

American Nations

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March 5, 2026

Dedicated to Dr. Fred Johnson

Introduction/overview

We think of America as having a story:

- of Pilgrims seeking religious freedom, who built a shining city on a hill
- creating a place where people from anywhere were welcome, where booming cities welcomed new immigrants
- where freedom of inquiry was valued, and men came to make their fortune in business
- where men like Washington, Jefferson, and Madison, drawing from the traditions of ancient Greece and Rome, became founders of a new Republic
- where freedom-loving men and women struck out on their own to create home and hearth in the wilderness
- and where genuinely new musical traditions were born- in jazz, gospel, and rock'n' roll- and from which Martin Luther King's I Have A Dream speech arose

We think of this as a single common story, though lived through many lifetimes over many years, but these six aspects represent six different cultures- in fact six different nations sharing a national government- according to Colin Woodard's American Nations, published in 2011. We know that different places in America feel different, not only urban vs rural, but are culturally different. We know this, but don't think of how this came to be or, more importantly, what effect this has had on the unfolding of our history. We just know there's a difference between Virginia and Vermont, ayuh.

Woodard's work draws on the seminal Albion's Seed by David Hackett Fischer, which contrasts various folkways between Massachusetts, Virginia, Delaware Valley, Appalachia: practices of child naming, timekeeping, dress, sexual behavior, even the choice of building material and location on a lot. As we'll see, they also differed in voting patterns, attitudes toward government, academia, religion, and human equality.

So tonight I'd like to tell these different American stories to take a very different look at American history, a history where the origins of today's conflicts between red and blue can

be discerned four hundred and fifty years ago, and guiding course of the American Revolution-, our Civil War, and the tumult of the 60's. Buckle up.

First Effective Settlement

This will largely be a recounting of the history that the first settlers of these areas brought with them, how it played out in their new American environments, and how these echoes resound to this day. This may seem odd: aren't we, after all, a nation that saw the arrival of millions and millions of people from other places? What effect could the echo of Pilgrim feet still have? The clanking of human shackles certainly, but the Pilgrims?

Yet this is Wilbur Zelinsky's Doctrine of First Effective Settlement "Whenever an empty territory undergoes settlement, or an earlier population is dislodged by invaders, the specific characteristics of the first group able to effect a viable, self-perpetuating society are of crucial significance for the later social and cultural geography of the area, no matter how tiny the initial band of settlers may have been.... Thus, in terms of lasting impact, the activities of a few hundred, or even a few score, initial colonizers can mean much more for the cultural geography of a place than the contributions of tens of thousands of new immigrants a few generations later." (p 16, citing footnote 8). As Zelinsky notes, "The Dutch may be all but extinct in the lower Hudson valley- and landed aristocracy lost control of the Chesapeake country- but their influence carries on all the same" (p 16)

Overview of the Nations

So before we look at the history of these American nations, let's look at who- and where- we're talking about. Mostly we will be talking about, from north to south:

- Yankeedom
East Anglia to New England
- New Netherland
The Dutch to New York and New Jersey
- Midlands
Quakers from the English Midlands, and Germans, to Pennsylvania
- Tidewater
Southern and western Britain to Virginia and Maryland
- Greater Appalachia
Borderlanders from the north of England and southern Scotland to Appalachia
- The Deep South
English planters in Barbados to the Carolinas and Georgia

Except for New Netherland and Tidewater, which were blocked by others, these nations extended themselves west across the continent, taking their traditions with them. Michigan, you might note, is in Yankeedom.

Before beginning these sagas, I need to point out that, for completeness, Woodard identifies five other nations in North America:

- First Nation
- El Norte
- New France
- The Left Coast
- The Far West

Their stories matter too, and in fact the first three of them predate the six we'll focus on, but to make best use of our time tonight I will say little about them as they have had less effect on our history.

With these understandings, we will get a different perspective on the history we think we know. While drawn in broad strokes, perhaps some of these characterizations make sense to you. Let's look at the origin stories of the six of these which have had the biggest impact on American history.

