

UNIT 4 — Period 4: 1800–1848

Topic 4.1

Contextualizing Period 4

Learning Objective: Explain the context in which the republic developed from 1800 to 1848.

In the first half of the 19th century, the young nation expanded economically, politically, and culturally. Economically this meant taking advantage of new lands, new forms of transportation, and new industries. Politically it meant allowing more people to participate directly in their democracy. Culturally it meant developing distinctively American expressions of literature and art. In 1826, in the midst of the years covered in this period, the young nation of the United States celebrated its 50th birthday with great optimism. The founders of the country were passing on, and a new generation was taking over leadership. In this period, the leaders dealt with the challenges that accompanied the development of the young nation.

Independence had been declared, a Revolutionary War won, a Constitution written and ratified, and a new government established. Between 1800 and 1848, the United States went through rapid demographic, economic, and territorial growth as the new republic worked to define itself. In 1800, the country extended from the Atlantic Ocean to the Mississippi River. By 1848, it controlled territory all the way to the Pacific Ocean.

Reforms, Revivals, and Identity In response to this growth, the country reformed several institutions and practices. It expanded participation in political parties. By dropping property ownership as a requirement to vote, nearly all adult White males could cast ballots. By using nominating conventions, more people could help choose party candidates. More public school laws were enacted to educate the children. Reforms were made to prisons and asylums to make them more humane. A religious revival, an awakening, spread across the country. Much of this development of rights and reforms still excluded American Indians, African Americans, and all women.

The country developed its own art, literature, and philosophy to reflect a sense of itself as independent from Europe. In this sense, the country developed a national culture. However, different sections of the country also continued to grow more distinctive. Slavery shaped a distinctively southern way of life, while the northeastern states became more focused on commerce and the Midwest region on agriculture.

Markets, Farming, and Manufacturing These changes took place as a market economy emerged. People became less dependent on what they raised or made for themselves and more involved in buying and selling goods. The country benefited from the addition of fertile land farther west and advances in industry and transportation everywhere. Agriculture and manufacturing grew together, with the help of local, state, and federal governments to build roads, canals, and harbors. New technology made both farming and manufacturing more productive. The greater reliance on markets meant that more men worked away from home and women had greater control over homelife.

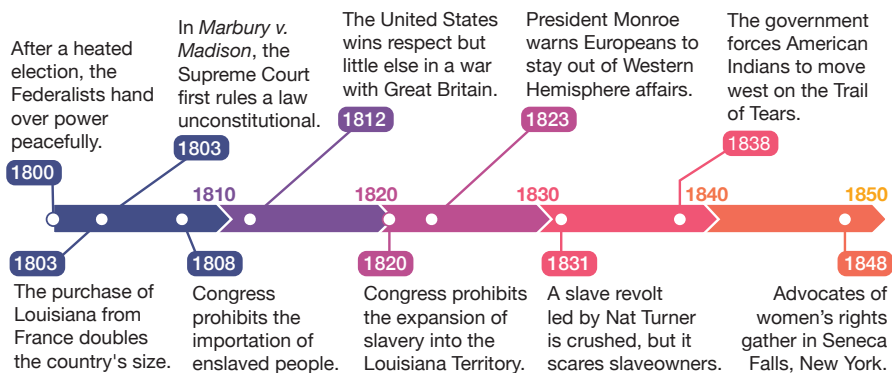
National Strength and Signs of Division In this period, the country grew stronger and larger. Politically, President Andrew Jackson, elected in 1828 and 1832, led efforts to solidify the power of the federal government over states. In general, the United States promoted foreign trade (particularly the export of cotton) but avoided entanglement in European diplomatic affairs and wars. Efforts to improve life succeeded for many but not those enslaved. Landmarks in the institution of slavery came earlier, with the development of the cotton gin in 1793 and the end of the importation of enslaved Africans in 1808. With the territorial and economic growth, conflict with American Indians continued while rising concerns over slavery focused on whether it should be allowed in the newly acquired lands.

As this period ended, most people had a positive view of a prosperous country. However, some recognized that the growing regional differences and the question of whether to allow slavery to expand into new states and territories needed to be resolved.

ANALYZE THE CONTEXT

1. Explain a historical context for the development of a reform movement during this period.
2. Explain a historical context for the forces that brought about the market revolution that affected all of the people of the young nation.

LANDMARK EVENTS: 1800-1848



The Rise of Political Parties and the Era of Jefferson

But every difference of opinion is not a difference of principle. We have called by different names brethren of the same principle. We are all Republicans, we are all Federalists.

Thomas Jefferson, First Inaugural Address, 1801

Learning Objective: Explain the causes and effects of policy debates in the early republic.

Despite President Washington's warning against forming political parties, two groups quickly emerged in the new republic. The Federalists, following the visions of Alexander Hamilton, and the Democratic-Republicans, espousing Thomas Jefferson's views, competed for public approval and control of the government.

The Election of 1800

During Adams's presidency, the Federalists rapidly lost popularity. People disliked the Alien and Sedition Acts. Further, they complained about the new taxes imposed to pay for a possible war against France. Though Adams avoided war, he had persuaded Congress that building up the U.S. Navy was necessary for the nation's defense.

Establishment of Political Parties The presidential election of 1800 provided the first election with a clear choice between political parties. The Federalist Party stood for a stronger national government and leaned toward Great Britain in European affairs. The Democratic-Republican Party emphasized the powers reserved to states and leaned toward the French.

Both parties supported tariffs on imports as a way to raise revenue. Throughout the 19th century, tariffs would be the largest single source of revenue for the federal government. The debate on tariffs broke down on regional lines. Northern industrialists wanted higher tariffs to protect their companies from foreign competition. Southerners relied on exports of cotton and other crops. They pushed for lower tariffs in order to encourage trade.

Election Results Determining the winner of the 1800 presidential election was complicated. According to the original Constitution, each member of the Electoral College cast two votes for president. The winner became president, and the second-place finisher became vice president. In 1800, a majority of the presidential electors cast their ballots for two Democratic-Republicans: one for Thomas Jefferson and one for Aaron Burr. The two tied for the presidency. As the Constitution required, the House of Representatives voted to choose the winner, with each state allowed one vote. They debated and voted for days before they finally gave a majority to Jefferson. (Alexander Hamilton had urged his followers to support Jefferson, whom he considered less dangerous and of higher character than Burr.)

Democratic-Republican lawmakers elected in 1800 also took control of both the House and the Senate in the elections. So the Federalists had been swept from power in both the executive and legislative branches of the U.S. government.

A Peaceful Revolution The passing of power in 1801 from one political party to another was accomplished without violence. This was a rare event for the times and a major indication that the U.S. constitutional system would endure the various strains that were placed upon it. The Federalists quietly accepted their defeat in the election of 1800 and peacefully relinquished control of the federal government to Jefferson's party, the Democratic-Republicans. The change from Federalist to Democratic-Republican control is known as the Revolution of 1800.

Jefferson's Presidency

During his first term, Jefferson attempted to win the allegiance and trust of Federalist opponents by maintaining the national bank and debt-repayment plan of Hamilton. In foreign policy, he carried on the neutrality policies of Washington and Adams. At the same time, Jefferson retained the loyalty of Democratic-Republican supporters by adhering to his party's guiding principle of limited central government. He reduced the size of the military, eliminated a number of federal jobs, repealed the excise taxes—including those on whiskey—and lowered the national debt. However, hoping to avoid internal divisions that distracted Washington, he appointed only Democratic-Republicans to his cabinet. Compared to Adams's troubled administration, Jefferson's first four years in office were relatively free of discord.

The Louisiana Purchase

The single most important achievement of Jefferson's first administration was the acquisition by purchase of vast western lands known as the Louisiana Territory. This region encompassed a large tract of western land through which the Mississippi and Missouri rivers flowed, land little explored by Europeans. At the mouth of the Mississippi lay the territory's most valuable property in terms of commerce—the port of New Orleans.

The Louisiana Territory had once been claimed by France, which then lost its claim to Spain. But in 1800, the French military and political leader Napoleon Bonaparte secretly forced Spain to give the Louisiana Territory back to France. Napoleon hoped to restore the French empire in the Americas. By 1803, however, Napoleon had lost interest in this plan for two reasons:

- He wanted to concentrate French resources on fighting Great Britain
- A rebellion led by Toussaint Louverture against French rule on the island of Santo Domingo had resulted in heavy French losses.

U.S. Interest in the Mississippi River During Jefferson's presidency, the western frontier extended beyond Ohio and Kentucky into the Indiana Territory. Settlers in this region depended for their economic existence on transporting goods on rivers that flowed westward into the Mississippi and southward as far as New Orleans. They were greatly alarmed therefore when, in 1802, Spanish officials, who were still in charge of New Orleans, closed the port to Americans. They revoked the *right of deposit* granted in the Pinckney Treaty of 1795, which had allowed American farmers tax-free use of the port. People on the frontier clamored for government action. In addition to being concerned about the economic impact of the closing of New Orleans, President Jefferson was troubled by its consequences on foreign policy. He feared that so long as a foreign power controlled the river at New Orleans, the United States risked entanglement in European affairs.

Negotiations Jefferson sent ministers to France with instructions to offer up to \$10 million for both New Orleans and a strip of land extending from that port eastward to Florida. If the American ministers failed in their negotiations with the French, they were instructed to begin discussions with Britain for a U.S.-Britain alliance. Napoleon's ministers, seeking funds for a war against Britain, offered to sell not only New Orleans but also the entire Louisiana Territory for \$15 million. The opportunity to purchase so much land surprised American ministers. They quickly went beyond their instructions and accepted the French offer.

Constitutional Predicament Jefferson and most Americans strongly approved of the Louisiana Purchase. Nevertheless, a constitutional problem troubled the president. Jefferson was committed to a **strict interpretation** of the Constitution and rejected Hamilton's argument that certain powers were implied. No clause in the Constitution explicitly stated that a president could purchase foreign land.

In this case, Jefferson determined to set aside his idealism for the country's good. He submitted the purchase agreement to the Senate, arguing that lands could be added to the United States as an application of the president's power to make treaties. Federalist senators criticized the treaty. However, casting aside the Federalist attacks, the Democratic-Republican majority in the Senate quickly ratified the purchase.

THE LOUISIANA PURCHASE, 1803



Consequences The Louisiana Purchase more than doubled the size of the United States, removed a European presence from the nation's borders, and extended the western frontier to lands beyond the Mississippi. Furthermore, the acquisition of millions of acres of land strengthened Jefferson's hopes that his country's future would be based on an agrarian society of independent farmers rather than Hamilton's vision of an urban and industrial society. In political terms, the Louisiana Purchase increased Jefferson's popularity and showed the Federalists to be a weak, sectionalist (New England-based) party that could do little more than complain about Democratic-Republican policies.

Lewis and Clark Expedition Even before Louisiana was purchased, Jefferson had persuaded Congress to fund a scientific exploration of the trans-Mississippi West to be led by Captain Meriwether Lewis and Lieutenant William Clark. The Louisiana Purchase greatly increased the importance of the expedition. Lewis and Clark set out from St. Louis in 1804, crossed the Rockies, reached the Oregon coast on the Pacific Ocean, and then turned back and completed the return journey in 1806. The benefits of the expedition were many: greater geographic and scientific knowledge of the region, stronger U.S.

claims to the Oregon Territory, better relations with American Indians, and more accurate maps and land routes for fur trappers and future settlers.

Judicial Impeachments

Jefferson tried various methods for overturning past Federalist measures and appointments. Soon after entering office, he suspended the Alien and Sedition Acts and released those jailed under them. The Federalist appointments to the courts previously made by Washington and Adams were not subject to recall or removal except by impeachment. Federalist judges therefore continued in office, much to the annoyance of the Democratic-Republican president, Jefferson. Hoping to remove partisan Federalist judges, Jefferson supported a campaign of impeachment. The judge of one federal district was found to be mentally unbalanced. The House voted for his impeachment, and the Senate then voted to remove him. The House also impeached a Supreme Court justice, Samuel Chase, but the Senate acquitted him after finding no evidence of “high crimes.”

Except for these two cases, the impeachment campaign was largely a failure, as almost all the Federalist judges remained in office. Even so, the threat of impeachment caused the judges to be more cautious and less partisan in their decisions.

Jefferson's Reelection

In 1804, Jefferson won reelection by an overwhelming margin, receiving all but 14 of the 176 electoral votes. His second term was marked by growing difficulties. He faced a plot by his former vice president, Aaron Burr. The Democratic-Republican Party split, with a faction (the “Quids”) accusing him of abandoning the party’s principles. Foreign troubles came from the Napoleonic wars in Europe.

Aaron Burr

A Democratic-Republican caucus (a closed meeting) in 1804 decided not to nominate Aaron Burr for a second term as vice president. Burr then embarked on a series of ventures, one of which threatened to break up the Union and another of which resulted in the death of Alexander Hamilton.

Federalist Conspiracy Secretly forming a political pact with some radical New England Federalists, Burr planned to win the governorship of New York in 1804, unite that state with the New England states, and then lead this group of states to secede from the nation. Most Federalists followed Alexander Hamilton in opposing Burr, who was defeated in the New York election. The conspiracy then disintegrated.

Duel with Hamilton Angered by an insulting remark attributed to Hamilton, Burr challenged the Federalist leader to a duel and fatally shot him. Hamilton’s death in 1804 deprived the Federalists of their last great leader and earned Burr the enmity of many.

Trial for Treason By 1806, Burr's intrigues had turned westward with a plan to take Mexico from Spain and possibly unite it with Louisiana under his rule. Learning of the conspiracy, Jefferson ordered Burr's arrest and trial for treason. Presiding at the trial was Chief Justice of the Supreme Court John Marshall, a long-time adversary of Jefferson. A jury acquitted Burr, basing its decision on Marshall's narrow definition of treason and the lack of witnesses to any "overt act" by Burr.

John Marshall's Supreme Court and Federal Power

One Federalist official continued to have major influence throughout the years of Democratic-Republican ascendancy: John Marshall. His decisions consistently favored the central government and the rights of property against the advocates of states' rights.

John Marshall

Ironically, the Federalist judge who caused Jefferson the most grief was one of his own cousins from Virginia, John Marshall. Marshall had been appointed chief justice of the Supreme Court during the final months of the presidency of John Adams. He held his post for 34 years, during which time he exerted as strong an influence on the Supreme Court as Washington had exerted on the presidency. Even when justices appointed by Democratic-Republican presidents formed a majority on the Court, they often sided with Marshall because they were persuaded that the U.S. Constitution had created a federal government with strong and flexible powers.



Source: Getty Images

In 1955, John Marshall became one of the first Supreme Court justices to appear on a postage stamp. It came at a time when the Supreme Court was asserting the power of the federal courts to protect individual liberties, particularly against racial discrimination and unconstitutional criminal proceedings (see Topics 8.6 and 8.11).

Influential Cases

Several of Marshall's decisions became landmarks that defined the relationship between the central government and the states. First and foremost of these was *Marbury v. Madison* (1803), which established the principle of **judicial review**.

***Marbury v. Madison* (1803)** The first major case decided by Marshall put him in direct conflict with President Jefferson. Just before leaving office, President John Adams made several “midnight appointments” of Federalists as judges. However, their commissions were not formally delivered before Jefferson took office. Jefferson wanted to block these appointments, so he ordered the new secretary of state, James Madison, not to deliver the commissions. One of the Adams appointees, William Marbury, sued for his commission. The case of *Marbury v. Madison* went to the Supreme Court in 1803. Marshall ruled that Marbury had a right to his commission according to the Judiciary Act passed by Congress in 1789. However, Marshall said the Judiciary Act of 1789 had given to the Court greater power than the Constitution allowed. Therefore, the law was unconstitutional and Marbury would not receive his commission.

In effect, Marshall sacrificed what would have been a small Federalist gain (the appointment of Marbury) for a much larger, long-term judicial victory. By ruling a law of Congress to be unconstitutional, Marshall established the doctrine of *judicial review*. From this point on, the Supreme Court would exercise the power to decide whether an act of Congress or of the president was allowed by the Constitution. The Supreme Court could now overrule actions of the other two branches of the federal government.

***Fletcher v. Peck* (1810)** In a case involving land fraud in Georgia, Marshall concluded that a state could not pass legislation invalidating a contract. This was the first time that the Supreme Court declared a state law to be unconstitutional and invalid. (In *Marbury v. Madison*, the Court ruled a federal law unconstitutional.)

***Martin v. Hunter's Lease* (1816)** The Supreme Court established that it had jurisdiction over state courts in cases involving constitutional rights.

***Dartmouth College v. Woodward* (1819)** This case involved a law of New Hampshire that changed Dartmouth College from a privately chartered college into a public institution. The Marshall Court struck down the state law as unconstitutional, arguing that a contract for a private corporation could not be altered by the state.

