternative of "prompt and utter destruction." On August 6 and 9, atomic bombs were dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, bringing about the surrender of Japan and obviating the need for a land invasion whose cost was estimated at a million American lives.

The United Nations Organization was founded in 1945 to be a peacekeeper following the war, and other international organizations also came into existence to foster world welfare, such as the cultural organization UNESCO, the International Monetary Fund, and the World Bank.

1.5.5 *Foreign political engagement in the last half of the twentieth century*

As they had in the years following World War I, an isolationist movement and a revived Red scare gained some support after World War II but did not rise to the effectiveness of the earlier reaction. The new reaction began during the final years of the war, when Vice President Henry Wallace was removed from the ticket because of his liberal position on social and economic issues and was replaced by a relative unknown, Harry Truman. Later Senator Joseph R. McCarthy's campaign to find communists in the American government led to the introduction of a new word, *McCarthyism* – 'the use of unsupported accusations and inquisitorial investigation to label political opponents as traitors' – but the campaign was discredited during his lifetime.

The Cold War, however, developed soon after the conclusion of World War II. The term had been used by George Orwell in 1945 and was popularized in the title of a 1947 book by Walter Lippmann. It referred specifically to political, economic, and propagandistic competition between the United States and Soviet Russia for hegemony and in response to the Iron Curtain. The latter expression derives from British use of a movable firewall between the auditorium and the stage of theaters from the late eighteenth century onward. Metaphorical extensions to other barriers, especially of communication, soon followed. The term was applied to Russia as early as 1920, but what the *OED* calls its locus classicus was a 1946 speech by Winston Churchill at Westminster College in Fulton,

Missouri: "From Stettin, in the Baltic, to Trieste, in the Adriatic, an iron curtain has descended across the Continent."

Soviet dominance of Eastern Europe and the threat of Soviet expansion elsewhere governed much of American foreign policy from 1947 until the collapse of the Soviet superstate in the early 1990s. During the Cold War, Russia intervened in East Germany (1953), Hungary (1956), Czechoslovakia (1968), Afghanistan (1979), and elsewhere. The United States responded in Guatemala (1954), the Dominican Republic (1965), Grenada (1983), and elsewhere.

When economic pressures led Britain to withdraw its aid from eastern-Mediterranean countries in 1947, the United States stepped in to provide support for the noncommunist governments of Greece and Turkey with the Truman Doctrine of using economic aid to support foreign policy aims. That same year saw the inauguration of the European Recovery Program, popularly called the Marshall Plan after its architect, Secretary of State George Marshall. It was the most extensive system of foreign aid in human history and was designed to restore Europe to economic health.

The first major engagement of the Cold War was the Soviet ground blockade of West Berlin in 1948–9, which resulted in an airlift to supply the Allied-governed sectors of the city. In 1949 NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization) was formed as an alliance against potential Russian aggression. It survived its immediate genesis to play a role in the Balkans crisis of the Serbian province of Kosovo in the late 1990s.

The year 1950 saw the invasion of South Korea by communist North Korea, to which Harry Truman promptly responded by securing a resolution from the United Nations Security Council calling on member states to oppose the aggression. The resolution could be passed then because Russia, which had veto power, was boycotting the Council. The operation was technically a police action taken under UN auspices and conducted under the UN flag. It included troops from a number of UN members, though the United States was the most prominently represented nation. An armistice was signed in 1953, essentially restoring the status quo ante.

The Peace Corps was the 1961 creation of John F. Kennedy to help developing countries by providing assistance in agriculture, community development, education, health, and technology. Volunteers – at first typically new college graduates – spent two years abroad, speaking the native language and living on the level of their counterparts in that culture. In 1966, more than 15,500 such volunteers were serving in some fifty countries. Later the volunteers tended to be older and more specialized in their expertise.

Another turning point in the Cold War was the Cuban missile crisis of 1962, in which the Soviets were discovered to be installing in Cuba ballistic missiles capable of reaching American cities. The resulting confrontation ended with Russia withdrawing the missiles and was followed by the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty of 1963 but also generated a continuing arms race of conventional weapons and forces.