Origin stories

I will try to understand these stories from the perspective of the histories that these first settlers brought with them, the history they- and their fathers and grandfathers- had already lived before they got here. To do so, I'd like to start with the Civil War- but not the one you're thinking of.

In 1642, Charles I, King of England and Ireland by divine right, was running out of money. These were troubled times: the Thirty Years War had been going for 24 already, fought largely over whether Catholicism or Protestantism should prevail in Europe, with each monarch seeking to enforce his religious preference on his subjects, and if possible on his neighbors as well. Such disturbances had led the dissident Pilgrims to Plymouth twenty years earlier, and now posed a problem for the King, for many in Parliament had rather different ideas on proper worship than the high-church, quasi-Catholic King. But Parliament also had the power to tax- and that was the rub: he might have the church he wanted, or he might have the money he wanted, but he could not have both. Being a king by divine right, it turns out, does not equip one to make such decisions calmly and well. Instead, he tried to take over Parliament, failed, and raised an army in an attempt to impose his will. But one of the things he had needed money for was to pay the army; Parliament

could raise the money, and found a general named Oliver Cromwell to lead its army to victory in the English Civil War. Fast forward a few years and Charles I has been tried for treason and beheaded, his forces scattered, and veterans of the victorious Parliamentary army settled in conquered Ireland, dispossessing many of the locals, much like retired Roman legionnaires. Fast forward a decade more, however, and military dictator Oliver Cromwell has died of natural causes, and his son and successor as Lord Protector of a republican England, Richard Cromwell, has demonstrated that he just doesn't have the stuff his old man did. The country decides that having a king wasn't so bad after all, and Charles's son, agreeing with this, is crowned Charles II, after also agreeing to rule with Parliament instead of against it. He also agrees to allow religious toleration, despite suspected Catholic sympathies. This works reasonably well until his less diplomatic brother and successor James II is more openly Catholic: Parliament invites the safely Protestant William of Orange and his wife Mary (James II's daughter) to claim the throne in the so-called Glorious Revolution. Britain has been reliably Protestant with a largely ceremonial monarch ever since.

A nice BBC costume drama no doubt, but what again does this have to do with America? The answer is twofold:

- It created an extended period of benign neglect of England's American colonies, during which they gained a taste for doing things their own way
- But even more importantly, this is the history that the settlers of those American Nations brought with them.

It's now high time to meet them, and the parts of the country they settled, with consequences that resound to this day.

The Nations

Tidewater

The first of the nations I will describe was established at Jamestown by the Virginia Company as a corporate-owned military base in 1607. Its inhabitants were generally single men who, having heard of the riches and women won from the Aztecs by Cortes 86 years earlier, expected similar treatment from Powhatan and the other Native Americans they found there. However, it was clear to these Indians that the would-be conquistadors were not gods but men poorly prepared for doing the actual work required for survival. Expecting the Indians to provide for their needs, the men were soldiers rather than farmers, digging up mica (which they somehow thought was gold) rather than planting crops. When their food inevitably ran out, they attacked the Indians to try to steal theirs.

The Virginia Company rounded up surplus population from London, Bristol, and other urban centers, but these were sent under a three-year contract as indentured servants rather than slaves, from which they differed in two important ways:

- their status was temporary: when the term of their contract ended, they received 50 or more acres of land if they survived,
- Their children were free

The more indentured servants one could obtain to work the land, the more money one could make, and an estimated 80-90% of the European immigrants in the 17th century were such.

There were also two salient factors of geography:

- Ten years after the establishment of Jamestown it was discovered that tobacco grew marvelously well there, and when shipped back to London it made a great deal of money. Its cultivation required much labor, but not skill, and quickly exhausted the soil.
- A multitude of navigable inlets far up the region's bays and rivers meant that towns were unneeded. Instead, each plantation had its own docks to ship tobacco in exchange for other goods. These could be shipped more cheaply from London than they could be manufactured locally, making the plantations largely self-sufficient.