***McCulloch v. Maryland* (1819)** Maryland attempted to tax the Second Bank of the United States, which was located in Maryland. Marshall ruled that a state could not tax a federal institution because “the power to tax is the power to destroy” and federal laws are supreme over state laws. In addition, Marshall settled the long-running debate over constitutionality of the national bank. Using a loose interpretation of the Constitution, Marshall ruled that, even though no clause in the Constitution specifically mentions a national bank, the Constitution gave the federal government the **implied power** to create one.

***Cohens v. Virginia* (1821)** A pair of brothers named Cohen were convicted in Virginia of illegally selling tickets for a lottery authorized by Congress for Washington, D.C. While Marshall and the Court upheld the conviction, they established the principle that the Supreme Court could review a state court's decision involving any of the powers of the federal government.

***Gibbons v. Ogden* (1821)** Could the state of New York grant a monopoly to a steamboat company if that action conflicted with a charter authorized by Congress? In ruling that the New York monopoly was unconstitutional, Marshall established the federal government's broad control of interstate commerce.

Madison's Presidency

Jefferson believed strongly in the precedent set by Washington of voluntarily retiring from the presidency after a second term. For his party's nomination for president, he supported his close friend, Secretary of State James Madison.

The Election of 1808

Ever since leading the effort to write and ratify the Constitution, Madison was widely viewed as a brilliant thinker. He had worked tirelessly with Jefferson in developing the Democratic-Republican Party. On the other hand, he was a weak public speaker, possessed a stubborn temperament, and lacked Jefferson's political skills. With Jefferson's backing, Madison was nominated for president by a caucus of congressional Democratic-Republicans. Other factions of the Democratic-Republican Party nominated two other candidates. Even so, Madison was able to win a majority of electoral votes and to defeat both his Democratic-Republican opponents and the Federalist candidate, Charles Pinckney.

REFLECT ON THE LEARNING OBJECTIVE

1. Explain what caused the major political disputes and the consequences of them during the early years of the new nation.

KEY TERMS BY THEME

Decisions (NAT, POL)

Thomas Jefferson
Louisiana Purchase
Aaron Burr

Exploration (GEO)

Lewis and Clark

Supreme Court (PCE)

strict interpretation
John Marshall
judicial review
Marbury v. Madison
Fletcher v. Peck

McCulloch v. Maryland

Dartmouth College v. Woodward
Gibbons v. Ogden
implied powers

MULTIPLE-CHOICE QUESTIONS

Questions 1–3 refer to the following excerpt.

“All, too, will bear in mind this sacred principle, that though the will of the majority is in all cases to prevail, that will to be rightful must be reasonable; that the minority possess their equal rights, which equal law must protect, and to violate would be oppression. . . . We have called by different names brethren of the same principle. We are all Republicans, we are all Federalists. If there be any among us who would wish to dissolve this Union or to change its republican form, let them stand undisturbed as monuments of the safety with which error of opinion may be tolerated where reason is left free to combat it. . . .

Equal and exact justice to all men, of whatever state or persuasion, religious or political; peace, commerce, and honest friendship with all nations, entangling alliances with none.”

Thomas Jefferson, First Inaugural Address, 1801

1. Which of the following describes a policy of Jefferson’s that reflects the attitude toward Federalists expressed in this speech?
 - (A) He adopted a Federalist plan for increasing the size of the military.
 - (B) He appealed to Federalists by increasing taxes to pay for new roads.
 - (C) He attempted to gain the trust of Federalists by continuing the national bank.
 - (D) He showed that party was unimportant by appointing some Federalists to his cabinet.
2. Jefferson’s statement that “we are all Republicans, we are all Federalists” is most directly refuted by his actions to
 - (A) continue the neutrality policies of Adams
 - (B) keep economic institutions established by Hamilton
 - (C) attempt to impeach federal judges
 - (D) purchase the Louisiana Territory
3. Jefferson’s call to avoid entangling alliances is similar to advice found in
 - (A) the Declaration of Independence
 - (B) *The Federalist Papers*
 - (C) the Kentucky Resolutions
 - (D) Washington’s Farewell Address

SHORT-ANSWER QUESTION

Use complete sentences; an outline or bulleted list alone is not acceptable.

1. “The issue, then, is not whether Jefferson’s policies toward Louisiana were right or wrong but rather how he managed to implement decisions that defied in so many ways his long-standing commitment to limitations on executive power and the near-sacred character of republican principles. . . . Jefferson was not simply seized by power-hungry impulses once he assumed the presidency, since in a broad range of other policy areas he exhibited considerable discipline over the executive branch and habitual deference to the Congress; . . . he did not suddenly discover a pragmatic streak in his political philosophy, . . . he clung tenaciously to Jeffersonian principles despite massive evidence that they were at odds with reality. . . . The answer would seem to be the special, indeed almost mystical place the West had in his thinking. . . . For Jefferson more than any other major figure in the revolutionary generation, the West was America’s future.”

Joseph J. Ellis, historian, *American Sphinx*, 1997

“The story of the Louisiana Purchase is one of strength, of Jefferson’s adaptability and, most important, his determination to secure the territory from France, . . . A slower or less courageous politician might have bungled the acquisition; an overly idealistic one might have lost it by insisting on strict constitutional scruples. . . . The philosophical Jefferson had believed an amendment necessary. The political Jefferson, however, was not going to allow theory to get in the way of reality. . . . [He] expanded the powers of the executive in ways that would have likely driven Jefferson to distraction had another man been president. Much of his political life, though, had been devoted to the study and the wise exercise of power. He did what had to be done to preserve the possibility of republicanism and progress. Things were neat only in theory. And despite his love of ideas and image of himself, Thomas Jefferson was as much a man of action as he was of theory.”

Jon Meacham, historian, *Thomas Jefferson: The Art of Power*, 2012

Using the excerpts, answer (a), (b), and (c).

- (a) Briefly explain ONE major difference between Ellis’s and Meacham’s historical interpretations of how Thomas Jefferson came to approve the Louisiana Purchase.
- (b) Briefly explain how ONE historical event or development in the period 1787 to 1803 that is not explicitly mentioned in the excerpts could be used to support Ellis’s interpretation.
- (c) Briefly explain how ONE historical event or development in the period 1787 to 1803 that is not explicitly mentioned in the excerpts could be used to support Meacham’s interpretation.

Politics and Regional Interests

*But this momentous question [the Missouri Compromise],
like a firebell in the night awakened and filled me with terror.
I considered it the knell of the Union.*

Thomas Jefferson, April 1820

Learning Objective: Explain how different regional interests affected debates about the role of the federal government in the early republic.

The election of James Monroe as president in 1816 (less than two years after the last battle of the War of 1812) inaugurated what one newspaper editorial characterized as an “Era of Good Feelings.” The term gained wide currency and was later adopted by historians to describe Monroe’s two terms in office. A closer examination of this period shows a more complicated picture.

The Era of Good Feelings

The period’s nickname suggests the Monroe years were marked by a spirit of nationalism, optimism, and goodwill. In some ways, they were. One party, the Federalists, faded into oblivion, and Monroe’s party, the Democratic-Republicans, adopted some of their policies and dominated politics.

This perception of unity and harmony, however, can be misleading and oversimplified. Throughout the era, people had heated debates over tariffs, the national bank, internal improvements, and public land sales. Sectionalist tensions over slavery were increasing. Moreover, even a sense of party unity was illusory since antagonistic factions among Democratic-Republicans would soon split it in two. The actual period of “good feelings” may have lasted only from the election of 1816 to the Panic of 1819.

James Monroe

As a young man, James Monroe had fought in the Revolutionary War and suffered through the Valley Forge winter. He had become prominent in Virginia politics and had served as Jefferson’s minister to Great Britain and as Madison’s secretary of state. He continued the Virginia dynasty: of the first five presidents, four were from Virginia. The other, John Adams, was from Massachusetts.

In the election of 1816, Monroe defeated the Federalist, Rufus King, overwhelmingly—183 electoral votes to 34. By 1820, the Federalist Party had practically vanished, and Monroe received every electoral vote except one. With

no organized political opposition, Monroe represented the growing nationalism of the American people. Under Monroe, the country acquired Florida, agreed on the Missouri Compromise, and adopted the Monroe Doctrine.

Economic Nationalism

One outgrowth of the War of 1812 was a political movement to support the growth of the nation's economy. Subsidizing internal improvements (the building of roads and canals) was one aspect of the movement. Protecting budding U.S. industries from European competition was a second aspect. Often opinions on these economic issues were based on what appeared best for one's section or region.

Tariff of 1816 Before the War of 1812, Congress had levied low tariffs on imports as a method for raising government revenue. Then, during the war, manufacturers erected many factories to supply goods that previously had been imported from Britain. Now in peacetime, these American manufacturers feared that British goods would be dumped on American markets and take away much of their business. Congress raised tariffs for the express purpose of protecting U.S. manufacturers from competition rather than to simply raise revenue. This was the first **protective tariff** in U.S. history—the first of many to come.

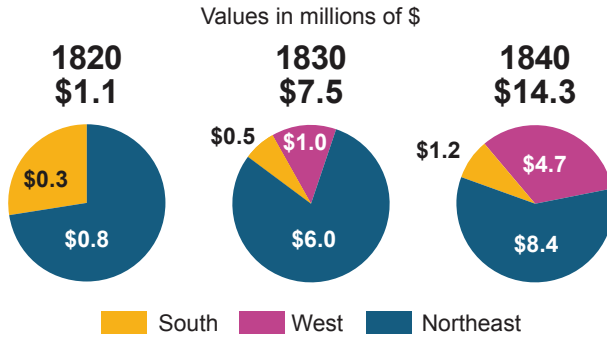
New England, which had little manufacturing at the time, was the only section to oppose the higher tariffs. Even the South and West, which had opposed tariffs in the past and would oppose them in the future, generally supported the 1816 tariff, believing that it was needed for national prosperity.

Henry Clay's American System Henry Clay of Kentucky, a leader in the House of Representatives, proposed a comprehensive method for advancing the nation's economic growth. His plan, which he called the American System, consisted of three parts: (1) protective tariffs, (2) a national bank, and (3) internal improvements. Clay argued that protective tariffs would promote American manufacturing and also raise revenue with which to build a national transportation system of federally constructed roads and canals. A national bank would keep the system running smoothly by providing a national currency. The tariffs would chiefly benefit the East, internal improvements would promote growth in the West and the South, and the bank would aid the economies of all sections.

Two parts of Clay's system were already in place in 1816, the last year of James Madison's presidency. Congress in that year adopted a protective tariff and also chartered the **Second Bank of the United States**. (The charter of the First Bank—Hamilton's brainchild—had been allowed to expire in 1811.)

On the matter of internal improvements, however, both Madison and Monroe objected that the Constitution did not explicitly provide for the spending of federal money on roads and canals. Throughout his presidency, Monroe consistently vetoed acts of Congress providing funds for road-building and canal-building projects. Thus, the individual states were left to make internal improvements on their own.

CANAL BUILDING, 1820 TO 1840



Source: Bureau of the Census, *Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1970*

The Panic of 1819

The first major financial panic since the Constitution had been ratified shook the nation in 1819. The economic disaster occurred after the Second Bank of the United States tightened credit in an effort to control inflation. Many state banks closed, and unemployment, bankruptcies, and imprisonment for debt increased sharply. The depression hit the West hardest, where many people were in debt because they had speculated on land during the euphoria after the War of 1812. In 1819, the Bank of the United States foreclosed on large amounts of western farmland. As a result of the bank panic and depression, nationalistic beliefs were shaken. In the West, the economic crisis changed many voters' political outlook. Westerners began calling for land reform and expressing strong opposition to both the national bank and debtors' prisons.

Political Changes

The Federalist Party declined rapidly because it failed to adapt as the nation grew. After opposing the War of 1812 (see Topic 4.4) and leading a secessionist convention at Hartford, the party seemed out of step with the nationalistic temper of the times. After its crushing defeat in the election of 1816, it ceased to be a national party and failed to nominate a presidential candidate in 1820.

Changes in the Democratic-Republican Party Meanwhile, the Democratic-Republican Party, the only remaining national party, faced serious internal strains as it adjusted to changing times. Members such as John Randolph clung to the old party ideals of limited government and a strict interpretation of the Constitution. Most members, however, adopted what had once been Federalist ideas, such as maintaining a large army and navy and supporting a national bank. Some members reversed their views from one decade to the next. For example, Daniel Webster of Massachusetts strongly opposed both the tariffs of 1816 and 1824, but then supported even higher tariff rates in 1828. John C. Calhoun of South Carolina was another Democratic-Republican leader who reversed positions. An outspoken war hawk and nationalist in 1812, Calhoun championed states' rights after 1828.

Political factions and sectional differences became more intense during Monroe's second term. When Monroe, honoring the two-term tradition, declined to be a candidate again, four other Democratic-Republicans sought election as president in 1824. How this election split the party and led to the emergence of two rival parties is explained in Topic 4.8.

Western Settlement and the Missouri Compromise

In the ten years after the start of the War of 1812, the population of settlers west of the Appalachian Mountains had doubled. Most went to the region between the Appalachians and the Mississippi River. Some, though, were beginning to settle in the Louisiana Territory purchased in 1803. Much of the nationalistic and economic interest in the country was centered on the West, which presented both opportunities and new questions.

Reasons for Westward Movement

Several factors combined to stimulate rapid growth along the western frontier during the presidencies of Madison and Monroe.

Acquisition of Lands Military victories under Generals William Henry Harrison in the Indiana Territory and Andrew Jackson in Florida and the South over American Indians opened vast new territories for White settlers.

Economic Pressures The economic difficulties in the Northeast from the embargo and the war caused people from this region to seek a new future across the Appalachians. In the South, tobacco planters needed new land to replace the soil exhausted by years of poor farming methods. They found good land for planting cotton in Alabama, Mississippi, and Arkansas.

Improved Transportation Pioneers had an easier time reaching the frontier as a result of the building of roads and canals, steamboats, and railroads.

Immigrants More Europeans were being attracted to America by speculators offering cheap land in the Great Lakes region and in the valleys of the Ohio, Cumberland, and Mississippi rivers.

New Questions and Issues

Despite their rapid growth, the new states of the West were small relative to those of the other two sections. To enhance their limited political influence in Congress, western representatives bargained with politicians from other sections. The primary concerns of the western states were as follows: (1) "cheap money" (easy credit) from state banks rather than from the Bank of the United States, (2) low prices for land sold by the federal government, and (3) improved transportation.

However, on the critical issue of slavery, westerners disagreed over permitting it. Those settling territory to the south wanted slavery for economic reasons (labor for the cotton fields), while those settling to the north had no use for slavery. In 1819, when the Missouri Territory applied to Congress for statehood, the slavery issue became a subject of angry debate.

The Missouri Compromise

Ever since 1791–1792, when Vermont entered the Union as a free state and Kentucky entered as a slave state, politicians in Congress had attempted to preserve a sectional balance between the North and the South. Keeping a balance in the House of Representatives was difficult because the population in the North was growing more rapidly than in the South. By 1818, the northern states held a majority of 105 to 81 in the House. However, in the Senate, the votes remained divided evenly: 11 slave states and 11 free states. As long as this balance was preserved, southern senators could block legislation that they believed threatened the interests of their section.

Missouri's bid for statehood alarmed the North because slavery was well established there. If Missouri came in as a slave state, it would tip the political balance in the South's favor. Furthermore, Missouri was the first part of the Louisiana Purchase to apply for statehood. Southerners and northerners alike worried about the future status of other new territories applying for statehood from the rest of the vast Louisiana Purchase.

Tallmadge Amendment Representative James Tallmadge from New York ignited the debate about the Missouri question by proposing an amendment to the bill for Missouri's admission. The amendment called for (1) prohibiting the further introduction of slaves into Missouri and (2) requiring the children of Missouri slaves to be emancipated at the age of 25. If adopted, the Tallmadge Amendment would have led to the gradual elimination of slavery in Missouri. The amendment was defeated in the Senate as enraged southerners saw it as the first step in a northern effort to abolish slavery in all states.

THE MISSOURI COMPROMISE



Clay’s Proposals After months of heated debate in Congress and throughout the nation, Henry Clay won majority support for three bills that, taken together, represented a compromise:

1. admit Missouri as a slave-holding state
2. admit Maine as a free state
3. prohibit slavery in the rest of the Louisiana Territory north of latitude 36° 30’

Both houses passed the bills, and President Monroe added his signature in March 1820 to what became known as the **Missouri Compromise**.

Aftermath Sectional feelings on the slavery issue subsided after 1820. The Missouri Compromise preserved sectional balance for more than 30 years and provided time for the nation to mature. Nevertheless, if an era of good feelings existed, it was badly damaged by the storm of sectional controversy over Missouri. After this political crisis, Americans were torn between feelings of nationalism (loyalty to the Union) on the one hand and feelings of **sectionalism** (loyalty to one’s own region) on the other.