The United States had been supplying aid to Vietnam since 1954, when the French withdrew. In 1964 an attack on American warships in the area led to the active involvement of the United States in the civil war of that country. The war lasted ten years, divided public opinion, and had severe political repercussions domestically. The consequent desire to restrict American involvement in foreign fields resulted in a policy of détente with Russia and the SALT (Strategic Arms Limitation Talks) agreements of 1972 and 1979, ending a race for antiballistic missile development.

The presidency of Jimmy Carter (1977–81) had the goals of improving human rights in friendly nations by diplomacy, particularly in Argentina, Iran, Rhodesia, South Africa, and South Korea, and of brokering peace agreements, notably the 1979 Camp David accord between Egypt and Israel. His efforts in Iran backfired, however, with the overthrow of the Shah and the establishment of a fundamentalist, anti-Western Islamic Republic.

Ronald Reagan's presidency (1981–9) included several unsuccessful or controversial foreign-affairs initiatives: aid to the rightist Contras in Nicaragua; a marine peacekeeping force sent to Lebanon, which fell victim to a terrorist attack; a comic-opera invasion of Grenada; and the sale of arms to Iran in exchange for American hostages. His most substantive achievements were improved relations with China and the INF (Intermediate-range Nuclear Forces) treaty with Russia.

In 1989, George Bush reverted to an interventionist policy in Latin America, when he sent American troops into Panama to capture General Manuel Noriega on charges of trafficking in drugs and racketeering. The following year, he responded to Iraq's invasion of Kuwait by organizing a coalition of NATO and Arab countries under UN auspices. The resulting Gulf War in 1991 repulsed Iraqi forces, but left the Iraqi government of Saddam Hussein in power as a continuing threat to stability in the Middle East.

The overthrow of communist governments in eastern Europe in 1989–90 was followed by the breakup of the Soviet state into Russia and fourteen other autonomous nations in 1991 and so marked the end of the Cold War.

Regional and ethnic conflicts continued to break out around the world, and under the presidency of William Jefferson Clinton, the United States attempted, with varying success, to play the role of peacemaker or peacekeeper in several of them. A 1993–4 effort to supply relief to Somalia, plagued by famine and torn by civil strife, ended after the slaying of eighteen Americans. In 1994, Yasir Arafat of the Palestine Liberation Organization and Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin of Israel met in Washington to sign an agreement on the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. In 1995, the presidents of Croatia, Serbia, and Bosnia met near Dayton, Ohio, to conclude a treaty settling their territorial disputes in the Balkans. In 1997, three former members of the Soviet block – the Czech Republic, Hungary, and Poland – were admitted into NATO.

An agreement to resolve the longstanding troubles in Northern Ireland between Catholic Republicans who want to join with the Republic of Ireland and Protestant Unionists who want to remain part of the United Kingdom was reached in 1998 with American mediation. The long-range success of the agreement rested on the willingness of both parties to compromise, an issue much in doubt even at the time the negotiations were successfully concluded.

In 1999 the festering situation in the Balkans came to a head with a program by Slobodan Milosevic of Serbia for the ethnic cleansing of Albanian Muslims from the province of Kosovo. NATO responded with an air war that established two new principles: the effectiveness of air power without ground troops and the right of the international community to intervene in the internal affairs of a country on behalf of a persecuted minority.

1.5.6 *Domestic social developments in the last half of the twentieth century*

The need for personnel, both military and civilian, during World War II had important consequences. Two economically underprivileged groups had made significant contributions to the war effort: blacks and women. Those contributions resulted in advances in their status that continued after the war. The wartime prohibition of racial discrimination in employment and training programs was to be followed by a variety of civil rights programs for minorities in general and blacks in particular.

The 1954 Supreme Court decision in the case of *Brown versus Board of Education of Topeka* ended segregation in the public schools of the nation. At the time the decision was handed down, of 4,355 Southern school districts, only three were integrated, and eight Southern states had no schools

enrolling both blacks and whites. In 1955, Martin Luther King, Jr., led a boycott of segregated buses in Montgomery, Alabama, beginning the civil rights movement that led to the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which has been called the most important law of its kind since Reconstruction. It outlawed discrimination in voting, public accommodations, education, employment, and unions, and created the EEOC (Equal Employment Opportunity Commission) to oversee fairness in the workplace for minorities and women.