The ability to construct plantations very much like rural English manors made the Tidewater region a magnet for English Royalists: before the English civil war they had the necessary money and connections, and with Parliament in control they found it convenient to be elsewhere. They not only saw themselves as carrying on the Cavalier tradition, they also harked back to 1066 to see themselves as Norman knights lording it over the Anglo-Saxons peasantry. The distinction between Anglo-Saxons and Normans shows up even today: when on the hoof, we use Anglo-Saxon words cow, sheep, or deer; when on the plate we use the Norman French words beef, mutton, or venison. You can guess who worked, and who ate.

Yankeedom

The Yankee domain was first colonized by the Puritans, staunch Anglo-Saxon Calvinists who believed that they were called by God to be that shining city on the hill. They were convinced they were right, sure enough to march against the king and his army, and well-equipped and disciplined enough to win. No separation of church and state for them in these early days: they expected to control both. As you might expect, the Salem witch trials were their doing. Not for them a gentle live-and-let-live attitude toward other faiths:

they came here for a rigorous Christianity, fleeing religious toleration available under Charles II. Children of the printing press, the Puritans placed great importance on common men (and women?) being able to read the Bible for themselves, and the elite among them were the best educated. While there were notable attempts to convert the Indians rather than enslave them, these efforts met with only modest success. Most important demographically, and unlike the other American Nations, they overwhelmingly came as families.

Finally, these Puritans were the folks who fought on the Parliamentary side, and many of them were in fact from the same county as Oliver Cromwell himself. Being aligned with Parliament, they tended to trust the government, largely because they were accustomed to running it.

New Netherland

New York City was founded as New Amsterdam by the Dutch West India Company as a trading outpost. Rivals of England, the Dutch had fought a series of naval battles for control of the oceans, and wound up on the losing side. Much like late 20th century America, they ruled the oceans, set the standards for international business, had the world's leading universities, and a tradition of religious tolerance. The most important geographical fact of the New Amsterdam was astoundingly good harbor, placed astride the Hudson River, providing easy access north and west to the interior of the continent. Then as now, people did not move there for religious reasons, but to make money. And just as now they came from all over: In 1643 it was estimated to have 500 people, speaking 18 different languages. Sad to say, however, slave trading was just a business.

Deep South

Unlike the other nations, the Deep South was founded not by settlers from the mother country but from Barbados. These planters had become immensely wealthy by producing a certain white, crystalline powder- I mean of course sugar. The Barbados plantations, like others, were started with indentured servants but their masters discovered it was more cost effective to simply work their laborers to death and replace them with slaves brought in from Africa. When their ships arrived in Charleston in 1670, the Barbadian slave lords brought this system with them: while Tidewater was a plantation society in which slaves were present, in the Deep South they were indispensable, outnumbering whites 9:1 in some areas. Like Tidewater, the Deep South attracted English royalists, both Carolinas and Charleston being named for the restored Charles II, and like them harked back to the Normans. After 1660 this slave system was extended to Tidewater, but there it was different: 1 slave to 1.7 whites instead of 5:1. Moreover, rather than being worked to death

Tidewater slaves were able to sustain their numbers by natural increase without requiring an international slave trade, and manumission and the early presence of free Africans in tidewater made slavery a matter of class rather than race there until the 1690s. The sheer brutality of Deep South slavery made it necessary to import thousands of fresh human beings each year, preferably from similar climates elsewhere, i. e. West Africa, or from the natural increase of those held in bondage in Tidewater. This was a caste system, pure and simple, with no hope of a different future for those trapped within it. There could be no sanction to a black male being with any white female, and the whites being so outnumbered made the prospect of a slave insurrection a constant fear. Much like ancient Sparta, the Deep South was militarized and kept in practice by the occasional revolt.

Midlands

Like Yankeedom, the Midlands were settled in response to a religious vision: in this case, that of the wild-eyed, radical, and dangerous Quakers. Amongst their crazy notions was the equality of the sexes, good relations with the Indians, and an antipathy to church hierarchy and to slavery. Driven from England, they happened to receive by happenstance an enormous grant of land, which we know as Pennsylvania, when the eminent Admiral William Penn cashed in a major favor owed to him by King Charles II for his Quaker son William in recompense for the Admiral's services in the English Civil War. In 1682, 23 ships arrived carrying large numbers of families in response to the younger Penn's promotion of political and religious liberty and cheap land. Four years later, the initial population of 2000 had grown to 8000.