REFLECT ON THE LEARNING OBJECTIVE

1. Explain how the viewpoints from the different sections of the new republic impacted the discussion of the role of the Federal government.

KEY TERMS BY THEME

Public Confidence (NAT)

Era of Good Feelings
James Monroe
economic nationalism
sectionalism

Industry (WXT)

Tariff of 1816
protective tariff
Henry Clay
American System

Second Bank of the United States

Panic of 1819

Making the Law (POL)

Tallmadge Amendment
Missouri Compromise (1820)

MULTIPLE-CHOICE QUESTIONS

Questions 1–3 refer to the following excerpt.

“It is hushed indeed for the moment. but this [Missouri Compromise] is a reprieve only, not a final sentence. a geographical line, coinciding with a marked principle, moral and political, once conceived and held up to the angry passions of men, will never be obliterated; and every new irritation will mark it deeper and deeper. I can say with conscious truth that there is not a man on earth who would sacrifice more than I would, to relieve us

from this heavy reproach, in any *practicable* way. . . . to regulate the condition of the different descriptions of men composing a state. This certainly is the exclusive right of every state, which nothing in the constitution has taken from them and given to the general government.”

Thomas Jefferson, letter to John Holmes, April 22, 1820

1. Which of the following provided a precedent on the issue described by Jefferson that was reflected in the Missouri Compromise?
 - (A) The Declaration of Independence, which declared all men equal
 - (B) The Articles of Confederation, which did not allow the national government to tax individuals
 - (C) The Northwest Ordinance, which limited the expansion of slavery
 - (D) The Louisiana Purchase, which showed how the federal government could expand its power
2. Which of the following was most necessary for the passage of the Missouri Compromise?
 - (A) Admission of Maine as a free state
 - (B) Support from John Quincy Adams
 - (C) Adding the Tallmadge Amendment
 - (D) A unified Democratic-Republican Party
3. Which of the following groups would most strongly agree with Jefferson’s views about the future impact of the Missouri Compromise?
 - (A) Federalists calling for a stronger national government
 - (B) Abolitionists demanding an immediate end to slavery
 - (C) Democratic-Republicans recognizing the need for more compromises
 - (D) Settlers in the Louisiana Territory seeking more land

SHORT-ANSWER QUESTION

Use complete sentences; an outline or bulleted list alone is not acceptable.

1. Answer (a), (b), and (c).
 - (a) Briefly explain ONE specific part of Henry Clay’s proposed American System.
 - (b) Briefly explain why ONE region favored the American System during the period from 1800 to 1848.
 - (c) Briefly explain why ONE region opposed the American System during the period from 1800 to 1848.

Topic 4.4

America on the World Stage

The war has renewed and reinstated the national feelings and character which the Revolution had given, and which were daily lessened. . . . I hope the permanency of the Union is thereby better secured.

Secretary of the Treasury Albert Gallatin, 1816

Learning Objective: Explain how and why American foreign policy developed over time.

From their founding as colonies to their fight for independence, the United States was strongly influenced by the actions of other nations. Even President Washington had to deal with foreign “entanglements” (see Topic 3.10) likely leading to his warning against “permanent alliances” in foreign affairs.

Jefferson’s Foreign Policy

President Jefferson brought considerable experience in dealing with foreign affairs. He had served as a foreign minister in Europe and secretary of state prior to his election in 1800. This experience led to success with the Louisiana Purchase but would be challenged by numerous other foreign affairs questions.

Difficulties Abroad

As a matter of policy and principle, Jefferson tried to avoid war. Rejecting permanent alliances, he sought to maintain U.S. neutrality despite increasing provocations from both France and Britain during the Napoleonic wars.

Barbary Pirates The first major challenge to Jefferson’s foreign policy came not from a major European power but from the piracy practiced by the Barbary states on the North African coast. To protect U.S. merchant ships from being seized by Barbary pirates, Presidents Washington and Adams had reluctantly agreed to pay tribute to the Barbary governments. The ruler of Tripoli demanded a higher sum in tribute from Jefferson. Refusing to pay, Jefferson sent a small fleet of the U.S. Navy to the Mediterranean. Sporadic fighting with Tripoli lasted for four years (1801–1805). Although the American navy did not achieve a decisive victory, it did gain some respect and offered a measure of protection to U.S. vessels trading in Mediterranean waters.

Challenges to U.S. Neutrality Meanwhile, the Napoleonic wars continued to dominate the politics of Europe—and to shape the commercial economy of

the United States. The two principal belligerents, France and Britain, attempted naval blockades of enemy ports. They regularly seized the ships of neutral nations and confiscated their cargoes. The chief offender from the U.S. point of view was Britain, since its navy dominated the Atlantic. Most infuriating was the British practice of capturing U.S. sailors who it claimed were British citizens and impressing (forcing) them to serve in the British navy.

Chesapeake-Leopard Affair One incident at sea especially aroused American anger and almost led to war. In 1807, only a few miles off the coast of Virginia, the British warship *Leopard* fired on the U.S. warship *Chesapeake*. Three Americans were killed, and four others were taken captive and impressed into the British navy. Anti-British feeling ran high, and many Americans demanded war. Jefferson, however, resorted to diplomacy and economic pressure as his response to the crisis.

Embargo Act (1807) As an alternative to war, Jefferson persuaded the Democratic-Republican majority in Congress to pass the Embargo Act in 1807. This measure prohibited American merchant ships from sailing to any foreign port. Since the United States was Britain's largest trading partner, Jefferson hoped that the British would stop violating the rights of neutral nations rather than lose U.S. trade. The embargo, however, backfired and brought greater economic hardship to the United States than to Britain. The British were determined to control the seas at all costs, and they had little difficulty substituting supplies from South America for U.S. goods.

The embargo's effect on the U.S. economy, however, was devastating, especially for the merchant marine and shipbuilders of New England. So bad was the depression that a movement developed in the New England states to secede from the Union.

Recognizing that the Embargo Act had failed, Jefferson called for its repeal in 1809 during the final days of his presidency. Even after repeal, however, U.S. ships could trade legally with all nations except Britain and France.

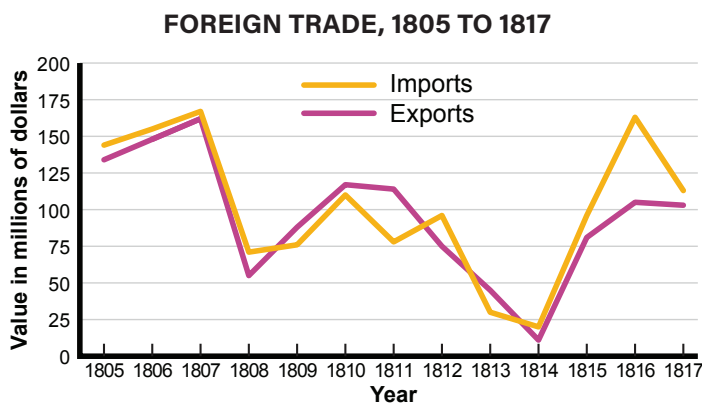
President Madison's Foreign Policy

Madison's presidency was dominated by the same European problems that had plagued Jefferson's second term.

Commercial Warfare

Like Jefferson, Madison attempted a combination of diplomacy and economic pressure to deal with the Napoleonic wars. Unlike Jefferson, he finally consented to take the United States to war.

Nonintercourse Act of 1809 After the repeal of Jefferson's disastrous embargo act, Madison hoped to end economic hardship while maintaining his country's rights as a neutral nation. The Nonintercourse Act of 1809 provided that Americans could now trade with all nations except Britain and France.



Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1970*

Macon’s Bill No. 2 (1810) Economic hardships continued into 1810. Nathaniel Macon, a member of Congress, introduced a bill that restored U.S. trade with Britain and France. Macon’s Bill No. 2 provided, however, that if either Britain or France formally agreed to respect U.S. neutral rights at sea, then the United States would prohibit trade with that nation’s foe.

Napoleon’s Deception Upon hearing of Congress’s action, Napoleon announced his intention of revoking the decrees that had violated U.S. neutral rights. Taking Napoleon at his word, Madison carried out the terms of Macon’s Bill No. 2 by embargoing U.S. trade with Britain in 1811. However, he soon realized that Napoleon had no intention of fulfilling his promise. The French continued to seize American merchant ships.

The War of 1812

Neither Britain nor the United States wanted their dispute to end in war. And yet war between them did break out in 1812.

Causes of the War

From the U.S. point of view, the pressures leading to war came from two directions: the continued violation of U.S. neutral rights at sea and troubles with the British on the western frontier.

Free Seas and Trade As a trading nation, the United States depended upon the free flow of shipping across the Atlantic. Yet the chief belligerents in Europe, Britain, and France had no interest in respecting neutral rights so long as they were locked in a life-and-death struggle with one another. They well remembered that Britain had seemed a cruel enemy during the American Revolution and the French had supported the colonists. In addition, Jeffersonian Democratic-Republicans applauded the French for having overthrown their monarchy in their own revolution. Moreover, even though both the French and the British violated U.S. neutral rights, the British violations were worse because of the British navy’s practice of impressing American sailors.

Frontier Pressures Added to long-standing grievances over British actions at sea were the ambitions of western Americans for more land. Americans on the frontier longed for the lands of British Canada and Spanish Florida. Standing in the way were the British and their Indian and Spanish allies.

Conflict with the American Indians was a perennial problem for the restless westerners. For decades, settlers had been gradually pushing the American Indians farther and farther westward. In an effort to defend their lands from further encroachment, Shawnee brothers—a warrior named Tecumseh and a religious leader known as the Prophet—attempted to unite all of the tribes east of the Mississippi River. White settlers became suspicious of Tecumseh and persuaded the governor of the Indiana Territory, General William Henry Harrison, to take aggressive action. In the Battle of Tippecanoe, in 1811, Harrison destroyed the Shawnee headquarters, which ended Tecumseh's efforts to form an Indian confederacy. The British had provided only a little aid to Tecumseh. Nevertheless, Americans on the frontier blamed the British for instigating the rebellion.

War Hawks A congressional election in 1810 had brought a group of new, young Democratic-Republicans to Congress, many of them from frontier states (Kentucky, Tennessee, and Ohio). Known as war hawks because of their eagerness for war with Britain, they quickly gained significant influence in the House of Representatives. Led by Henry Clay of Kentucky and John C. Calhoun of South Carolina, the war hawk members of Congress argued that war with Britain would be the only way to defend American honor, gain Canada, and destroy American Indian resistance on the frontier.

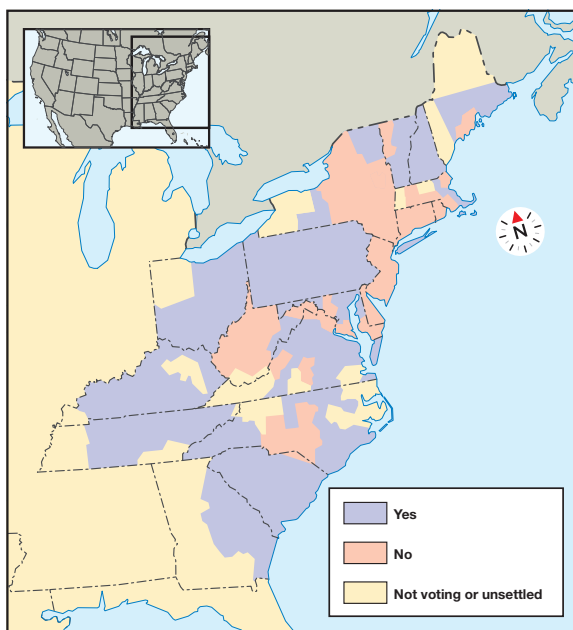
Declaration of War British delays in meeting U.S. demands over neutral rights combined with political pressures from the war hawks finally persuaded Madison to seek a declaration of war against Britain. Ironically, the British government had by this time (June 1812) agreed to suspend its naval blockade. News of its decision reached the White House after Congress had declared war.

A Divided Nation

Neither Congress nor the American people were united in support of the war. In Congress, Pennsylvania and Vermont joined the southern and western states to provide a slight majority for the war declaration. Voting against the war were most representatives from New York, New Jersey, and New England.

Election of 1812 A similar division of opinion was seen in the presidential election of 1812, in which Democratic-Republican strength in the South and West overcame Federalist and antiwar Democratic-Republican opposition to war in the North. Madison won reelection, defeating De Witt Clinton of New York, the candidate of the Federalists and antiwar Democratic-Republicans.

VOTE ON DECLARING WAR IN 1812



Opposition to the War Americans who opposed the war viewed it as “Mr. Madison’s War” and the work of the war hawks in Congress. Most outspoken in their criticism of the war were New England merchants, Federalist politicians, and “**Quids**,” or “Old” Democratic-Republicans. New England merchants were opposed because, after the repeal of the Embargo Act, they were making sizable profits from the European war and viewed **impressment** as merely a minor inconvenience. Both commercial interests and religious ties to Protestantism made them more sympathetic to the Protestant British than to the Catholic French. Federalist politicians viewed the war as a Democratic-Republican scheme to conquer Canada and Florida, with the ultimate aim of increasing Democratic-Republican voting strength. For their part, the “Quids” criticized the war because it violated the classic Democratic-Republican commitment to limited federal power and to the maintenance of peace.

Military Defeats and Naval Victories

Facing Britain’s overwhelming naval power, Madison’s military strategists based their hope for victory on (1) Napoleon’s continued success in Europe and (2) a U.S. land campaign against Canada.

Invasion of Canada A poorly equipped American army initiated military action in 1812 by launching a three-part invasion of Canada, one force starting out from Detroit, another from Niagara, and a third from Lake Champlain. These and later forays into Canada were easily repulsed by the British defenders. An American raid and burning of government buildings in York (Toronto) in 1813 only served to encourage retaliation by the British.

Naval Battles The U.S. navy achieved some notable victories due largely to superior shipbuilding and the valorous deeds of American sailors, including many free African Americans. In late 1812, the U.S. warship *Constitution* (nicknamed “**Old Ironsides**”) raised American morale by defeating and sinking a British ship off the coast of Nova Scotia. American privateers, motivated by both patriotism and profit, captured numerous British merchant ships. Offsetting these gains was the success of the British navy in establishing a blockade of the U.S. coast, which crippled trading and fishing.

Probably the most important naval battle of the war was in 1813 on **Lake Erie** with American Captain **Oliver Hazard Perry**, declaring victory with, “We have met the enemy and they are ours.” This led the way for General William Henry Harrison’s victory at the **Battle of the Thames** (near Detroit), in which Tecumseh was killed. The next year, 1814, ships commanded by **Thomas Macdonough** defeated a British fleet on **Lake Champlain**. As a result, the British had to retreat and abandon their plan to invade New York and New England.

Chesapeake Campaign By the spring of 1814, the defeat of Napoleon in Europe enabled the British to increase their forces in North America. In the summer of that year, a British army marched through the nation’s capital, Washington, D.C., and set fire to the White House, the Capitol, and other government buildings. The British also attempted to take Baltimore, but Fort McHenry held out after a night’s bombardment—an event immortalized by **Francis Scott Key** in the words of “**The Star-Spangled Banner**.”

Southern Campaign Meanwhile, U.S. troops in the South were ably commanded by General **Andrew Jackson**. In March 1814, at the **Battle of Horseshoe Bend** in present-day Alabama, Jackson ended the power of an important British ally, the **Creek nation**. The victory eliminated the Indians and opened new lands to White settlers. A British effort to control the Mississippi River was halted at New Orleans by Jackson leading a force of frontier soldiers, free African Americans, and Creoles. The victory was impressive—but also meaningless. The **Battle of New Orleans** was fought on January 8, 1815, two weeks after a treaty ending the war had been signed in Ghent, Belgium, but before news of the treaty had reached the military forces.

The Treaty of Ghent

By 1814, the British were weary of war. Having fought Napoleon for more than a decade, they now faced the prospect of maintaining the peace in Europe. At the same time, Madison’s government recognized that the Americans would be unable to win a decisive victory. American peace commissioners traveled to Ghent, Belgium, to discuss terms of peace with British diplomats. On Christmas Eve 1814, an agreement was reached. The terms halted fighting, returned all conquered territory to the prewar claimant, and recognized the prewar boundary between Canada and the United States.

The Treaty of Ghent, promptly ratified by the Senate in 1815, said nothing at all about the grievances that led to war. Britain made no concessions concerning impressment, blockades, or other maritime differences. Thus, the war ended in stalemate with no gain for either side.