The entry of women into the work force during World War II (symbolized by the figure of Rosie the Riveter) broke down sexual barriers in employment and led to greater opportunities for women in a variety of occupations. The women's liberation or feminist movement became especially powerful and successful from the 1960s on, resulting in changes in employment and social patterns. The *Roe versus Wade* Supreme Court decision of 1973 legalized abortions. That coupled with new contraceptive measures, such as "the pill," contributed to the revolution in sexual mores and family patterns.

Service personnel returning after World War II were assisted with their reentry into civilian life by a number of programs, such as the GI Bill of Rights, providing loans and educational opportunities for veterans. New housing was constructed on a massive scale, thereby creating jobs in the building and allied industries. And a baby boom swelled the population, creating demands for new schools and facilities for children.

Postwar domestic events included the most extensive public works program ever undertaken, the building of a vast system of interstate highways starting in 1956 under Dwight Eisenhower.

Lyndon B. Johnson's Great Society programs started in 1965; they included Medicare and Medicaid health insurance, federal housing programs, federal funding for education on all levels, the Voting Rights Act, the Immigration Act eliminating quota preferences against some countries, and a host of domestic social programs.

Immigration patterns changed significantly between the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (Carnes and Garraty 134–5). In 1850, the ten states with the largest number of foreign-born were Illinois, Indiana, Massachusetts, Michigan, Missouri, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and Wisconsin. The main countries of birth of the foreign-born in those states were Ireland, Germany, Britain, and Canada.

In 1910, California and Minnesota had replaced Indiana and Missouri as states with the largest number of foreign-born residents, and the main countries of origin were, in addition to the four of 1850, Austria, Hungary,

Italy, Japan, Norway, Russia, and Sweden. Japanese were prominent in California; Swedes in Minnesota; Norwegians in Minnesota and Wisconsin; Russians and Italians in Illinois, New Jersey, New York, and Pennsylvania; Hungarians in Ohio.

In 1980, the top ten states for foreign-born residents included Texas and Florida in place of Minnesota and Wisconsin. Ireland was no longer a major source country, though Britain, Germany, and Canada continued. Of other European sources, Italy remained; Poland and Portugal were added. The principal new sources were Cuba, the Dominican Republic, Mexico, the Philippines, and Vietnam. Mexican immigration was heaviest in California, Texas, and Illinois; Cuban in Florida; Dominican in New York; Italian in Massachusetts, New Jersey, New York, and Pennsylvania; Portuguese in Massachusetts; Polish in Illinois; and Canadian in California, Florida, Michigan, and Massachusetts.

The number of immigrants to the United States declined precipitously between 1900 and 1940 (Carnes and Garraty 258–9), because of restrictive immigration laws. The second half of the century saw a steady increase, but also a diversification. Before 1960, Europe provided more immigrants than any other area; after 1960, Latin America and Asia became the chief sources. Spanish speakers came into every state of the Union, with concentrations of Mexicans in the border states of Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, and California, but also in Illinois (principally the Chicago area). New York and New Jersey received large numbers of Puerto Ricans (who are not counted as immigrants because of the special governmental status of the island). Florida was heavily settled by Cubans and Puerto Ricans.

These changes in immigration patterns will certainly have a significant effect on American society, culture, and language; but it is too early to know the extent and exact nature of that effect.

1.5.7 *Technological changes by the end of the twentieth century*

The economic policies of the Reagan administration (1981–9) were domestically popular, but created the largest budget deficit in the nation's history. By the end of his second term, the United States had ceased to be a creditor nation and had become the largest debtor nation in the world. By the end of the century (1997), however, the five nations with the largest gross domestic product were the United States ($7,834 billion), Japan ($4,190 billion), Germany ($2,092 billion), France ($1,392 billion), and the United Kingdom ($1,296 billion), the US gross domestic product being larger than that of the next three countries combined. The economic

strength of the nation was reflected in and partly resulted from its technological accomplishments and the popular appeal of American culture. The effect of commercial and technological expansion on American society and language has been profound (Boorstin 1973).

Although television broadcasting dates from the 1930s, the widespread use of television came after World War II. In 1949, the United States had a million television sets; in 1951, ten million; in 1959, fifty million.