Finding themselves on fertile ground, they just wanted to be left alone, and welcomed others, particularly German Protestant families whose homeland had been ravaged by the Thirty Years War, fought between Catholics and Protestants from 1618-48. These "Pennsylvania Deutsch" or Dutch included Amish, Mennonites; and their small but well-run family farms had no need of slaves. These Germans were happy to let Quakers run things, but the Quaker traditions of following ones' own inner light and insistence on consensus decisionmaking made normal political operations nearly impossible: they could not compromise as necessary, count the votes, and move on.

Moreover, peaceful Quakers preferred to honor treaties made with Native American tribes, and even when conflict with them arose they were not inclined to respond with force. Still less were they inclined to displace them to make way for newly arriving Borderlanders, who we will meet next.

Greater Appalachia

Still less were the prosperous, settled Midlanders prepared to accommodate the next group of immigrants, who began to arrive in 1717 from the Borderlands between England and Scotland. These two cultures had different languages (Gaelic in the north) and had been settled by different peoples, various Celtic tribes in the north and the Anglo-Saxons in the south. This region, having been a no-man's-land between them through centuries of war, remained relatively undeveloped, with few cities or roads, and little trade. The land being rocky, the growing season short, they tended to be herdsmen rather than farmers, and the frequent appearance of roving bands of armed men did little to encourage investment in fixed assets.

It had never been home to an effective government but rather a patchwork of shifting clan loyalties, whose inhabitants held to a fierce low-church Presbyterianism, the Covenanters. Being acclimated to violence, they provided a disproportionate share of the armies of the English Civil War. After the war, Oliver Cromwell and the English army invaded Northern Ireland to dispossess the native Catholic population and give much of their land to these Scots-Irish as payment for their military service. The ensuing bitter sectarian conflict divides the Emerald Isle to this day.

These Borderlanders arrived, then, not as traders, enslavers, or religious visionaries but as refugees. The Midlanders initially welcomed them, but the new arrivals found the Midlander regime little to their taste: Government never having been on their side, the Borderlanders had little use for it. Instead, they moved on from the settled lands of eastern Pennsylvania into the Appalachian Mountains. Lacking good roads there, they found it most convenient to turn what excess corn they grew into whiskey. Fiercely independent and violence-prone, the Midlanders were happy to move them along.

Nation	Founding	Ethnic origin	Religion	Geographic impacts
Tidewater VA, MD, DE	Jamestown 1607	Royalist	Anglican Catholic (MD)	Tobacco, navigable rivers
Yankeedom: MA, CT, RI, NH Upper NY	Boston 1621	Parliamentary, East Anglia	Congregational	Land not so good for farming
New Netherland: S NY, NJ	New Amsterdam 1624	Dutch	Reformed Calvinist	New York harbor, Hudson
Deep South: NC, SC, GA	Charleston 1670	Royalists in Barbados		Sugar cane and cotton climate

Midlands NE PA	Philadelphia 1682	English Quakers, Germans	Quaker, Pietist pacifist protestant	Good farming land
Greater Appalachia SW PA, W VA, W NC, W SC	Various (1717)	Scots-Irish borderlanders	Presbyterian Calvinist	Mountain terrain, few towns

Driving American History

With these cultural traditions identified, let's look at the major conflicts in American history through the perspective of these groups: the American Revolution, The American Civil War, and into our own time.

It is important to note here that these cultural boundaries have only a limited relation to political ones. In particular, New York was divided between New Netherland and Yankeedom, and Pennsylvania was divided between coastal Midlanders and inland Borderlanders. Substantial Borderlander populations also made their way to the western portions of Tidewater and the Deep South colonies.