The Hartford Convention

Just before the war ended, the New England states threatened to secede from the Union. Bitterly opposed to both the war and the Democratic-Republican government in Washington, radical Federalists in New England urged that the Constitution be amended and that, as a last resort, secession be voted upon. To consider these matters, a special convention was held at Hartford, Connecticut, in December 1814. Delegates from the New England states rejected the radical calls for secession. But to limit the growing power of the Democratic-Republicans in the South and West, they adopted a number of proposals. One of them called for a two-thirds vote of both houses for any future declaration of war.

Shortly after the convention dissolved, news came of both Jackson's victory at New Orleans and the Treaty of Ghent. These events ended criticism of the war and further weakened the Federalists by stamping them as unpatriotic.

The War's Legacy

From Madison's point of view, the war achieved none of its original aims. Nevertheless, it had a number of important consequences for the future development of the American republic, including the following:

1. Having survived two wars with Britain, the United States gained the respect of other nations.
2. The United States accepted Canada as a part of the British Empire.
3. Denounced for its talk of secession, the Federalist Party came to an end as a national force and declined even in New England.
4. Talk of nullification and secession in New England set a precedent that would later be used by the South.
5. Abandoned by the British, American Indians were forced to surrender land to White settlement.
6. With the British naval blockade limiting European goods, U.S. factories were built and Americans moved toward industrial self-sufficiency.
7. War heroes such as Andrew Jackson and William Henry Harrison would soon be in the forefront of a new generation of political leaders.
8. The feeling of nationalism grew stronger as did a belief that the future for the United States lay in the West and away from Europe.

Monroe and Foreign Affairs

Following the War of 1812, the United States adopted a more aggressive, nationalistic approach in its relations with other nations. During Madison's presidency, when problems with the Barbary pirates again developed, a fleet under **Stephen Decatur** was sent in 1815 to force the rulers of North Africa to allow American shipping the free use of the Mediterranean. President Monroe and Secretary of State John Quincy Adams continued to follow a nationalistic policy that actively advanced American interests while maintaining peace.

Canada

Although the Treaty of Ghent of 1814 had ended the war between Britain and the United States, it left unresolved most of their diplomatic differences, including many involving Canada.

Rush-Bagot Agreement (1817) During Monroe's first year as president, British and American negotiators agreed to a major disarmament pact. The Rush-Bagot Agreement strictly limited naval armament on the Great Lakes. In time, the agreement was extended to place limits on border fortifications as well. Ultimately, the border between the United States and Canada was to become the longest unfortified border in the world.

Treaty of 1818 Improved relations between the United States and Britain continued in a treaty that provided for (1) shared fishing rights off the coast of Newfoundland; (2) joint occupation of the Oregon Territory for ten years; and (3) the setting of the northern limits of the Louisiana Territory at the 49th parallel, thus establishing the western U.S.-Canada boundary line.

Florida

During the War of 1812, U.S. troops had occupied western Florida, a strip of land on the Gulf of Mexico extending all the way to the Mississippi Delta. Previously, this land had been held by Spain, Britain's ally. After the war, Spain had difficulty governing the rest of Florida (the peninsula itself) because its troops had been removed from Florida to battle revolts in the South American colonies. The chaotic conditions permitted groups of Seminoles, runaway slaves, and White outlaws to conduct raids into U.S. territory and retreat to safety across the Florida border. These disorders gave Monroe and General Andrew Jackson an opportunity to take military action in Spanish Florida, a territory long coveted by American expansionists.

Jackson's Military Campaign In late 1817, the president commissioned General Jackson to stop the raiders and, if necessary, pursue them across the border into Spanish west Florida. Jackson carried out his orders with a vengeance and probably went beyond his instructions. In 1818, he led a force of militia into Florida, destroyed Seminole villages, and hanged two Seminole chiefs. Capturing Pensacola, Jackson drove out the Spanish governor and hanged two British traders accused of aiding the Seminoles.

Many members of Congress feared that Jackson's overzealousness would precipitate a war with both Spain and Britain. However, Secretary of State John Quincy Adams persuaded Monroe to support Jackson, and the British decided not to intervene.

Florida Purchase Treaty (1819) Spain, worried that the United States would seize Florida and preoccupied with troubles in Latin America, decided to get the best possible terms for Florida. By treaty in 1819, Spain turned over all of its possessions in Florida and its own claims in the Oregon Territory to the United States. In exchange, the United States agreed to assume \$5 million in claims against Spain and give up any U.S. territorial claims to the Spanish province of Texas. The agreement is also called the Adams-Onís Treaty.

The Monroe Doctrine

Although focused on its own growth, the United States did not ignore the ambitions of Europe in the Western Hemisphere. The restoration of a number of monarchies in Europe after the fall of Napoleon in 1815 produced a backlash against republican movements. Restored monarchies in France, Austria, and Prussia, together with Russia, worked together to suppress liberal elements in Italy and Spain. They also considered helping Spain to return to power in South America, where a number of republics had recently declared their independence.

In addition, Russia's presence in Alaska worried both Britain and the United States. Using their trading posts in Alaska as a base, Russian seal hunters had spread southward and established a trading post at San Francisco Bay. British and U.S. leaders decided they had a common interest in protecting North and South America from possible aggression by a European power.

British Initiative British naval power deterred the Spanish from attempting a comeback in Latin America. But to maintain British trade with the Latin American republics required diplomacy. British Foreign Secretary George Canning proposed to Richard Rush, the U.S. minister in London, a joint Anglo-American warning to the European powers not to intervene in South America.

American Response Monroe and most of his advisers thought Canning's idea of a joint declaration made sense. However, Secretary of State John Quincy Adams disagreed. He believed that joint action with Britain would restrict U.S. opportunities for further expansion in the hemisphere. Adams reasoned as follows: (1) If the United States acted alone, Britain could be counted upon to stand behind the U.S. policy; (2) No European power would risk going to war in South America, and if it did, the British navy would surely defeat the aggressor. President Monroe decided to act as Adams advised—to issue a statement to the world that did not have Britain as a coauthor.

The Doctrine On December 2, 1823, President Monroe inserted into his annual message to Congress a declaration of U.S. policy toward Europe and Latin America. The Monroe Doctrine, as it came to be called, asserted “as a

principle in which the rights and interests of the United States are involved, that the American continents, by the free and independent condition which they have assumed and maintain, are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European powers.”

Monroe declared further that the United States opposed attempts by a European power to interfere in the affairs of any republic in the Western Hemisphere.

Impact Monroe’s bold words of nationalistic purpose were applauded by the American public but were soon forgotten, as most citizens were more concerned with domestic issues. In Britain, Canning was annoyed by the doctrine because he recognized that it applied not just to the other European powers but to his country as well. The British, too, were warned not to intervene and not to seek new territory in the Western Hemisphere. The European monarchs reacted angrily to Monroe’s message. Still, they recognized that their purposes were thwarted not by his words but by the might of the British navy.

The Monroe Doctrine had less significance at the time than in later decades, when it would be hailed by politicians and citizens alike as the cornerstone of U.S. foreign policy toward Latin America. In the 1840s, President James Polk was the first of many presidents to justify his foreign policy by referring to Monroe’s warning words.

REFLECT ON THE LEARNING OBJECTIVE

1. Explain the reasons and ways that American foreign policy changed during this period.

KEY TERMS BY THEME

Support (NAT, POL)

war hawks

Henry Clay

John C. Calhoun

Opposition (POL)

“Quids”

Hartford Convention (1814)

The West (MIG, ARC)

Tecumseh

Prophet

William Henry Harrison

Battle of Tippecanoe

War (WOR)

Napoleon Bonaparte

Barbary pirates

neutrality

impressment

Chesapeake-Leopard affair

Embargo Act (1807)

James Madison

Nonintercourse Act (1809)

Macon’s Bill No. 2 (1810)

War of 1812

“Old Ironsides”

Battle of Lake Erie

Oliver Hazard Perry

Battle of the Thames

Thomas Macdonough

Battle of Lake Champlain

Andrew Jackson

Battle of Horseshoe Bend

Creek nation

Battle of New Orleans

Treaty of Ghent (1814)

Foreign Affairs (WOR)

Stephen Decatur

Rush-Bagot Agreement (1817)

Treaty of 1818

Andrew Jackson

Florida Purchase Treaty (1819)

Monroe Doctrine (1823)

The Anthem (SOC)

Francis Scott Key

“The Star-Spangled Banner”

MULTIPLE-CHOICE QUESTIONS

Questions 1–3 refer to the following excerpt.

“I am ready to allow, Mr. President, that both Great Britain and France have given us abundant cause for war My plan would be, and my first wish is, to prepare for it—to put the country in complete armor—in the attitude imperiously demanded in a crisis of war, and to which it must be brought before any war can be effective I must call on every member of this Senate to pause before he leaps into or crosses the Rubicon [Roman leader Julius Caesar touched off a war in 49 BCE when he and his troops crossed the Rubicon River]—declaring war is passing the Rubicon in reality.”

Senator Obadiah German of New York, speech in the Senate, June 1812

1. Support for the War of 1812 was the strongest among
 - (A) frontier settlers who wanted more land from American Indians
 - (B) New England merchants who feared impressment
 - (C) Protestants who had religious sympathies with Great Britain
 - (D) the Democratic-Republicans who most emphasized states’ rights
2. Who would be most likely to agree with German’s Rubicon reference?
 - (A) John Calhoun and other politicians from the South
 - (B) Henry Clay and other politicians from the West
 - (C) Officials from the executive branch
 - (D) Merchants from New England
3. Which of the following is the best support for German’s claim that the United States had “abundant cause for war”?
 - (A) The impressment of U.S. sailors
 - (B) The controversy over the Louisiana Purchase
 - (C) The actions by the Barbary pirates
 - (D) The findings of the Lewis and Clark expedition

SHORT-ANSWER QUESTION

1. Answer (a), (b), and (c).
 - (a) Briefly explain how ONE specific event or historical development was used by supporters of going to war against Britain in 1812.
 - (b) Briefly explain how ONE specific event or historical development was used by opponents of going to war against Britain in 1812.
 - (c) Briefly explain how ONE reason for or against the War of 1812 played a major role in U.S. politics and policies after the war.

Market Revolution

I never thought my cotton gin would change history.

Eli Whitney (1765–1825)

Learning Objective: Explain the causes and effects of the innovations in technology, agriculture, and commerce over time.

In the early 1800s, the Jeffersonian dream of a nation of independent farmers remained strong in rural areas. Innovations and new technology in the 19th century would steadily decrease the demand for people working in agriculture and increase the demand for people working in commerce. Ironically, Jefferson, a father of a political revolution, would see his ideal nation of small farmers overwhelmed by an economic revolution based on new knowledge.

As the 19th century progressed, an increasing percentage of the American people were swept up in the dynamic economic changes of the Industrial Revolution. Political conflicts over tariffs, internal improvements, and the Bank of the United States (see Topics 4.3 and 4.8) reflected the importance to people's lives of a national economy that was rapidly growing.

Development of the Northwest

The **Old Northwest** consisted of six states that joined the Union before 1860: Ohio (1803), Indiana (1816), Illinois (1818), Michigan (1837), Wisconsin (1848), and Minnesota (1858). These states came from territories formed out of land ceded to the national government in the 1780s by one of the original 13 states. The procedure for turning these territories into states was part of the Northwest Ordinance passed by Congress in 1787 (see Topics 3.7 and 3.12).

In the early years of the 19th century, much of the Old Northwest was unsettled frontier and the part of it that was settled relied upon the Mississippi to transport grain to southern markets and the port of New Orleans. By mid-century, however, this region became closely tied to the other northern states by two factors: (1) military campaigns by federal troops that drove American Indians from the land and (2) the building of canals and railroads that established common markets between the Great Lakes and the East Coast.

Agriculture In the Old Northwest, corn and wheat were very profitable and fed people in growing urban areas. Using the newly invented steel plow (by **John Deere**) and mechanical reaper (by **Cyrus McCormick**), a farm family was more efficient and could plant more acres, needing to supplement its labor

only with a few hired workers at harvest time. Part of the crop was used to feed cattle and hogs and also to supply distillers and brewers with grain for making whiskey and beer. Farmers shipped grain quickly to cities to avoid spoilage.

Transportation

Vital to the development of both a national and an industrial economy was an efficient network of interconnecting roads and canals for moving people, raw materials, and manufactured goods.

Roads Pennsylvania's **Lancaster Turnpike**, built in the 1790s, connected Philadelphia with the rich farmlands around Lancaster. Its success stimulated the construction of other privately built and relatively short toll roads that, by the mid-1820s, connected most of the country's major cities.

Despite the need for interstate roads, states' rights advocates blocked the spending of federal funds on internal improvements. Construction of highways that crossed state lines was therefore unusual. One notable exception was the **National, or Cumberland Road**, a paved highway and major route to the west extending more than a thousand miles from Maryland to Illinois. It was begun in 1811 and completed in the 1850s, using both federal and state money, with the different states receiving ownership of segments of the highway.

Canals The completion of the **Erie Canal** in New York State in 1825 was a major event in linking the economies of western farms and eastern cities. The success of this canal in stimulating economic growth touched off a frenzy of canal building in other states. In little more than a decade, canals joined together all of the major lakes and rivers east of the Mississippi. Improved transportation meant lower food prices in the East, more immigrants settling in the West, and stronger economic ties between the two sections.

Steam Engines and Steamboats The development of steam-powered engines in the 18th century revolutionized the location of factories. When factories ran on the power of moving water, they had to be located on a stream. However, a steam engine could be set up anywhere—in mills, mines, and factories. They first became widely used in Great Britain, but they spread to the United States in the 19th century.

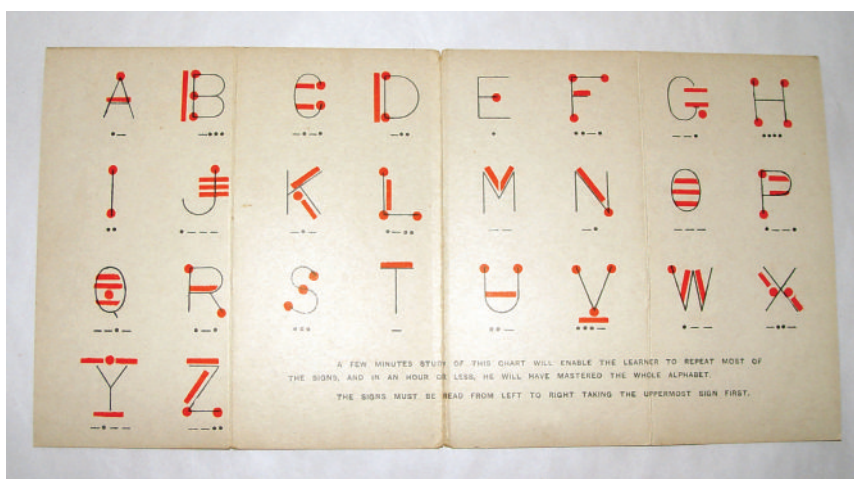
The age of mechanized, steam-powered travel began in 1807 with the successful voyage up the Hudson River of the *Clermont*, a steamboat developed by **Robert Fulton**. Early steamboats could travel upriver at speeds of almost five miles per hour. Commercially operated steamboat lines soon made round-trip shipping on the nation's great rivers both faster and cheaper. Hauling freight from Cincinnati to New York took more than seven weeks before the days of steamboats and canals. After, it took less than three weeks.

Railroads Even more rapid and reliable links between cities became possible with the building of the first U.S. railroad lines in the late 1820s. The early railroads were hampered at first by safety problems, but by the 1830s, they were competing directly with canals as an alternative method for carrying passengers and freight. The combination of railroads with the other major

improvements in transportation rapidly changed small western towns such as Cleveland, Cincinnati, Detroit, and Chicago into booming commercial centers of the expanding national economy. These improvements in transportation linked the regions of the North and the Midwest, as people in growing cities in Massachusetts and New York purchased much-needed wheat and corn raised in Ohio, Illinois, and states farther west. However, railroads were less common in the South, which continued to rely on rivers more than rails.

Communication

Changes in transportation brought the country closer together. But it could travel only as fast as ships could sail and horses could run. In 1844, inventor Samuel F. B. Morse demonstrated a successful **telegraph**, which transmitted messages along wires almost instantaneously. As wires were strung around the country, often along railroad tracks and later under oceans, for the first time in human history, people were able to communicate as fast as electricity could travel. Suddenly, managers in New York City, government officials in Washington, D.C., and military leaders in headquarters could direct people dozens, hundreds, or thousands of miles away more easily than ever before.



Source: Getty Images

Telegraphs used a system of short and long signals (dots and dashes) to send messages. The chart above provided a visual way to learn the code for each letter, asserting that people who studied it could learn the code in one hour or less.

Growth of Industry

At the start of the 19th century, a manufacturing economy had barely begun in the United States. By mid-century, however, U.S. manufacturing surpassed agriculture in value, and by century's end, it was the world's leader. This rapid industrial growth was the result of a unique combination of factors.