Cable television transmits signals by means of coaxial or fiber-optic cables. It began in the United States in the 1950s to provide service to areas that otherwise had poor reception because of interference from natural features or tall buildings. In addition to improving reception, cable television offers an increased number of channels, some specializing in weather, news, financial reports, sports, or films. By 1997, the share of the viewing audience held by the three largest networks – ABC, CBS, NBC – had dropped to 49 percent. Three smaller networks – Fox, UPN, Time Warner – had 21 percent. Cable networks such as TNT, ESPN, and PBS (Public Broadcasting Service) had 30 percent.

In 1962, AT&T (American Telephone and Telegraph Company) first relayed television signals overseas by satellite, from the United States to England and France. The Moon landing in 1969, transmitted by satellite, was watched by an estimated one hundred million persons. By the 1970s practically the whole inhabited surface of the planet could receive television signals from any point on Earth relayed by satellites in geostationary orbit, that is, in a fixed position above the earth's surface. An example is CNN (Cable News Network), founded in 1980 to provide live broadcasts of twenty-four-hour news reports. Headquartered in Atlanta, Georgia, CNN has bureaus all over the world, with coverage transmitted by satellite. It gained widespread recognition for its coverage of the Gulf War in 1991, which included broadcasts from inside Iraq during hostilities.

The popularity of VCRs (videocassette recorders) in the 1970s gave new life to old movies. By 1990, the profit from videocassette sales was double that from movies in theaters (Lear 757).

The first electronic digital computers were developed in the 1930s and 1940s. The first generation of commercial computer in the United States was the UNIVAC (Universal Automatic Computer), which used vacuum tubes and was produced in 1951. The second generation of computers used transistors and appeared about 1960. Later in that decade and on into the 1970s, third-generation computers used integrated circuits, miniaturized transistors on a silicon chip that made possible the mass production of faster and cheaper computers. Fourth-generation computers used even

more compressed transistors, the microprocessor, produced in 1974, and RAM (random-access memory) chips, which made possible the desktop computer.

Further technological advances produced ever faster and cheaper computers, making them household items for many Americans and expanding their range of uses. By the end of the century, the growth of CDs (compact disks) containing texts, including reference works like dictionaries and encyclopedias, and the reality of electronic books raised prospects of a readjustment in the use of print media.

The Internet developed from a 1969 Department of Defense communications program, ARPANET (Advanced Research Projects Agency Network), for organizations doing defense work. Academics supported by the NSF (National Science Foundation) adapted it as a connection of many computer networks, which then developed commercial and personal uses. The World Wide Web is an information retrieval service of the Internet that gives access to many Internet sites by a graphical interface. In the 1990s it became a major communication tool and the most important part of the Internet.

One of the earliest activities of the Internet was e-mail (electronic mail), which remains one of its most popular and widely distributed uses. By the end of the century, however, e-commerce, that is, the offering of commodities for purchase on the Internet, became increasingly common.

Fax (from *facsimile*) is a system of transmitting texts and images electronically in digitized form by telephone circuits. It became common in the 1980s.

The development of electronic communication in various forms impacted the print media, and particularly the press – newspapers and magazines. The press has been an influential factor in American life since Colonial days (T. Leonard). Local publications have always abounded; Cincinnati had a newspaper in 1793 serving fewer than 500 citizens. After the Civil War, large urban newspapers grew more prominent; the *New York Times* began before the war as a penny paper, but after the turn of the century became the United States' newspaper of record. The number of dailies peaked in the 1920s, when about 2,600 were published, declining at the end of the century by more than a third.

Automobiles were developed at the end of the nineteenth century in Europe, but quickly spread to the United States, where they were to have their greatest impact (Flink 64). Early European cars were expensive and so primarily for the wealthy; American cars were more primitive but also cheaper, so more affordable. By 1898, 50 companies in the United States

were manufacturing cars, and ten years later that number had increased to 240. One of those was that of Henry Ford, who in 1908 produced his black Model T, popularly dubbed the "tin lizzie," a standardized, assembly-line produced automobile, cheap enough for the mass market. Twenty years later, the automobile had become a normal means of transportation in America and other industrialized countries.

The passenger car became the principal means of transportation for families and ended rural isolation. By the 1990s Americans were driving more than 150 million vehicles for more than 1.5 trillion miles a year. This explosive growth of automotive traffic jammed streets and roads, and led to the creation of the superhighway and the Interstate Highway system. It also produced a new type of accommodation, the motel (the term being first recorded in the *OED* in 1925), a temporary lodging for travelers, usually located on a highway, with parking spaces near the rooms.