Had political boundaries better aligned with cultural ones, matters might have unfolded much differently. Human nature being what it is, however, artificial political boundaries are remarkably static. So alone of these six Nations, the Borderlanders did not control a colonial government, and having few and isolated towns were not really a colony at all. They did, however, make an effective buffer against the remaining Indians farther west, Borderlander folk were typically not seen as being ready for political representation, particularly in the Deep South, and were largely excluded, which was to have consequences.

In Pennsylvania, for example, Borderlanders had long taken matters aggressively into their own hands, displaced native Americans, some of whom fled to Quaker settlements, which in turn had led the Borderlanders to march on Philadelphia on a rainy day in 1764. Midlanders rallied to defend their encircled city, and even Quakers took up arms, but the lower class Scots Irish in the city sympathetic to the besiegers outside it. In the end, conflict was averted by Ben Franklin and others, who negotiated proper representation for the Borderlanders if they would agree to peaceably go home.

Revolution

So it was that when the American Revolution came, and leaders among these colonial governments gathered in the First Continental Congress, they found that their cultural nations had very different responses to it. Well-organized Yankeedom supported the rebellion, mercantile New Netherland largely loyalist, Tidewater split between patriot Piedmont and loyalists south of the Rappahannock, the pacifist Midlands neutral but effectively loyalist, and the Deep South keen to do as little as possible that might lead to a slave insurrection. Greater Appalachia provided some of the most fervent supporters of both sides, depending which one was locally viewed as the greater threat to individual liberty. The Borderlanders were in any event interested in throwing off the dominance of their respective colonial governments- in which they were notably underrepresented. So feckless was Pennsylvania's government that Congress overthrew it with the assistance of the Borderlanders in order to keep Pennsylvania in the war. The southernmost colony, Georgia, even voted to rejoin Britain: they were by no means united states.

Constitution

At the close of the Revolution, the colonial- now state- governments establish a loose association under the Articles of Confederation. Lacking a strong central government, these state governments are left to run their own affairs, no doubt what many of their legislators had in mind. The need for strong central authority seen by Alexander Hamilton of New York, leading merchants, and veterans of the Continental Army, whose wartime privations as a result of government fecklessness was the stuff of legend at Valley Forge.

Although the word "slave" appears nowhere in it, Slave trade is guaranteed in the Constitution until the year 1808 (Article I, section 9 clause 1), support against slave insurrections (Article I section 8, clause 15), fugitive slave clause (Article IV section 2). Protection against "domestic violence Article IV Section 4) Even the Second Amendment can be seen as providing a means for white citizens. This was reinforced by the so-called gag rule, adopted in 1836, that forbade even discussion of anti-slavery petitions in the House of Representatives.

According to Woodard, p148, the Constitution is a compromise involving elements important to each section: in addition to the slavery guarantees, the gentry of Tidewater and the Deep South obtained a strong executive selected indirectly, by the Electoral College, rather than directly by the people, which they dominated until 1828, taking eight of the first 9 Presidential terms. The Dutch traditions of New Netherland gave us the Bill of Rights, protecting individual liberty, and New York refused to join the Union without it. State sovereignty was insisted upon by the Midlands to avoid Yankee meddling or Southern

domination, while the Yankees obtained a Senate in which small states secured equal representation and the three fifths clause limited slaveholding representation in the House.

As you may have noticed, the Borderlanders got nothing in this arrangement: having had no representation in the Continental Congress, and now only a partial hold on power in Pennsylvania, they opposed the Constitution. War veterans, disproportionately Borderlander, had been paid in nearly-worthless paper money by the Congress. This was then bought up at a discount by eastern speculators only to then be made redeemable in gold and silver. The final straw was a tax on whiskey, which itself had been used by them as a medium of exchange. Lacking hard money but taxed nonetheless, Borderlanders revolted in the so-called Whiskey Rebellion, which was crushed by President George Washington riding at the head of a Federal army composed of poor Midlanders and Tidewaterites.

Civil War

As has been noted elsewhere, the different cultures brought different attitudes toward scientific and technological progress and entrepreneurialism led to differences in economic and ultimately military power. Apart from the cotton gin, under a slave labor system there was less incentive for labor saving devices, in fact they might actually devalue the vast amounts of capital that the enslaved represented to their owners.