Mechanical Inventions Protected by patent laws, inventors looked forward to handsome rewards if their ideas for new tools or machines proved practical. **Eli Whitney**, who had developed the cotton gin in 1793 (see Topic 3.12), was only the most famous of hundreds of Americans whose long hours of tinkering in their workshops resulted in improved technology. During the War of 1812, he developed a system for making rifles using **interchangeable parts**, identical components that can be assembled to make a final product. Before this, the parts of a rifle were not standardized enough that one could be replaced for another. Under Eli's system, each part could be mass produced and then the parts could be put together to make a gun. This vastly increased the efficiency of making guns and other items. Interchangeable parts then became the basis for mass production methods in the new northern factories.

Corporations for Raising Capital In 1811, New York passed a law that made it easier for a business to incorporate and raise capital (money) by selling shares of stock. Other states soon followed New York's lead. Owners of a corporation risked only the amount of money that they invested in a venture. They were not personally responsible for losses incurred by the corporation. Changes in state corporation laws facilitated the raising of the large sums of capital necessary for building factories, canals, and railroads.

Factory System When Samuel Slater emigrated from Britain, taking information about factory designs out of the country was illegal. However, he had memorized the system and technology used in British cotton mills, and he applied these secrets to help establish the first U.S. textile factory in 1791. Early in the next century, the embargo and the War of 1812 stimulated domestic manufacturing and the protective tariffs enacted by Congress helped the new factories prosper.

In the 1820s, New England emerged as the country's leading manufacturing center as a result of the region's abundant waterpower for driving the new machinery and excellent seaports for shipping goods. Also, the decline of New England's maritime industry made capital available for manufacturing, while the decline of farming in the region yielded a ready labor supply. Other northern states with similar resources and problems—New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania—followed New England's lead. As the factory system expanded, it encouraged the growth of financial businesses such as banking and insurance.

Labor At first, factory owners had difficulty finding workers for their mills. Factory life could not compete with the lure of cheap land in the West. In response to this difficulty, **textile mills** in Lowell, Massachusetts, recruited young farm women and housed them in company dormitories. In the 1830s, other factories imitated the **Lowell System**. Many factories also made extensive use of child labor. Children as young as seven left home to work in the new factories. Toward the middle of the century, northern manufacturers began to employ immigrants in large numbers.

Unions Trade (or craft) unions were organized in major cities as early as the 1790s and increased in number as the factory system took hold. Many skilled workers (shoemakers and weavers, for example) had to seek employment in factories because their own small shops (the crafts system) produced items that could no longer compete with lower-priced, mass-produced goods. Long hours, low pay, and poor working conditions led to widespread discontent among factory workers. A prime goal of the early unions was to reduce the workday to ten hours. The obstacles to union success, however, were many: (1) immigrant replacement workers, (2) state laws outlawing unions, and (3) frequent economic depressions with high unemployment.

Commercial Agriculture

In the early 1800s, farming became more of a commercial enterprise and less of a means of providing subsistence for the family. Several factors promoted this switch to cash crops:

- Large areas of western land were made available at low prices by the federal government.
- State banks made acquiring land easier by providing farmers with loans at low interest rates.
- Initially, western farmers were limited to sending their products down the Ohio and Mississippi rivers to southern markets. The development of canals and railroads opened new markets in the growing factory cities in the East.

Cotton and the South

Throughout the 19th century, the principal cash crop in the South was cotton. Eli Whitney's invention of the **cotton gin** in 1793 (see Topic 3.12) transformed the agriculture of an entire region. Now that they could easily separate the cotton fiber from the seeds, southern planters found cotton more profitable than tobacco and indigo, the leading crops of the colonial period. They invested their capital in the purchase of enslaved African Americans and new land in Alabama and Mississippi (see Topic 4.13).

The cotton industry connected the South with a global economy. Mills in New England and Europe depended on cotton grown by enslaved workers in the South. Shipping firms, banks, and insurance companies based in the North, particularly New York City, prospered through their roles in the transport of cotton. Further, in order to devote all of their land to growing cotton, many plantation owners purchased pork, corn, and other food from states in the Midwest.

REFLECT ON THE LEARNING OBJECTIVE

1. Explain the motivation and results from the new developments in technology, farming, and business during this period.

KEY TERMS BY THEME

| | | |
|-------------------------------|---------------------------------------|--|
| Industry (WXT) | Robert Fulton; steamboats | factory system |
| Lancaster Turnpike | railroads | Lowell System; textile mills |
| National (Cumberland) Road | telegraph | unions |
| John Deere | Eli Whitney; interchangeable parts | cotton gin |
| Cyrus McCormick | corporations | market revolution |
| Erie Canal | Samuel Slater | Identities (ARC) Old Northwest |

MULTIPLE-CHOICE QUESTIONS

Questions 1–3 refer to the following excerpt.

“At home the people are the sovereign power. . . .

The industrial classes are the true sovereigns. Idleness is a condition so unrecognized and unrespected with us, that the few professing it find themselves immediately thrown out of the great machine of active life which constitutes American society.

“The CULTIVATORS OF THE SOIL constitute the great industrial class in this country. . . for, at this moment they do not only feed all other classes but also no insignificant portion of needy Europe, furnish the raw material for manufactures, and raise the great staples which figure so largely in the accounts of the merchant, the ship owner and manufacturer, in every village, town, and seaport in the Union. . . .

“The system of railroads and cheap transportation already begins to supply the seaboard cities with some fair and beautiful fruits of the fertile West.”

A. J. Downing, editor, *The Horticulturalist*, 1848

1. The crop that best fits Downing’s description as one of the “great staples which figure so largely in the accounts of the merchant, the ship owner and manufacturer” was
 - (A) corn, because it was the most important food crop in the Ohio River Valley
 - (B) tobacco, because it was the crop that first fostered the growth of slavery in Virginia
 - (C) sugar, because it was the most profitable crop in the British and French colonies in the Americas
 - (D) cotton, because it was the dominant export crop in the United States

2. The development of commercial farming in the Old Northwest contributed to increases in
 - (A) the development of interchangeable parts
 - (B) the number of enslaved people becoming fugitives
 - (C) the territory where slavery was allowed
 - (D) the number and size of towns and cities
3. The description in the third paragraph of the excerpt most clearly expresses which of the following visions of the United States?
 - (A) Alexander Hamilton's plan for a new nation
 - (B) Crèvecoeur's description of the American "New Man"
 - (C) Henry Clay's plan for economic growth
 - (D) Andrew Jackson's "politics of the Common Man"

SHORT-ANSWER QUESTION

Use complete sentences; an outline or bulleted list alone is not acceptable.

1. Answer (a), (b), and (c).
 - (a) Briefly explain ONE historical event or development in the period 1820 to 1860 that influenced the westward movement from the states along the Atlantic coast.
 - (b) Briefly explain ONE specific factor in the period 1820 to 1860 that resulted in the rapid population growth of cities on the Atlantic coast.
 - (c) Briefly explain how ONE specific group in the period 1820 to 1860 did not benefit from the westward movement.

Effects of the Market Revolution on Society and Culture

A high and honorable feeling generally prevails, and the people begin to assume, more and more, a national character

Hezekiah Niles, *Niles' Weekly Register*, 1815

Learning Objective: Explain how and why innovation in technology, agriculture, and commerce affected various segments of American society over time.

The wide impact of the market revolution that resulted from the innovations in technology, agriculture, and commerce affected all groups of people in the growing nation. They resulted in the development of a distinctively American culture, an increase in religious fervor, and support for various reform movements.

Specialization on the farm, the growth of cities, industrialization, and the development of modern capitalism meant the end of self-sufficient households and a growing interdependence among people. These changes combined to bring about a revolution in the marketplace. Farmers provided food to feed workers in cities, who in turn provided an array of mass-produced goods to farm families. For most Americans, the standard of living increased. At the same time, however, adapting to an impersonal, fast-changing economy presented challenges and problems.

Women

As American society became more urban and industrialized, the nature of work and family life changed for women, many of whom no longer worked next to their husbands on family farms. Women seeking employment in a city were usually limited to two choices: domestic service or teaching. Factory jobs, as in the Lowell System, were not common. The overwhelming majority of working women were single. If they married, they left their jobs and took up duties in the home.

In both urban and rural settings, women were gaining relatively more control over their lives. As more men worked away from home, women took on new responsibilities as moral leaders within the home, a development known as the cult of domesticity (see Topic 4.11). Marriages arranged by one's

parents became less common, and some women elected to have fewer children. Nevertheless, legal restrictions on women remained. For example, they could not vote.

Economic and Social Mobility

Real wages improved for most urban workers in the early 1800s, but the gap between the very wealthy and the very poor increased. Social mobility (moving upward in income level and social status) did occur from one generation to the next, and economic opportunities in the United States were greater than in Europe. Extreme examples of poor, hard-working people becoming millionaires, however, were rare.

Population Growth and Change

Population growth provided both the laborers and the consumers required for industrial development. Between 1800 and 1825, the U.S. population doubled; in the following 25 years, it doubled again. A high birthrate accounted for most of this growth, but it was strongly supplemented after 1830 by immigrants arriving from Europe, particularly from Great Britain and Germany. The nonwhite population—African Americans and American Indians—also grew in total number. However, as a percentage of the total population, nonwhites declined from almost 20 percent in 1790 to 15 percent in the 1850s. The enslaved population increased steadily despite the ban on the importation of enslaved Africans after 1808. In no other country in the Americas did the enslaved population generally increase after the slave trade ended.

By the 1830s, almost one-third of the population lived west of the Alleghenies. At the same time, both old and new urban areas were growing rapidly.

Immigration In 1820, about 8,000 immigrants arrived from Europe, but beginning in 1832, there was a sudden increase. After 1832, the number of new arrivals never fell below 50,000 a year and in one year, 1854, climbed as high as 428,000. From the 1830s through the 1850s, nearly 4 million people from northern Europe crossed the Atlantic to seek a new life in the United States.

The surge in immigration between 1830 and 1860 was chiefly the result of the following: (1) the development of inexpensive and relatively rapid ocean transportation, (2) famines and revolutions in Europe that drove people from their homelands, and (3) the growing reputation of the United States as a country offering economic opportunities and political freedom.

Arriving by ship in the northern seacoast cities of Boston, New York, and Philadelphia, many immigrants remained where they landed while others traveled to farms and cities of the Old Northwest. Few journeyed to the South, where the plantation economy and slavery limited the opportunities for free labor. The immigrants strengthened the U.S. economy by providing both a steady stream of inexpensive labor and an increased demand for mass-produced consumer goods.

Urban Life The North’s urban population grew from approximately 5 percent of the population in 1800 to 15 percent by 1850. As a result of such rapid growth in cities from Boston to Baltimore, slums also expanded. Crowded housing, poor sanitation, infectious diseases, and high rates of crime soon became characteristic of large working-class neighborhoods. Nevertheless, the new opportunities in cities offered by the **Industrial Revolution** continued to attract people from farming communities, including both native-born Americans and immigrants from Europe.

New Cities At key transportation points, small towns grew into thriving cities after 1820: Buffalo, Cleveland, Detroit, and Chicago on the Great Lakes, Cincinnati on the Ohio River, and St. Louis on the Mississippi River. The cities served as transfer points, processing farm products for shipment to the East and distributing manufactured goods from the East to their region.

| U.S. MANUFACTURING BY REGION, 1860 | | | |
|------------------------------------|--------------------------|---------------------|------------------|
| Region | Number of Establishments | Number of Employees | Value of Product |
| North Atlantic | 69,831 | 900,107 | \$1,213,897,518 |
| Old Northwest | 33,335 | 188,651 | \$346,675,290 |
| South | 27,779 | 166,803 | \$248,090,580 |
| West | 8,777 | 50,204 | \$71,229,989 |

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census. *Manufactures of the United States in 1860*

Organized Labor

As manufacturing became increasingly important in the economy, goods became less expensive. For those who could afford them, the standard of living improved. The shift in the economy also created a small class of people, including some factory owners and bankers, who were very wealthy and a growing middle class of people.

Industrial development meant that a large number of people who had once earned their living as independent farmers and artisans became dependent on wages earned in a factory. With the common problems of low pay, long hours, and unsafe working conditions, urban workers in different cities organized both unions and local political parties to protect their interests. The first U.S. labor party, founded in Philadelphia in 1828, succeeded in electing a few members of the city council. For a brief period in the 1830s, an increasing number of urban workers joined unions and participated in strikes.

Organized labor achieved one notable victory in 1842 when the Massachusetts Supreme Court ruled in *Commonwealth v. Hunt* that “peaceful unions” had the right to negotiate labor contracts with employers. During the 1840s, some state legislatures in the North passed laws establishing a **ten-hour workday** for industrial workers. Improvement for workers, however, continued to be limited by (1) periodic depressions, (2) employers and courts that were hostile to unions, and (3) an abundant supply of low-wage immigrant labor.

REFLECT ON THE LEARNING OBJECTIVE

1. Explain the reasons and ways advances in technology, agriculture, and commerce influenced different groups in American society during this period.

KEY TERMS BY THEME

Urban Growth (MIG)

urban life
new cities

**Industry & Problems
(WXT)**

Industrial Revolution
unions

Commonwealth v. Hunt
ten-hour workday

MULTIPLE-CHOICE QUESTIONS

Questions 1–3 refer to the following excerpt.

“We, the Journeyman Mechanics of the City and County of Philadelphia . . . are desirous of forming an association which shall avert as much as possible those evils which poverty and incessant toil have already inflicted

“If the mass of the people were enabled by their labor to procure for themselves and families a full and abundant supply of the comforts and conveniences of life, the consumption . . . would amount to at least twice the quantity it does at present, and of course the demand, by which alone employers are enabled either to subsist or accumulate, would likewise be increased in an equal proportion.

“The real object, therefore, of this association is to avert, if possible, the desolating evils which must inevitably arise from a depreciation of the intrinsic value of human labor; to raise the mechanical and productive classes to that condition of true independence and equality.”

Philadelphia Mechanics’ Union of Trade Associations, 1828

1. This excerpt supports the argument that the primary reason to form a union during the 1820s was to
 - (A) improve working conditions so people would have better lives
 - (B) lengthen the typical workday so people would earn more
 - (C) stop immigration so workers would have less competition for jobs
 - (D) form an alliance between White and Black laborers so workers would have more strength

2. Craftworkers and artisans in the 1820s were most negatively affected by
 - (A) transportation improvements
 - (B) ethnic rivalries
 - (C) federal laws
 - (D) technological changes
3. Urban workers attempted to improve their conditions through organizing labor unions and
 - (A) joining religious institutions
 - (B) forming political parties
 - (C) creating ethnic societies
 - (D) moving to working-class neighborhoods

SHORT-ANSWER QUESTIONS

Use complete sentences; an outline or bulleted list alone is not acceptable.

1. Answer (a), (b), and (c).
 - (a) Briefly describe ONE historical event or development in the period 1830 to 1860 that resulted in the rapid increase in immigration.
 - (b) Briefly describe how ONE specific effect that the immigrants who settled in the United States in the period 1830 to 1860 had on the development of the country.
 - (c) Briefly explain ONE reason immigrants had for settling in ONE specific region of the country in the period 1830 to 1860.
2. Answer (a), (b), and (c).
 - (a) Briefly explain ONE specific way the market revolution caused women's role in society to change.
 - (b) Briefly explain ONE specific way the market revolution caused the population to increase.
 - (c) Briefly explain ONE specific way the market revolution caused changes in the urban areas.

Expanding Democracy

“The political activity which pervades the United States must be seen in order to be understood. No sooner do you set foot upon American soil than you are stunned by a kind of tumult.”

Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, 1835

Learning Objective: Explain the causes and effects of the expansion of participatory democracy from 1800 to 1848.

The changing politics of the period from 1800 to 1848 paralleled complex social and economic changes.

Greater Equality

Visitors to the United States in the 1830s such as Alexis de Tocqueville, a young French aristocrat, were amazed by the informal manners and democratic attitudes of Americans. In hotels, men and women from all classes ate together at common tables. On stagecoaches, steamboats, and later in railroad cars, there was also only one class for passengers, so rich and poor alike sat together in the same compartments. European visitors could not distinguish between classes in the United States. Men of all backgrounds wore simple dark trousers and jackets, while less well-to-do women emulated the fanciful and confining styles illustrated in wide-circulation women’s magazines like *Godey’s Lady’s Book*. Equality was becoming the governing principle of American society.

The Rise of a Democratic Society

Among the White majority in American society, people shared a belief in the principle of equality—more precisely, equality of opportunity for White males. These beliefs ignored the enslavement of most African Americans and discrimination against everyone who was not White. Equality of opportunity would, at least in theory, allow a young man of humble origins to rise as far as his natural talent and industry would take him. The hero of the age was the “self-made man.”