Wilbur and Orville Wright built a double-winged plane with an engine and propellers, and in 1903 made the first powered heavier-than-air flight at Kitty Hawk, North Carolina. The World War I military use of airplanes gave impetus to the further development of aviation. After the war, commercial mail-carrying flights were introduced, and further improvements led to the first solo nonstop flight across the Atlantic from New York to Paris by Charles A. Lindbergh in 1927. Improved monoplanes with metal bodies were developed in the 1930s, and jet-engine military aircraft appeared during World War II. In the 1950s, the jetliner became the norm for commercial aircraft, as air travel grew to be the principal form of long-distance transportation in the second half of the twentieth century.

The possibilities of space travel by means of rockets received serious consideration during the early part of the twentieth century. World War II and the preparations leading up to it included research into rocket propulsion for military uses. After Russia launched the first artificial satellite in 1957, the United States followed with the second in 1958. Manned space flights were launched by the Russians and the Americans in 1961. A lunar flight was made in 1969, when Neil Armstrong and Buzz Aldrin became the first humans on the surface of the Moon. During the 1960s to 1980s, unmanned landings, orbitings, and flybys were made to Venus, Mars, Jupiter, Saturn, and Uranus. In 1973, the first American space station was launched; in 1981, the first space shuttle, named *Columbia*, went into operation.

Some way of cooling living space artificially has long been practiced, but not until the twentieth century did air-conditioning become common. The first theater to be air-conditioned was Graumann's in Los Angeles in 1922;

the first fully air-conditioned office building was constructed in San Antonio, Texas, in 1928. Trains were air-conditioned in the 1930s. It was not until the 1950s, however, after World War II that domestic air-conditioning became common through room units and central systems.

Air-conditioning had important effects. It helped to make possible the construction of the glass-walled skyscraper, of which the United Nations Secretariat in New York City (1949) was the paradigm. It also eliminated the need for windows that open, interior courtyards, and air-shafts for ventilation. It permitted the construction of enclosed shopping malls, which have transformed retail business in America. It changed domestic architecture, eliminating a need for porches, overhanging eves, awnings, high ceilings, basements, and upper floors, thus promoting the single-level ranch-house style. It changed the design of automobiles by allowing them to be sealed; factory-installed air-conditioning in cars increased from 10 percent in 1955, to 23 percent in 1965, to 54 percent in 1969, to a standard feature in all cars by 1990. It made possible lunar exploration through the air-conditioned space suit, without which Neil Armstrong would never have stepped onto the surface of the moon and delivered his famous line, "That's one small step for [a] man, one giant leap for mankind."

But air-conditioning especially changed the in-migration patterns of population movement in the United States. Before air-conditioning, summers in the South were steamy with heat and high humidity, and equally hot in much of the West. Air-conditioning reversed the migration of people from the South to the North and created the Sun Belt. In 1910, a net out-migration from the South of 1 million persons a year is estimated, and by 1940, a net out-migration of 2.5 million a year. In the 1960s, the net loss declined to 1 million a year, and in the 1970s and 1980s, the South received a net increase by in-migration from the North of 2.5 to 3 million persons a year. Between 1950 and 1995, the population of Florida increased by 411 percent, that of Texas by 142 percent, and that of Georgia by 109 percent, compared with 36 percent for Illinois and 15 percent for Pennsylvania. Air-conditioning changed the population patterns and thus affected the dialect patterns of America.

Mechanical lifts are ancient; the Roman architect Vitruvius (1st century BC) described them as construction devices. However, the modern passenger elevator became feasible when in 1853 Elisha Otis produced a safety device that prevented the elevator compartment from falling. The first such elevator, driven by steam, was installed in a department store in New York City in 1857. The next major improvement was the use of electric power to

drive the elevator, followed by a series of other technical advances for safety, convenience, speed, and height. The fast, automatic, and reliable elevator helped to make the modern skyscraper possible.

The term *skyscraper* has a first recorded use in 1883 to denote the many-storied, tall building that advances in construction technology had made possible and the growth of urban population and commercial activity called for. The first buildings to be so called were structures of ten to twenty stories, but the term came to be used mainly for buildings at least four times that height. Architectural styles have fluctuated, but the typical image of a skyscraper is the International Style, with simple, straight lines, glass walls, open spaces, and vertical emphasis, which dominated design from the middle of the twentieth century until a reaction to the style set in by the end of the century.