While often called the War Between the States, this does not reflect the underlying sectional differences within the states: in Woodard's view, it is best seen as a war between the two wealthiest regions, Yankeedom on one hand and the Deep South (with its Tidewater satellite) on the other, with states in between on familiar cultural lines. The Midlanders and Appalachians themselves considered splitting off; the Appalachian sections of Southern states were the most pro-Union. Appalachian West Virginia did secede from Tidewater Virginia, for example. The Deep South's deep economic and cultural commitment to slave labor reduced the incentive towards mechanization, while the North labored under no such limitation. The rapid population growth in the North was fueled by immigration: folks who had had enough of the old aristocracy at home had little desire to move to a new one in the South, and this growth of population translated to an increasing preponderance in the House of Representatives. To counterbalance this, the South needed to add new slaveholding states for their Senate votes on land obtained forcibly from the Native Americans, from Mexico, or in the Caribbean. The Supreme Court was still theirs, but the House was lost and the Senate was going: should the Presidency also fall, the Yankee coalition would at last have the power to eliminate slavery, and with it the way of life the South had known for nearly 200 years.

Despite his promise to allow slavery to remain in those states where it existed, Lincoln's election prompted the Deep South to begin the secession process immediately upon it. Tidewater Virginia, Maryland, and Delaware, however, did not, Virginia not seceding until May when Lincoln called for troops in response to the shelling of Sumter, with Maryland and Delaware remaining in the Union.

New Netherland's relevant value here was tolerance, in this case of slaveholding, rather than morality: having been involved in the slave trade it was disinclined to abolish it. The Midlands traditions of antislavery and pacifism were in conflict here, but the Midlanders voted overwhelmingly for Lincoln: for them, the attack on Sumter was decisive. As during the Revolution, the attitude of the Borderlanders was driven by which was perceived to be the greater threat to their freedom. In this case, it was between meddling Yankees eager to impose their morals- and racial views-on others, or imperious southern planters, who had been denying them fair political representation in state governments.

Despite the Deep South's assumption that a common belief in white supremacy would bind Greater Appalachia to their cause, the Confederate Secretary of State, Richard Lathers, warned Jefferson Davis "There will be no compromise with Secession if war is forced upon the North" p 231. Feeling that the long-awaited moment had arrived, Davis ordered the American flag at Fort Sumter to be fired upon. As a symbol of the only government that, since the election of Andrew Jackson, had even remotely been on their side, this aroused Greater Appalachia to support the Union in one of the greatest, and most consequential, miscalculations in American history.

We know how that story ends. But as the echoes of Appomattox faded, so by 1876 did the Yankee appetite for Reconstructing the South. Federal troops went home, leaving the freedmen to the mercies of their former owners.

To quote Woodard at length :

Not only did the occupation fail to achieve most of its goals, it unified the three southern nations against them to an extent never before seen.

Scholars have long recognized that "the South" as a unified entity didn't really come into existence until *after* the Civil War. It was the resistance to the Yankee-led Reconstruction that brought this Dixie bloc together to ultimately include even Appalachian people who'd fought against the Confederacy during the war.

Their institutions and racial caste system under attack, Deep Southerners and Tidewaterites organized their resistance around the one civic institution they still controlled: their churches.... Unlike the dominant denominations in Yankeedom, Southern Baptists and evangelicals were becoming what religious scholars have

termed “Private Protestants”, as opposed to the “Public Protestants” that dominated in the North. Private Protestants believed the world was inherently corrupt and sinful, particularly after the shocks of the Civil War. Their emphasis wasn’t on the social gospel- an effort to transform the world in preparation for Christ’s second coming, but rather on *personal* salvation.

It was in this corrupted, hopelessly fallen world that the myth of the Lost Cause was born, and for this reason that the end of Reconstruction was known to southerners as the Redemption.