There was no equivalent belief in the “self-made woman.” Restrictions, both legal and cultural, limited what women could do. But by the end of the 1840s, feminists would take up the theme of equal rights and insist that it should be applied to both women and men (see Topic 4.11).

Politics of the Common Man

Between 1824 and 1840, politics moved out of the fine homes of rich southern planters and northern merchants who had dominated government in past eras and into middle- and lower-class homes. Several factors contributed to the spread of democracy, including new suffrage laws, changes in political parties and campaigns, improved education, and increases in newspaper circulation.

Universal White Male Suffrage Western states newly admitted to the Union—Indiana (1816), Illinois (1818), and Missouri (1821)—adopted state constitutions that allowed all White males to vote and hold office. These newer constitutions omitted any religious or property qualifications for voting. Most eastern states soon followed suit, eliminating such restrictions. As a result, throughout the country, all White males could vote regardless of their social class or religion. Voting for president rose from about 350,000 in 1824 to more than 2.4 million in 1840, a nearly sevenfold increase in just 16 years, mostly as a result of changes in voting laws. In addition, political offices could be held by people in the lower and middle ranks of society.

Changes to Parties and Campaigns

Though not mentioned in the Constitution, political parties quickly became important. They channeled the energies of people into choosing leaders.

Party Nominating Conventions In the past, candidates for office had commonly been nominated either by state legislatures or by “**King Caucus**”—a closed-door meeting of a political party’s leaders in Congress. Common citizens had no opportunity to participate. In the 1830s, however, caucuses were replaced by nominating conventions. Party politicians and voters would gather in a large meeting hall to nominate the party’s candidates. The **Anti-Masonic Party** was the first to hold such a nominating convention. This method was more open to popular participation, hence more democratic.

Popular Election of the Electors In the presidential election of 1832, only South Carolina used the old system in which the state legislature chose the electors for president. All other states had adopted the more democratic method of allowing the voters to choose a state’s slate of presidential electors.

Two-Party System The popular election of presidential electors—and, indirectly, the president—had important consequences for the two-party system. Campaigns for president now had to be conducted on a national scale. To organize these campaigns, candidates needed large political parties.

Rise of Third Parties While only the large national parties (the Democrats and the Whigs in the 1830s) could hope to win the presidency, other political parties also emerged. The Anti-Masonic Party and the **Workingmen’s Party**, for example, reached out to groups of people who previously had shown little interest in politics. The Anti-Masons attacked the secret societies of Masons and accused them of belonging to an antidemocratic elite. The Workingmen’s Party tried to unite artisans and skilled laborers into a political organization.

More Elected Offices During the Jacksonian era, a larger proportion of state and local officials were elected to office instead of being appointed as they had been in the past. This change gave the voters more voice in their government and also tended to increase their interest in participating in elections.

Popular Campaigning Candidates for office directed their campaigns to the interests and prejudices of the common people. Politics also became a form of local entertainment. Campaigns of the 1830s and 1840s featured parades of floats and marching bands and large rallies in which voters were treated to free food and drink. The negative side to the new campaign techniques was that in appealing to the masses, candidates would often resort to personal attacks and ignore the issues. A politician, for example, might attack an opponent's "aristocratic airs" and make him seem unfriendly to "the common man."

Spoils System and Rotation of Officeholders Winning government jobs became the lifeblood of party organizations. At the national level, President Jackson believed in appointing people to federal jobs (as postmasters, for example) strictly according to whether they had actively campaigned for the Democratic Party. Any previous holder of the office who was not a Democrat was fired and replaced with a loyal Democrat. This practice of dispensing government jobs in return for party loyalty was called the *spoils system* because of a comment that, in a war, victors seize the spoils, or wealth, of the defeated.

In addition, Jackson believed in a system of **rotation in office**. By limiting a person to one term in office, he could then appoint some other deserving Democrat in his place. Jackson defended the replacement and rotation of officeholders as a democratic reform. "No man," he said, "has any more intrinsic claim to office than another." Both the spoils system and the rotation of officeholders affirmed the democratic ideal that one man was as good as another and that ordinary Americans were capable of holding any government office. These beliefs also helped build a strong two-party system.



HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES: THE JACKSONIANS AND EXPANDING DEMOCRACY

Historians debate whether the election of Jackson in 1828 marked a revolutionary and democratic turn in American politics. The traditional view is that Jackson's election began the era of the common man, when the masses of newly enfranchised voters drove out the entrenched ruling class and elected one of their own. The Revolution of 1828 was a victory of the democratic West against the aristocratic East. On the other hand, 19th-century Whig historians viewed Jackson as a despot whose appeal to the uneducated masses and "corrupt" spoils system threatened the republic.

Urban Workers In the 1940s, the historian Arthur M. Schlesinger Jr. argued that Jacksonian democracy relied as much on the support of eastern urban workers as on western farmers. Jackson's coalition of farmers and workers foreshadowed a similar coalition that elected another Democratic president, Franklin D. Roosevelt, in the 1930s.

Cultural Influence Contemporary historians have used quantitative analysis of voting returns to show that increased voter participation was evident in local elections years before 1828 and did not reach a peak until the election of 1840, an election that the Whig Party won. Some historians argue that religion and ethnicity were more important than economic class in shaping votes. For example, Catholic immigrants objected to the imposition of the Puritan moral code (e.g., temperance) by the native-born Protestants.

Economic Clash Recent historians see Jackson's popularity in the 1830s as a reaction of subsistence farmers and urban workers against threatening forces of economic change. A capitalist, or market, economy was taking shape in the early years of the 19th century. This market revolution divided the electorate. Some, including many Whigs, wanted a greater role for business owners. Jackson's veto of the bank captured popular fears about the rise of capitalism.

Support an Argument *Explain two perspectives on the factors that caused the expansion of democracy in the early 19th century.*

REFLECT ON THE LEARNING OBJECTIVE

1. Explain what brought about changes in democracy during this period, and identify the changes.

KEY TERMS BY THEME

Common Man (NAT, POL)

common man
universal White male suffrage
party nominating convention
"King Caucus"
popular election of president

Politics (POL)

Anti-Masonic Party
Workingmen's Party
popular campaigning
spoils system
rotation in office

MULTIPLE-CHOICE QUESTIONS

Questions 1–3 refer to the following excerpt.

"Our citizens who have not yet voted, have one more day in which they may exercise the privilege of determining whom they will have for their rulers. The old party lines are nearly obliterated, but there has sprung up a new interest which is formidable, both for the number of its adherents, and the disorganizing purposes by which they are actuated. By throwing open the polls to every man that walks, we have placed the power in the hands of those who have neither property, talents, nor influence in other circumstances; and who require in their public offices no higher qualifications than they possess themselves."

New York Journal of Commerce, November 7, 1829

1. The remarks in the excerpt were most likely made in response to which of the following?
 - (A) Popular campaigning
 - (B) Universal White male suffrage
 - (C) Expanding caucus system
 - (D) Return of a two-party system
2. Which of the following developments most directly supports the claim in the excerpt that “the old party lines are nearly obliterated”?
 - (A) The rise of the Federalist Party, particularly in New England
 - (B) The increased use of the spoils system to fill government jobs
 - (C) The idea of rotation in office as advocated by Andrew Jackson
 - (D) The rise of new parties such as the Workingmen’s Party
3. Which of the following statements about the period 1824 to 1840 could be used to modify or refute the claim in the last sentence of the excerpt?
 - (A) More states used popular elections to choose members of the Electoral College.
 - (B) Political parties began to use conventions to nominate candidates.
 - (C) The number of votes in presidential elections increased sevenfold.
 - (D) The opportunities for women and African Americans to participate in politics remained unchanged.

SHORT-ANSWER QUESTION

Use complete sentences; an outline or bulleted list alone is not acceptable.

1. Answer (a), (b), and (c).
 - (a) Briefly explain ONE historical event or development in the period 1824 to 1840 that demonstrated the spread of democracy and the “politics of the common man.”
 - (b) Briefly explain how ONE specific group in the period 1824 to 1840 did not share in the spread of democracy and the “politics of the common man.”
 - (c) Briefly explain ONE historical event or development in the period 1824 to 1840 that demonstrated the growth of political parties.

Jackson and Federal Power

It is to be regretted that the rich and powerful too often bend the acts of government to their own selfish purposes.

Andrew Jackson, on his veto of the national bank bill, July 10, 1832

Learning Objective: Explain the causes and effects of continuing policy debates about the role of the federal government from 1800 to 1848.

The era marked by the emergence of popular politics in the 1820s and the presidency of **Andrew Jackson** (1829–1837) is often called the Age of the Common Man or the Era of Jacksonian Democracy. Historians debate whether Jackson was a major molder of events, a political opportunist exploiting the democratic ferment of the times, or merely a symbol of the era. Nevertheless, the era and Jackson’s name are strongly linked.

Jackson Versus Adams

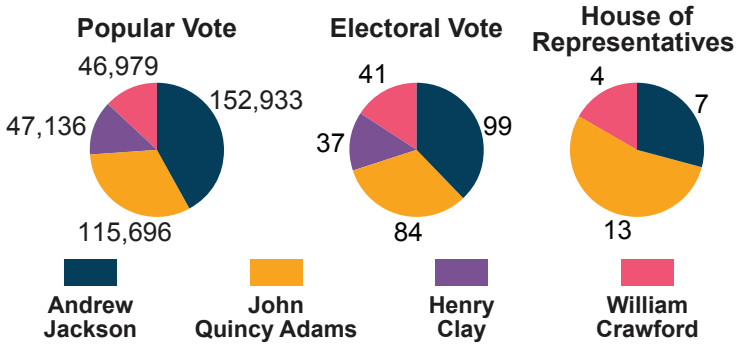
Political change in the Jacksonian era began several years before Jackson moved into the White House as president. In the controversial election in 1824, Jackson won more popular and electoral votes than any other candidate but he ended up losing the election.

The Election of 1824

Recall the brief Era of Good Feelings that characterized U.S. politics during the two-term presidency of James Monroe. The era ended in political bad feelings in 1824, the year of a bitterly contested and divisive presidential election. By then, the old congressional caucus system for choosing presidential candidates had broken down. As a result, four candidates from the Democratic-Republican Party of Jefferson campaigned for the presidency: **John Quincy Adams, Henry Clay, William Crawford, and Andrew Jackson.**

Among voters in states that counted popular votes (six did not), Jackson won. But because the vote was split four ways, he lacked a majority in the Electoral College as required by the Constitution. Therefore, the House of Representatives had to choose a president from among the top three candidates. Henry Clay used his influence in the House to provide John Quincy Adams of Massachusetts with enough votes to win the election. When President Adams appointed Clay his secretary of state, Jackson and his followers charged that the decision of the voters had been foiled by secret political maneuvers. Angry Jackson supporters accused Adams and Clay of making a “**corrupt bargain.**”

THE ELECTION OF 1824



Source: Jeffrey B. Morris and Richard B. Morris, editors. *Encyclopedia of American History*

President John Quincy Adams

Adams further alienated the followers of Jackson when he asked Congress for money for internal improvements, aid to manufacturing, and even a national university and an astronomical observatory. Jacksonians viewed all these measures as a waste of money and a violation of the Constitution. Most significantly, in 1828, Congress patched together a new tariff law, which generally satisfied northern manufacturers but alienated southern planters. Southerners denounced it as a “tariff of abominations.”

The Revolution of 1828

Adams sought reelection in 1828. But the Jacksonians were now ready to use the discontent of southerners and westerners and the new campaign tactics of party organization to sweep “Old Hickory” (Jackson) into office. Going beyond parades and barbecues, Jackson’s party resorted to smearing the president and accusing Adams’s wife of being born out of wedlock. Supporters of Adams retaliated in kind, accusing Jackson’s wife of adultery. The mudslinging campaign attracted a lot of interest, and voter turnout soared.

Jackson won handily, carrying every state west of the Appalachians. His reputation as a war hero and man of the western frontier accounted for his victory more than the positions he took on issues of the day.

The Presidency of Andrew Jackson

Jackson was a different kind of president from any of his predecessors. A strong leader, he not only dominated politics for eight years but also became a symbol of the emerging working class and middle class (the so-called common man). Born in a frontier cabin, Jackson gained fame as an Indian fighter and as hero of the Battle of New Orleans and came to live in a fine mansion in Tennessee as a wealthy planter and slaveowner. But he never lost the rough manners of **the frontier**. He chewed tobacco, fought several duels, and displayed a violent temper. Jackson was the first president since Washington to be without a college

education. In a phrase, he could be described as an extraordinary ordinary man. This self-made man and living legend drew support from every social group and every section of the country.

Presidential Power Jackson presented himself as the representative of all the people and the protector of the common man against abuses of power by the rich and the privileged. He was a frugal Jeffersonian, who opposed increasing federal spending and the national debt. Jackson interpreted the powers of Congress narrowly and, therefore, vetoed more bills—12—than all six preceding presidents combined. For example, he vetoed the use of federal money to construct the Maysville Road because it was wholly within one state, Kentucky, the home state of Jackson’s rival, Henry Clay.

Jackson’s closest advisers were a group known as his “kitchen cabinet” who did not belong to his official cabinet. Because of them, the appointed cabinet had less influence on policy than under earlier presidents.

Peggy Eaton Affair The champion of the common man also went to the aid of the common woman, at least in the case of Peggy O’Neale Eaton. The wife of Jackson’s secretary of war, she was the target of malicious gossip by other cabinet wives, much as Jackson’s recently deceased wife had been in the 1828 campaign. When Jackson tried to force the cabinet wives to accept Peggy Eaton socially, most of the cabinet resigned. This controversy contributed to the resignation of Jackson’s vice president, **John C. Calhoun**, a year later. For remaining loyal during this crisis, **Martin Van Buren** of New York was chosen as vice president for Jackson’s second term.

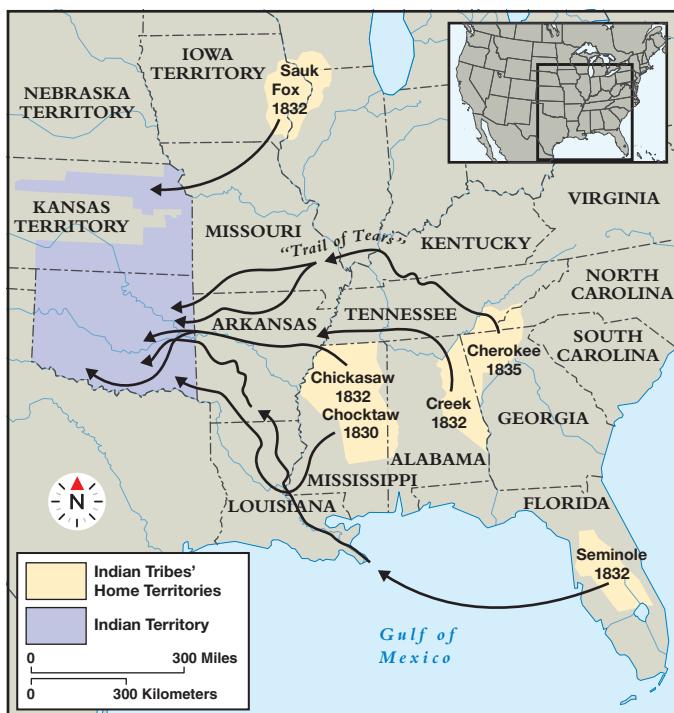
Indian Removal Act (1830) Jackson’s concept of democracy did not extend to American Indians. Jackson sympathized with land-hungry citizens who were impatient to take over lands held by American Indians. Jackson thought the most humane solution was to compel the American Indians to leave their traditional homelands and resettle west of the Mississippi. In 1830, he signed into law the Indian Removal Act, which forced the resettlement of many thousands of American Indians.

By 1835, most eastern tribes had reluctantly complied and moved west. The Bureau of Indian Affairs was created in 1836 to assist the resettled tribes.

Most politicians supported a policy of Indian removal. Georgia and other states passed laws requiring the Cherokees to migrate to **the West**. When the Cherokees challenged Georgia in the courts, the Supreme Court ruled in **Cherokee Nation v. Georgia** (1831) that Cherokees were not a foreign nation with the right to sue in a federal court. But in a second case, **Worcester v. Georgia** (1832), the high court ruled that the laws of Georgia had no force within Cherokee territory. In this clash between a state’s laws and the federal courts, Jackson sided with the states. The Court was powerless to enforce its decision without the President’s support.

Trail of Tears Most Cherokees repudiated the settlement of 1835, which provided land in the Indian territory. In 1838, after Jackson had left office, the U.S. Army forced 15,000 Cherokees to leave Georgia. The hardships on the **Trail of Tears** westward caused the deaths of 4,000 Cherokees.