Coca-Cola, one of the products that symbolize America around the world, came into existence in Atlanta, Georgia, in 1886, when a pharmacist developed it as a cure-all tonic and created the script trademark that has identified it ever since. The name reflects the plants that originally furnished ingredients for the drink: the coca leaf and the kola nut. (Coca leaf extracts were omitted after 1905.) Beginning as a tonic sold in local soda fountains, often located in drugstores or pharmacies, Coca-Cola became, through skillful advertising and marketing, the best-known soft drink in the nation. About mid century the nickname *Coke* was trademarked and the drink had become internationally known.

The McDonald's fast-food restaurants are a franchise enterprise whose "golden arches" logo is another visual symbol of American business around the world. Beginning in San Bernardino, California, the name and concept were packaged as a chain with the first branch in Des Plaines, Illinois, in 1955. By the mid 1980s, 7,500 McDonald's outlets were operating around the world. The company continued its expansion, for example by moving into the Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland, and Slovakia in the 1990s, and at the same time announcing it would open branches in India, where it would abandon its staple, the beef hamburger, in deference to Hindu dietary customs. A 1997 collection of anthropological studies, *Golden Arches East*, describes the East Asian use of McDonald's restaurants as community and family centers.

Another American pop culture symbol is the garment variously called jeans, blue jeans, denims, dungarees, and Levi's (a trademark). They were originally workmen's trousers with seams reinforced by copper rivets, manufactured by the San Francisco firm of Levi Strauss in the nineteenth century. Associated with cowboys, jeans became a popular item of apparel

by the middle of the twentieth century and, in various forms, are now worn internationally by both men and women.

The technological developments sketched above resulted in what has been called the "globalization" of culture. Diverse native cultures exist all over the world, and will continue to do so as far into the future as we can imagine, just as diverse regional cultures exist in the United Kingdom and the United States. Yet, also just as a national culture overlies the regional differences of Britain and America, so the global culture is an overlay to the various folkways and mores of native cultures. That global culture has been long in the making and combines diverse influences from many cultures, but its dominant form at the end of the twentieth century was pronouncedly Anglo-American.

1.5.8 *The development of English in the International period*

The internationalization of American interests during the twentieth century had a predictable influence on and by American English. On the one hand, American English became a channel for influences from other languages on English. On the other hand, American joined British as a source of influences from English on other languages. The influences in both directions are most obvious in loanwords. However, the adoption of English as a foreign language or a language of special purposes has the potential of affecting both phonology and grammar by the adopters. The result is an increase in the varieties of nonnative English.

Also significant have been the use of American English as an international language and its influence on other national varieties of the language during the twentieth century. In 1780, John Adams, the second president of the United States, wrote a letter to the president of the Continental Congress, in which he said (Mathews 1931, 42):

> English is destined to be in the next and succeeding centuries more generally the language of the world than Latin was in the last or French is in the present age. The reason of this is obvious, because the increasing population in America, and their universal connection and correspondence with all nations will, aided by the influence of England in the world, whether great or small, force their language into general use.

As improbable as Adams's prediction might have seemed at the time, it was accurate. The combined influence of Great Britain and the United States, not just political, but technological, economic, and cultural, has

advanced the use of the English language beyond that of any other language in human history. The widespread adoption of English is not due to any inherent superiority of the language, but to its practical usefulness in ways that matter to those who adopt it.

An article in the *Chicago Tribune* (February 15, 2000, 1–8/4–5) reported that in Japan

> a government panel released a report called "Japan's Vision for the 21st Century." It concluded that all Japanese should have a practical mastery of English by the time they finish middle school, and that Japan should consider establishing English as its second official language.