Yet despite a common myth, the three nations of the South had different responses to it. In Tidewater and the Deep South, the Redemption meant that whites could reassert effective control over African Americans who, though no longer enslaved, were economically dominated nonetheless. Through centuries of tradition, they largely did what they were told by the planter elite, in the voting booth and elsewhere. In Appalachia, there was less of a planter elite, there were fewer blacks and those that were there, perhaps partly influenced by Borderlander individualism, had less of a tradition of deference to whites. However, the war’s economic devastation, and the region’s relative poverty to begin with, meant that poor whites competed more directly with blacks. The result was the Ku Klux Klan, which grew largely in rural Greater Appalachia, wreaking new horror upon the formerly enslaved while giving a sense of power to impoverished whites.

Immigration

After Reconstruction, the Deep South, Tidewater, and Appalachia returned to their insularity, while the great cities of New Netherland and the Midlands welcomed millions of immigrants, having been multicultural from the beginning. As the immigrants remained concentrated in these cities their cultural impact was diluted in the regions at large, leaving much of the founding culture intact. Yankeedom was a different story. Never having been known for tolerance, their cultural response was an insistence on free, compulsory public, education for all ages. In the words of Yankee Horace Mann, regarded as the father of American public education, “A foreign people, born and bred and dwarfed under the despotisms of the Old World, cannot be turned into the full stature of American citizens merely by a voyage across the Atlantic, or by subscribing the oath of naturalization.” This focus on secular education was sometimes contentious, as many of the immigrants were Catholic, but in Woodard’s words (both quotes p 259) “The notion of America having been a “melting pot” in which immigrants were transmuted into “Anglo-Protestant Americans” really refers to a Yankee remedy intimately tied to the folkways of a covenanted, utopia-building people who were themselves almost entirely English in origin”. In service of this, historians at Harvard and Yale set about creating a national history, starting with the

hitherto forgotten Pilgrim voyage in which the Puritans were cast, with no apparent irony, as champions of religious freedom. It is perhaps needless to say that, although adopted in New Netherland and the Midlands on a voluntary basis, calls for free public education were not well received in Appalachia and the Deep South, where many state constitutions actually forbade spending public money on adult education.

Religion

The same Yankee moralizing crusade that had launched the abolition of slavery drove further amendments to the Federal Constitution: Prohibition in 1919, seen both as anti-Catholic and a direct assault on the Appalachian way of life; woman suffrage in 1920, which enfranchised African American women, was seen as yet another Federal assault upon the South.

The themes of education and religion collided in the Scopes trial in 1925, in which a schoolteacher was charged with teaching evolution, in contravention to Tennessee state law. While Scopes was convicted, the national media's portrayal of the fundamentalist, literalist Christianity bringing the charges largely discredited it. Driven underground, parallel religious and educational structures were constructed, both independent of Northern ones and segregated by race.

60's

As in ancient Greece and Rome, groups newly asked to join in the defense of the realm expect voting rights in return. So African American participation in WWII, fighting in defense of a country that had sorely oppressed them, added to the balance on the promissory note that Martin Luther King cited in his magnificent speech. But Jackie Robinson at first base for the Dodgers in 1947, Brown vs the Board of Education in 1954, the National Guard at the Alabama schoolhouse door in 1963, and the Voting Rights Act of 1965 were all seen as cultural and governmental power being exerted on behalf of a Northern agenda, and against the traditional ways and power structures of the South.

This enforced equality created the conditions for Nixon's Southern Strategy, in which Republican outreach transferred the political alignment of the Deep South from the Democratic party, which had predated the Civil War, to the Solid- and largely impoverished-south of Red America. Suppress unions, but give poor whites someone to look down on, and you won't have to pay them as much.

In our own day it should be no surprise that other things perceived as enforced equalities, such as trans rights or DEI, find resistance there. Nor, in view of their history, should we be surprised that gun rights are tremendously important in rural, and largely Borderlander,

America, while the Federal government is viewed with deep suspicion there. Nor should we be surprised that environmentalism, seeking the good of a community reaching beyond our species, rather than an individual right to dispose of one's trash as one sees fit, is of Yankee origin. On the other hand, if the Rapture is imminent does the snail darter, or an obscure owl, really matter? If America is to be made great again, which America is it to be?