INDIAN REMOVAL IN THE 1830s



Nullification Crisis Jackson favored **states' rights**—but not disunion. In 1828, the South Carolina legislature declared the increased tariff of 1828, the so-called **Tariff of Abominations**, to be unconstitutional. In doing so, it affirmed a theory advanced by Jackson's first vice president, John C. Calhoun. According to this *nullification theory*, each state had the right to decide whether to obey a federal law or to declare it null and void (of no effect).

In 1830, the conflicting views of the nature of the federal Union under the Constitution led to a dramatic exchange of speeches between Senators Daniel Webster of Massachusetts and Robert Hayne of South Carolina. Hayne argued for the rights of states. In response, Webster attacked the idea that any state could defy or leave the Union.

Following this famous **Webster-Hayne debate**, President Jackson declared his own position in a toast he presented at a political dinner. "Our federal Union," he declared, "it must be preserved." Calhoun responded immediately with another toast: "The Union, next to our liberties, most dear!"

In 1832, Calhoun's South Carolina increased tensions by holding a special convention to nullify both the hated 1828 tariff and a new tariff of 1832. The convention passed a resolution forbidding collection of tariffs within the state. Jackson reacted decisively. He told the secretary of war to prepare the military. He persuaded Congress to pass the Force Bill, which gave him authority to act against South Carolina. Jackson also issued a **Proclamation to the People of South Carolina**, stating that nullification and disunion were treason.

But federal troops did not march in this crisis. Jackson opened the door for compromise by suggesting that Congress lower the tariff. South Carolina postponed nullification and later formally rescinded it after Congress enacted a new tariff along the lines suggested by the president, along with some adjustments that appealed to Northern industrialists.

Opposition to Antislavery Efforts Jackson's strong defense of federal authority forced the militant advocates of states' rights to retreat. On another issue, however, militant southerners had Jackson's support. The president shared southerners' alarm about the growing antislavery movement in the North. He used his executive power to stop antislavery literature from being sent through the U.S. mail. Southern Jacksonians trusted that Jackson would not extend democracy to African Americans.

Bank Veto Another major issue of Jackson's presidency concerned the rechartering of the **Bank of the United States**. This bank and its branches, although privately owned, received federal deposits and attempted to serve a public purpose by cushioning the ups and downs of the national economy. The bank's president, **Nicholas Biddle**, managed it effectively. Biddle's arrogance, however, contributed to popular suspicion that the bank abused its powers and served the interests of only the wealthy. Jackson shared this suspicion. In addition, Jackson believed that the Bank of the United States was unconstitutional.

Henry Clay, Jackson's chief political opponent, favored the bank. In 1832, an election year, Clay challenged Jackson by persuading a majority in Congress to pass a bank recharter bill. Jackson promptly vetoed it, denouncing the bank as a private monopoly that enriched the wealthy and foreigners at the expense of the common people and a "hydra of corruption." The voters backed Jackson, who won reelection with more than three-fourths of the electoral vote.

The Two-Party System

The brief one-party system that had characterized Monroe's presidency (the Era of Good Feelings) had given way to a two-party system under Jackson. Supporters of Jackson were now known as **Democrats**, while supporters of his leading rival, Henry Clay, were called **Whigs**. The Democratic Party harked back to the old Democratic-Republican Party of Jefferson, and the Whig Party resembled the defunct Federalist Party of Hamilton. Just as the Federalists had supported a national bank and a national road in order to promote economic growth, the Whigs supported spending federal money for internal improvements, such as roads, canals, and harbors.

At the same time, the new parties reflected the changed conditions of the Jacksonian era. Democrats and Whigs alike were challenged to respond to the relentless westward expansion of the nation and the emergence of an industrial economy.

Jackson's Second Term

After winning reelection in 1832, Jackson moved to destroy the Bank of the United States.

Pet Banks Jackson attacked the bank by withdrawing all federal funds. Aided by Secretary of the Treasury **Roger Taney**, he transferred the funds to various state banks, which Jackson's critics called "pet banks."

Specie Circular As a result of both Jackson's financial policies and the feverish purchase of western lands by many speculators, prices for land and various goods became greatly inflated. Jackson hoped to check the inflationary trend by issuing a presidential order known as the Specie Circular. It required that all future purchases of federal lands be made in specie (gold and silver) rather than in paper banknotes. Soon afterward, banknotes lost their value and land sales plummeted. Right after Jackson left office, a financial crisis—the **Panic of 1837**—plunged the nation's economy into a depression.

The Election of 1836

Following the two-term tradition set by his predecessors, Jackson did not seek a third term. To make sure his policies were carried out even in his retirement, Jackson persuaded the Democratic Party to nominate his loyal vice president, Martin Van Buren, who was a master of practical politics.

Fearing defeat, the Whig Party adopted the unusual strategy of nominating three candidates from three different regions. In doing so, the Whigs hoped to throw the election into the House of Representatives, where each state had one vote in the selection of the president. The Whig strategy failed, however, as Van Buren took 58 percent of the electoral vote.

| DEMOCRATS AND WHIGS IN THE AGE OF JACKSON | | |
|---|--|--|
| | Democrats | Whigs |
| Issues | <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Opposed a national bank• Opposed protective tariffs• Opposed federal spending for internal improvements• Concerned about high land prices in the West• Concerned about business monopolies | <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Supported a national bank• Supported protective tariffs• Support federal spending for internal improvements• Concerned about crime associated with immigrants |
| Base of Voter Support | <ul style="list-style-type: none">• The South and West• Urban workers | <ul style="list-style-type: none">• New England and the Mid-Atlantic states• Urban professionals |

President Van Buren and the Panic of 1837

Just as Van Buren took office, the country suffered a financial panic as one bank after another closed its doors. Jackson's opposition to the rechartering of the Bank of the United States was only one of many causes of the panic and resulting economic depression. But the Whigs were quick to blame the

Democrats for their laissez-faire economics, which advocated for little federal involvement in the economy.

The “Log Cabin and Hard Cider” Campaign of 1840

In the election of 1840, the Whigs were in a strong position to defeat Van Buren and the Jacksonian Democrats. Voters were unhappy with the bad state of the economy. In addition, the Whigs were better organized than the Democrats and had a popular war hero, William Henry “Tippecanoe” Harrison, as their presidential candidate. The Whigs took campaign hoopla to new heights. To symbolize Harrison’s humble origins, they put log cabins on wheels and paraded them down the streets of cities and towns. They also passed out hard cider for voters to drink and buttons and hats to wear. Name-calling as a propaganda device also marked the 1840 campaign. The Whigs attacked “Martin Van Ruin” as an aristocrat with a taste for foreign wines.

A remarkable 78 percent of eligible voters (White males) cast their ballots. Old “Tippecanoe” and John Tyler of Virginia, a former states’ rights Democrat who joined the Whigs, took 53 percent of the popular vote and most of the electoral votes in all three sections: North, South, and West. This election established the Whigs as a national party.

However, Harrison died of pneumonia less than a month after taking office, and “His Accidency,” John Tyler, became the first vice president to succeed to the presidency. President Tyler was not much of a Whig. He vetoed the Whigs’ national bank bills and other legislation and favored southern and expansionist Democrats during the balance of his term (1841–1845).

The Western Frontier

Jackson’s view of Native Americans and the Trail of Tears both reflect a common opinion and approach in the 19th century. If as the United States expanded westward, the definition of the “West” kept changing, attitudes towards the land and the American Indians remained constant. In the 1600s, the West referred to all the lands not along the Atlantic coast. In the 1700s, the West meant lands on the other side of the Appalachian Mountains. By the mid-1800s, the West lay beyond the Mississippi River and reached to California and the Oregon Territory on the Pacific coast.

American Indians

The original settlers of the West—and the entire North American continent—were various groups of American Indians. However, from the time of Columbus, American Indians were cajoled, pushed, or driven westward as White settlers encroached on their original homelands.

Exodus By 1850, the vast majority of American Indians were living west of the Mississippi River. Those to the east had either been killed by disease, died

in battles, emigrated reluctantly, or had been forced to leave their land by treaty or military action. The **Great Plains**, however, would provide only a temporary respite from conflict with White settlers.

Life on the Plains Horses brought to America by the Spanish in the 1500s revolutionized life for American Indians on the Great Plains. Some tribes continued to live in villages and farm, but the horse allowed tribes such as the Cheyenne and the Sioux to become nomadic hunters following the buffalo. Those living a nomadic way of life could more easily move away from advancing settlers or oppose their encroachments by force.

The Frontier

Although the location of the western frontier constantly shifted, the *concept* of the frontier remained the same from generation to generation. The same forces that had brought the original colonists to the Americas motivated their descendants and new immigrants to move westward. In the public imagination, the West represented the possibility of a fresh start for those willing to venture there. If not in fact, at least in theory and myth, the West beckoned as a place promising greater freedom for all ethnic groups: American Indians, African Americans, European Americans, and eventually Asian Americans as well.

Mountain Men From the point of view of White Americans, the Rocky Mountains in the 1820s were a far-distant frontier—a total wilderness except for American Indian villages. The earliest White people in the area had followed Lewis and Clark and explored American Indian trails as they trapped for furs. These mountain men, as they were called, served as the guides and pathfinders for settlers crossing the mountains into California and Oregon in the 1840s.

White Settlers on the Western Frontier

Whether the frontier lay in Minnesota or Oregon or California in the 1830s and 1840s, daily life for White settlers was similar to that of the early colonists. They worked hard from sunrise to sunset and lived in log cabins, sod huts, or other shelters built from locally available resources. Disease and malnutrition were far greater dangers than attacks by American Indians.

Women Often living many miles from the nearest neighbor, pioneer women performed myriad daily tasks, including those of doctor, teacher, seamstress, and cook—as well as chief assistant in the fields to their farmer husbands. The isolation, endless work, and rigors of childbirth resulted in a short lifespan for frontier women.

Environmental Damage Settlers had little understanding of the fragile nature of land and wildlife. As settlers moved into an area, they would clear entire forests and after only two generations, exhaust the soil with poor farming methods. At the same time, trappers and hunters brought the beaver and the buffalo to the brink of **extinction**.

| IMPACT OF EUROPEAN SETTLEMENT ON FORESTED LAND | | |
|--|--|---|
| State | Forested Land before European Settlement | Forested Land after Extensive European Settlement |
| Pennsylvania | 90% to 95% | 35% |
| Illinois | 40% | 12% |
| Wisconsin | 63% to 86% | 50% |
| Iowa | 19% | 8% |

Sources: Pennsylvania Bureau of Forestry, University of Illinois Extension, University of Wisconsin—Stevens Point, Iowa State Forest Resource Assessment

REFLECT ON THE LEARNING OBJECTIVE

1. Explain the reasons for and results from the ongoing arguments over the powers of the federal government.

KEY TERMS BY THEME

Migration (NAT, MIG)

Indian Removal Act (1830)
Cherokee Nation v. Georgia
Worcester v. Georgia
 Trail of Tears
 Great Plains
 White settlers

Economics (WXT)

Bank of the United States
 Nicholas Biddle
 Roger Taney
 “pet banks”
 Specie Circular
 Panic of 1837
 Martin Van Buren

Jacksonian Politics (POL)

John Quincy Adams
 Henry Clay
 “corrupt bargain”
 Tariff of 1828; Tariff of Abominations

Revolution of 1828
 Andrew Jackson
 role of the president
 Peggy Eaton affair
 states’ rights
 nullification crisis
 Webster-Hayne debate
 John C. Calhoun
 Proclamation to the People of South Carolina
 two-party system
 Democrats
 Whigs
 “log cabin and hard cider” campaign

Identities & Conflict (ARC)

the West
 the frontier

Ignorance (GEO)

environmental damage
 extinction

MULTIPLE-CHOICE QUESTIONS

Questions 1–3 refer to the following excerpt.

“It is to be regretted that the rich and powerful too often bend the acts of government to their selfish purposes. Distinctions in society will always exist under every just government. . . . In the full enjoyment of the gifts of Heaven and the fruits of superior industry, economy, and virtue, every man is equally entitled to protection by law; but when the laws undertake to add to these natural and just advantages artificial distinctions . . . to make the rich richer . . . the humble members of society—the farmers, mechanics, and laborers . . . have a right to complain of the injustices of their government. There are no necessary evils in government. . . . If it would confine itself to equal protection . . . the rich and the poor, it would be an unqualified blessing. In the act before me there seems to be a wide and unnecessary departure from these just principles.”

President Andrew Jackson, message vetoing the Bank of
the United States, July 10, 1832

1. As expressed in this excerpt, President Jackson’s guiding principle to check “the injustices of government” was
 - (A) limited government
 - (B) the two-party system
 - (C) the principle of nullification
 - (D) the civil service system
2. Jackson’s action on the bank bill supported his views in this excerpt because he saw the bank as a symbol of
 - (A) the natural distinctions that exist in a society
 - (B) the results of the superior industry by some people
 - (C) the role of the government to provide equal protection
 - (D) the government helping the rich more than the poor
3. President Jackson’s veto of the bank bill contributed most significantly to
 - (A) lower interest rates
 - (B) a financial panic
 - (C) increased land sales
 - (D) more political support for Henry Clay

SHORT-ANSWER QUESTIONS

Use complete sentences; an outline or bulleted list alone is not acceptable.

1. “He [Jackson] believed that removal was the Indians’ only salvation against certain extinction. . . .

Not that the President was motivated by concerns for the Indians Andrew Jackson was motivated principally by two considerations: first . . . military safety . . . that Indians must not occupy areas that might jeopardize the defense of this nation; and second, . . . the principle that all persons residing within states are subject to the jurisdiction and laws of those states. . . .

Would it have been worse had the Indians remained in the East? Jackson thought so. He said that they would ‘disappear and be forgotten.’ One thing does seem certain: the Indians would have been forced to yield to state laws and white society. Indian Nations per se would have been obliterated.”

Robert V. Remini, historian, *Andrew Jackson: The Course of American Freedom, 1822–1832*, 1998

“The Georgia legislature passed a law extending the state’s jurisdiction . . . over the Cherokees living within the state.

Georgia’s action forced the President’s hand. He must see to it that a removal policy long covertly pursued by the White House would now be enacted into law by Congress. . . .

Jackson as usual spoke publicly in a tone of friendship and concern for Indian welfare. . . . He, as President, could be their friend only if they removed beyond the Mississippi, where they should have a ‘land of their own, which they shall possess as long as Grass grows or water runs’

A harsh policy was nevertheless quickly put in place.

It is abundantly clear that Jackson and his administration were determined to permit the extension of state sovereignty because it would result in the harassment of Indians, powerless to resist, by speculators and intruders hungry for Indian land.”

Anthony F. C. Wallace, historian, *The Long, Bitter Trail: Andrew Jackson and the Indians*, 1993

Using the excerpts, answer (a), (b), and (c).

- (a) Briefly describe ONE major difference between Remini's and Wallace's historical interpretations of Jackson's Indian removal policies.
- (b) Briefly explain how ONE specific historical event or development in the period 1824 to 1844 that is not explicitly mentioned in the excerpts could be used to support Remini's interpretation.
- (c) Briefly explain how ONE specific historical event or development in the period 1824 to 1844 that is not explicitly mentioned in the excerpts could be used to support Wallace's interpretation.

2. Answer (a), (b), and (c).

- (a) Briefly explain ONE historical event or development in the period 1824 to 1840 that demonstrated the efforts of President Andrew Jackson to increase the powers of the federal government.
- (b) Briefly explain ONE historical event or development in the period 1824 to 1840 that challenged the efforts of President Andrew Jackson to increase the powers of the federal government?
- (c) Briefly explain ONE historical event or development in the period 1824 to 1840 that demonstrated President Andrew Jackson's view of the role of nonwhite people in America.

Topic 4.9

The Development of an American Culture

He is the true artist whose life is his material; every stroke of the chisel must enter his own flesh and bone and not grate dully on marble.

Henry David Thoreau, *Journal*, June 1840

Learning Objective: Explain how and why a new national culture developed from 1800 to 1848.

Much of America's early culture reflected that of Britain and the other European countries from which settlers had come. With their independence assured by the early 19th century, Americans increasingly developed a culture of their own, often one with a strong nationalistic tone. However, Americans continued to be influenced by their European heritage and to look to Europe for new ideas. Furthermore, the growing national culture emerged at the same time regional variations of it became increasingly evident.

Cultural Nationalism

The generation of Americans that became adults in the first decades of the 19th century had concerns that differed from those of the nation's founders. The young were excited about the prospects of the new nation expanding westward and had little interest in European politics now that the Napoleonic wars (as well as the War of 1812) were in the past. As fervent nationalists, they believed their young country was entering an era of unlimited prosperity. Patriotic themes infused every aspect of American society, from art to schoolbooks. Heroes of the Revolution were enshrined in the paintings by Gilbert Stuart, Charles Willson Peale, and John Trumbull. A fictionalized biography extolling the virtues of George Washington, written by Parson Mason Weems, was widely read. The expanding public schools embraced Noah Webster's blue-backed speller, which promoted patriotism long before his famous dictionary was published. The basic ideas and ideals of nationalism and patriotism would dominate most of the 19th century.