The impact of the American variety of English internationally is based heavily on the technological, scientific, commercial, and industrial capacities of the United States. It is also, however, reinforced by cultural considerations. The latter are chiefly pop and youth culture, but in addition include the considerable body of literature the country produced during the twentieth century. American authors whose literary reputation has traveled well beyond the borders of the nation include the following:

- Robert Frost (1874–1963)
- Sinclair Lewis (1885–1951)
- Ezra Pound (1885–1972)
- Eugene O'Neill (1888–1953)
- T. S. Eliot (1888–1965)
- F. Scott Fitzgerald (1896–1940)
- John Dos Passos (1896–1970)
- William Faulkner (1897–1962)
- Ernest Hemingway (1899–1961)
- Vladimir Nabokov (1899–1977)
- Thomas Wolfe (1900–38)
- John Steinbeck (1902–68)
- Isaac Bashevis Singer (1904–91)
- Richard Wright (1908–60)
- Eudora Welty (1909–)
- Tennessee Williams (1911–83)
- Bernard Malamud (1914–86)
- William S. Burroughs (1914–97)
- Ralph Ellison (1914–94)
- Saul Bellow (1915–)
- Arthur Miller (1915–)
- Walker Percy (1916–90)
- Carson McCullers (1917–67)
- J. D. Salinger (1919–)
- Jack Kerouac (1922–69)
- Truman Capote (1924–84)
- James Baldwin (1924–87)
- Flannery O'Connor (1925–64)
- William Styron (1925–)
- Edward Albee (1928–)
- John Barth (1930–)
- Toni Morrison (1931–)
- Sylvia Plath (1932–63)
- John Updike (1932–)
- Philip Roth (1933–)
- Thomas Pynchon (1937–)
- Joyce Carol Oates (1938–)
- Alice Walker (1944–)

As different as some of those authors are from one another, they all expressed themselves in the English of America, and they all reflect qualities of Americanness through that English.

In the decade after mid century, Max Lerner (805) assessed the status of American English:

> American speech is surely one of the richest products of the American experience, at the base of much else that is creative in American popular culture. Abrupt, inventive, muscular, irreverent, it expresses with striking fidelity the energies and rhythm that have gone into the making of the national experience.

American English has variations within it that reflect the variety of sources from which it derives and of experiences that Americans have gone through. Yet, considering the size of the nation in area and population, it is remarkably homogeneous. American English marks off the people of the United States as a separate community in the Anglophone world, with their own characteristics, values, and assumptions. Yet, despite a multitude of differences between it and British English, the two are remarkably similar in their standard forms.

FURTHER READING

An overview of American history by topics is *The Reader's Companion to American History* (Foner and Garraty 1991). The settlement history of America is traced by Bernard Bailyn in *The Peopling of British North America* (1986a) and *Voyagers to the West* (1986b) and by David Hackett Fischer in *Albion's Seed* (1989). Critical surveys of American social history have been made by Max Lerner in *America as Civilization* (1957, 1987) and by Daniel J. Boorstin in the three volumes of *The Americans* (1958, 1965, 1973). A popular, opinionated, and readable social treatment is *A History of the American People* by Paul Johnson (1998).

2 BRITISH AND AMERICAN, CONTINUITY AND DIVERGENCE

John Hurt Fisher

2.1 The continuity of English

British antecedence to American English is reflected first of all by the fact that the language of the United States of America is called "English." Language is the soul of a nation, as Solzhenitsyn expressed it in his Nobel lecture. Cultures are universally identified with languages, and this has been especially true since the emergence of nation states in the Renaissance. The English language is inextricably associated with England. When the American colonists separated from the mother country, it would have been natural for them to adopt another designation for their language. But the separation of the American nation from England after 1776 was schizophrenic, characterized on the one hand by violent rejection of English tyranny, as it was regarded by the American revolutionaries, and on the other by acute nostalgia for their English culture.

The rejection was mirrored by the provisions in the United States Constitution against aristocracy and autocracy. The anti-English sentiment of the Founding Fathers has been treated by all historians of the American Revolution, but best from our point of view by David Simpson, *The Politics of American English, 1776–1850* (1986). At the meetings of the Continental Congress there were half-hearted suggestions that the new nation should adopt another language, such as Hebrew, French, or Greek. But these suggestions were never taken seriously and were capped off by the observation of the Connecticut representative, Roger Sherman, that "it would be more convenient for us to keep the language as it was, and *make the English speak Greek*" (Baron 13).

2.2 Settlement history

More than 95 percent of the immigrants to the original colonies were from Great Britain, having arrived in four migrations, described in most detail by David Hackett Fischer in *Albion's Seed* (1989):