Throughout this history there runs a great irony: Yankeedom was founded to establish a Bible-based political order, which its descendants now vociferously oppose, as their focus on secular education and scientific understanding has led them away from traditional religion. On the other hand, it is their opponents who have felt aggrieved by the government, just as did the Puritans under Charles I.

It is my hope that, with a deeper understanding of our cultural histories, we might have a greater appreciation for our flawed Republic, and a deeper sympathy for those with whom we share it.

Appendices

Timeline

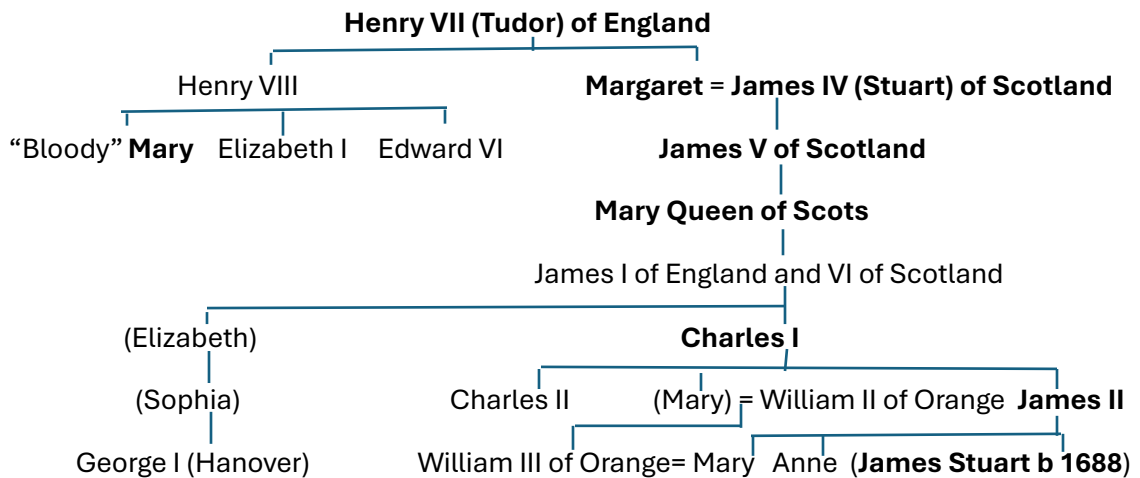
1066	Norman Conquest of Anglo-Saxon England
1439	Gutenberg's printing press
1492	Columbus discovers New World
1517	Martin Luther's 95 Theses
1581	Founding of Dutch Republic: indep from Spain during 80 Years War (1568-1648)
1607	Jamestown founded (Tidewater)
1611	King James (I) Bible published
1618-48	Thirty Years War: Catholics vs Protestants, Germany devastated
1620	Voyage of the Mayflower: Puritans to New England (Yankeedom)
1624	New Amsterdam founded (New Netherlands)

English Civil Wars: English nobility generally Anglican, Scots Presbyterian, Army Puritan, Irish Catholic

1642	King Charles I needs money, attempts to seize Parliament, fails, raises army (Cavaliers)
1645	Battle of Naseby: P's New Model Army (Roundheads) defeats Cavaliers, Charles imprisoned
1648	Army purges Parliament, Cromwell takes power, veterans to Ulster in Ireland
1649	Charles I tried for treason and executed; England a Commonwealth, Charles II to France

1658	Death of Cromwell, son unable to rule effectively, Parliament reconstituted
1660	Restoration: Charles II recalled from France as King with Parliament, Puritans emigrate
1665-7	Future James II takes New Amsterdam in Second Anglo-Dutch War
1670	Charleston founded (Deep South)
1682	Philadelphia founded (Midlands)
1688	Glorious Revolution: Parliament deposes James II, invites William III and Mary to reign
1690	Battle of the Boyne in Ireland: William III crushes James II's attempt to retake throne
1717	First wave of Borderlanders arrives (Greater Appalachia)

Selected rulers of Britain



(Those in **bold** were Catholic, those in parentheses did not rule. Dynastic names in paren after first ruler)