A Changing Culture: Ideas, the Arts, and Literature

In Europe, during the early years of the 19th century, artists and writers shifted away from the Enlightenment emphasis on reason, order, and balance and

toward intuition, feelings, individual acts of heroism, and the study of nature. This new movement, known as **romanticism**, was most clearly expressed in the United States by the **transcendentalists**, a small group of New England thinkers.

The Transcendentalists

Writers such as **Ralph Waldo Emerson** and **Henry David Thoreau** questioned the doctrines of established churches and the business practices of the merchant class. They argued for a mystical and intuitive way of thinking as a means for discovering one's inner self and looking for the essence of God in nature. Their views challenged the materialism of American society by suggesting that artistic expression was more important than the pursuit of wealth. Although the transcendentalists valued individualism highly and downplayed the importance of organized institutions, they supported a variety of reforms, especially the antislavery movement.

Ralph Waldo Emerson (1803–1882) The best-known transcendentalist, Ralph Waldo Emerson, was a very popular American writer and speaker. His essays and lectures expressed the individualistic and nationalistic spirit of Americans by urging them not to imitate European culture but to create a distinctive *American* culture. He argued for self-reliance, independent thinking, and the primacy of spiritual matters over material ones. A northerner who lived in Concord, Massachusetts, Emerson became a leading critic of slavery in the 1850s and then an ardent supporter of the Union during the Civil War.

Henry David Thoreau (1817–1862) Also living in Concord and a close friend of Emerson was Henry David Thoreau. To test his transcendentalist philosophy, Thoreau conducted a two-year experiment of living simply in a cabin in the woods outside town. He used observations of nature to help him search for essential truths about life and the universe. Thoreau's writings from these years were published in the book for which he is best known, ***Walden*** (1854). Because of this book, Thoreau is remembered today as a pioneer ecologist and conservationist.

Though often detached from politics, Thoreau felt strongly that the U.S. war against Mexico (1846–1848) was immoral. To express his opposition, he refused to pay a tax that would support the war. For breaking the tax law, Thoreau was arrested and jailed. He stayed only one night—an unknown person paid his tax for him. Thoreau's reflections on the necessity for disobeying unjust laws and accepting the penalty in his essay known as "**On Civil Disobedience**" added to his lasting fame. In the 20th century, Thoreau's ideas and actions would inspire the nonviolent movements of both Mohandas Gandhi in India and Martin Luther King Jr. in the United States.

Brook Farm Could a community of people live out the transcendentalist ideal? In 1841, **George Ripley**, a Protestant minister, launched a communal experiment at Brook Farm in Massachusetts. His goal was to achieve "a more natural union between intellectual and manual labor." Living at Brook Farm at times were some of the leading intellectuals of the period. Emerson went, as

did **Margaret Fuller**, a **feminist** (advocate of women's rights) writer and editor; **Theodore Parker**, a theologian and radical reformer; and **Nathaniel Hawthorne**, a novelist. A bad fire and heavy debts forced the end of the experiment in 1849. But Brook Farm was remembered for its atmosphere of artistic creativity, its innovative school, and its appeal to New England's intellectual elite and their children.

Other Communal Experiments

Brook Farm was just one attempt to set up an intentionally organized society. The idea of withdrawing from conventional society to create an ideal community, or **utopia**, in a fresh setting was not a new idea. But never before were social experiments so numerous as during the **antebellum** years. The open lands of the United States proved fertile ground for more than a hundred experimental communities. The early members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints undertook one type of a religious communal effort (see Topic 4.10). Brook Farm was an example of a humanistic, or secular, experiment. Although many of the communities were short-lived, these "backwoods utopias" reflect the diversity of the reform ideas of the time.

Shakers One of the earliest religious communal movements, the Shakers had about 6,000 members in various communities by the 1840s. Shakers held property in common and kept women and men strictly separate (forbidding marriage and sexual relations). For lack of new recruits, the Shaker communities virtually died out by the mid-1900s.

The Amana Colonies The settlers of the Amana Colonies in Iowa were Germans who belonged to the religious reform movement known as Pietism. Like the Shakers, they emphasized simple, communal living. However, they allowed for marriage. Their communities continue to prosper, although they no longer practice their communal ways of living.

New Harmony The secular (nonreligious) experiment in New Harmony, Indiana, was the work of the Welsh industrialist and reformer **Robert Owen**. Owen hoped his utopian socialist community would provide an answer to the problems of inequity and alienation caused by the Industrial Revolution. The experiment failed, however, as a result of both financial problems and disagreements among members of the community.

Oneida Community After undergoing a religious conversion, John Humphrey Noyes started a cooperative community in Oneida, New York, in 1848. Dedicated to an ideal of perfect social and economic equality, community members shared property and, later, marriage partners. Critics attacked the Oneida system of planned reproduction and communal child-rearing as a sinful experiment in "free love." Despite the controversy, the community managed to prosper economically by producing and selling silverware of excellent quality.

Fourier Phalanxes In the 1840s, the theories of the French socialist **Charles Fourier** attracted the interest of many Americans. In response to the problems

of a fiercely competitive society, Fourier advocated that people share work and housing in communities known as Fourier Phalanxes. This movement died out quickly as Americans proved too individualistic to live communally.

Arts and Literature

The democratic and reforming impulses of the Age of Jackson expressed themselves in painting, architecture, and literature.

Painting Genre painting—portraying the everyday life of ordinary people doing ordinary things such as riding riverboats and voting on election day—became popular among artists in the 1830s. For example, George Caleb Bingham depicted common people in various settings and carrying out domestic chores. William S. Mount won popularity for his lively rural compositions. Thomas Cole and Frederick Church emphasized the heroic beauty of American landscapes, especially in dramatic scenes along the Hudson River in New York state and the western frontier wilderness. The Hudson River School, as it was called, expressed the Romantic Age’s fascination with the natural world.

Architecture Inspired by the democracy of classical Athens, American architects adapted Greek styles to glorify the democratic spirit of the republic. Columned facades like those of ancient Greek temples graced the entryways to public buildings, banks, hotels, and even some private homes.

Literature In addition to the transcendentalist authors (notably Emerson and Thoreau), other writers helped to create a literature that was both Romantic and yet distinctively American. Partly as a result of the War of 1812, the American people became more nationalistic and eager to read works about American themes by American writers. Most prominent writers came from New England or the Mid-Atlantic states:

- **Washington Irving** wrote fiction, such as “Rip Van Winkle” and “The Legend of Sleepy Hollow,” using American settings.
- **James Fenimore Cooper’s** *Leatherstocking Tales* were a series of novels written from 1824 to 1841 that glorified the nobility of scouts and settlers on the American frontier.
- **Nathaniel Hawthorne** questioned the intolerance and conformity in American life in short stories and novels, including *The Scarlet Letter* (1850).
- **Herman Melville’s** innovative novel *Moby-Dick* (1855) reflected the theological and cultural conflicts of the era as it told the story of Captain Ahab’s pursuit of a white whale.
- **Edgar Allan Poe**, like many Romantic writers, focused on irrational aspects of human behavior. His poems such as “The Raven” and short stories such as “The Tell-Tale Heart” portrayed mysterious or even horrifying events.



Source: *Fur Traders Descending the Missouri* by George Caleb Bingham, 1845. Wikimedia Commons/The Yorck Project/ Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York City

REFLECT ON THE LEARNING OBJECTIVE

1. Explain why a new American culture developed during the period from 1800 to 1848 and what characterized it.

KEY TERMS BY THEME

Public Confidence (NAT)

cultural nationalism

Alternative Groups (NAT)

utopia

Shakers

Amana Colonies

Robert Owen

New Harmony

John Henry Noyes

Oneida Community

Charles Fourier

Fourier Phalanxes

New Ideas (SOC)

antebellum

romanticism

transcendentalists

Ralph Waldo Emerson

Henry David Thoreau; *Walden*;
"On Civil Disobedience"

Brook Farm

George Ripley

feminists

Margaret Fuller

Theodore Parker

George Caleb Bingham

William S. Mount

Thomas Cole

Frederick Church

Hudson River School

Washington Irving

James Fenimore Cooper

Nathaniel Hawthorne

MULTIPLE-CHOICE QUESTIONS

Questions 1–3 refer to the following excerpt.

“Unlike those who call themselves no-government men, I ask for, not . . . no government, but . . . a better government. . . .

It is not desirable to cultivate a respect for the law, so much as for the right. The only obligation which I have a right to assume is to do at any time what I think right. . . .

There are thousands who are in opinion opposed to slavery and to the war [with Mexico], who yet in effect do nothing to put an end to them

Under a government which imprisons any unjustly, the true place for a just man is also a prison. . . . If the alternative is to keep all just men in prison, or give up war and slavery, the State will not hesitate which to choose. If a thousand men were not to pay their tax-bills this year, that would not be a violent and bloody measure This is . . . the definition of a peaceable revolution.”

Henry David Thoreau, author, “Resistance to Civil Government,” (also known as “Civil Disobedience”), 1849

1. Thoreau’s ideology about the individual and society was most similar to
 - (A) Anne Hutchinson’s beliefs about her duty to follow Puritan religious leaders
 - (B) Sam Adams’s ideas about the tactics colonists should use to win independence
 - (C) John Calhoun’s conclusions about the role of enslaved people in South Carolina
 - (D) Andrew Jackson’s treatment of American Indians who dissented from federal land policies
2. Which of the following best explains why Thoreau stated that “under a government which imprisons any unjustly, the true place for a just man is also a prison”?
 - (A) Thinkers such as Ralph Waldo Emerson were questioning business practices of the merchant class.
 - (B) Communal experiments were providing places where people could live in what they hoped would be an ideal community.
 - (C) People were expressing democratic impulses in painting, architecture, and literature.
 - (D) The United States was at war with Mexico, which some people supported as an effort to extend slavery.

3. Which of the following groups held views about how an individual should act that were most similar to those expressed in this excerpt?
- (A) People who attended revivals because they were influenced by participating in large meetings
 - (B) People known as transcendentalists because they emphasized acting on what they felt was right more than on what the law said
 - (C) People who joined phalanxes because their actions were shaped by one type of socialist ideas
 - (D) People who followed millennialism and made decisions based on their belief that the world would end soon

SHORT-ANSWER QUESTION

Use complete sentences; an outline or bulleted list alone is not acceptable.

1. “America is beginning to assert herself to the senses and to the imagination of her children, and Europe is receding in the same degree. . . .

Prudent men have begun to see that every American should be educated with a view to the values of land. . . .

The land is the appointed remedy for whatever is false . . . in our culture. . . .

Gentlemen, the development of our American internal resources, the extension to the utmost of the commercial system, and the appearance of new moral causes which are to modify the State, are giving an aspect of greatness to the Future, which the imagination fears to open.”

Ralph Waldo Emerson, writer, “The Young American,” 1844

Using the excerpt, answer (a), (b), and (c).

- (a) Briefly explain ONE perspective expressed by Emerson on the reform movements in the mid-19th century.
- (b) Briefly explain ONE specific way in which developments in the mid-19th century supported Emerson’s point of view.
- (c) Briefly explain ONE specific way in which developments in the mid-19th century challenged Emerson’s point of view.

The Second Great Awakening

A revival is nothing else than a new beginning of obedience to God.

Reverend Charles Grandison Finney, "What a Revival of Religion Is," 1835

Learning Objective: Explain the causes of the Second Great Awakening.

Religious **revivals** swept through the United States starting in the late 18th century and through the first half of the 19th century. Some of these, known as the **Second Great Awakening**, marked a reassertion of the traditional Calvinist (Puritan) teachings of original sin and predestination. Others represented new developments in Christianity in the United States.

Causes of Religious Reform

Several factors fostered the conditions for the religious reforms of the late 18th and first half of the 19th century known as the Second Great Awakening:

- The growing emphasis on democracy and the individual that influenced politics and the arts also affected how people viewed religion. Worshipers were attracted to services that were more participatory and less formal.
- The rational approach to religion favored by the Deists and Unitarians prompted a reaction toward more emotional expressions of beliefs in worship services.
- The market revolution caused people to fear that growing industrialization and commercialization were leading to increased greed and sin.
- The disruptions caused by the market revolution and the mobility of people led them to look for worship settings that were outside formal churches based in urban areas.

Revivals

The Second Great Awakening began among highly educated people such as Reverend **Timothy Dwight**, president of Yale College in Connecticut. Dwight and others saw themselves as traditional Calvinists leading a counterattack against the liberal views that emerged in the 1790s. His campus revivals

motivated a generation of young men to become evangelical preachers. In the revivals of the early 1800s, successful preachers were audience-centered and easily understood by the uneducated. They spoke about the opportunity for salvation for all, a message attuned to the democratization of American society. They attracted thousands to existing churches and led the establishment of new religious organizations.

Revivalism on the Frontier In 1823, Presbyterian minister **Charles Grandison Finney** started a series of revivals in upstate New York, where many New Englanders had settled. Instead of delivering sermons based on rational argument, Finney appealed to people’s emotions and fear of damnation. He prompted thousands to publicly declare their revived faith. He preached that every individual could be saved through faith and hard work—ideas that strongly appealed to the rising middle class. Because of Finney’s influence, western New York became known as the “burned-over district” for its frequent “hell-and-brimstone” revivals.

Baptists and Methodists In the South and on the western frontier, Baptist and Methodist circuit preachers, such as Peter Cartwright, would travel from one location to another and attract thousands to hear their dramatic preaching at outdoor revivals, or **camp meetings**. These preachers activated the faith of many who had never belonged to a church. By 1850, the Baptists and the Methodists were the largest Protestant denominations in the country.



METHODIST CAMP MEETING

Source: Getty Images

Camp meetings featured a preacher speaking to a crowd of people who often traveled from miles around to attend. The tents in the background provided places for people to stay if they could not return home at night.

New Denominations

Besides energizing existing denominations, the religious fervor of the time fostered the growth of new ones. Two were particularly influential.

Millennialism Much of the religious enthusiasm of the time was based on the widespread belief that the world was about to end with the second coming of Jesus. One preacher, William Miller, gained tens of thousands of followers by predicting a specific date (October 21, 1844) for the second coming. Nothing happened on the appointed day, but the Millerites continued as a new Christian denomination, the Seventh-Day Adventists.

Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, formerly called the Mormon Church, was founded by **Joseph Smith** in 1830 in New York. Smith based his beliefs on a book of Scripture—*The Book of Mormon*—that traced a connection between American Indians and the lost tribes of Israel. Smith and his followers, facing persecution, moved to Ohio, then Missouri, and then Illinois. There, Smith was murdered by a local mob.

To survive, Church members, led by **Brigham Young**, migrated to the western frontier. They settled on the banks of the Great Salt Lake in Utah and named their community **New Zion**. Their cooperative social organization helped them prosper in the wilderness.

However, the Church faced strong opposition because Smith had approved the practice of polygamy, allowing a man to have more than one wife. The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints officially prohibited polygamy in 1890. It is no longer affiliated with any group that allows it.

Reforms Backed by Religion

The Second Great Awakening, like the first in the 18th century, caused divisions between the newer evangelical sects and the older Protestant churches throughout the country. But it also touched off several social reform movements, including efforts to reduce drinking, end slavery, and provide better treatment for people with mental illness. Activist religious groups provided both the leadership and the well-organized voluntary societies that drove many reform movements during the antebellum era.

REFLECT ON THE LEARNING OBJECTIVE

1. What caused the Second Great Awakening?

KEY TERMS BY THEME

Thoughts on Religion (SOC)

Second Great Awakening

Timothy Dwight

revivalism; revivals; camp meetings

Charles Grandison Finney

millennialism

Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints
(Mormons)

Joseph Smith

Brigham Young

New Zion

MULTIPLE-CHOICE QUESTIONS

Questions 1–2 refer to the following excerpt.

“In a revival of religion, there are involved both the glory of God, so far as it respects the government of this world, and the salvation of men

The Church must take right ground in regard to politics. Do not suppose that I am going to preach a political sermon, or that I wish to have you join in getting up a Christian party in politics. . . .

Christians have been exceedingly guilty in this matter. But the time has come when they must act differently. As on the subjects of Slavery and Temperance, so on this subject the Church must act rightly or the country will be ruined. . . .

The Churches must take right ground on the subject of Slavery. . . .

Christians can no more take neutral ground on this subject, since it has come up for discussion, than they can take neutral ground on the subject of the sanctification of the Sabbath. It [slavery] is a great national sin.”

Charles Grandison Finney, *Revival Lectures*, XV, 1825–1835

1. Finney’s views in the excerpt on slavery would find the greatest support from whom among the following?
 - (A) Thomas Jefferson and others who owned enslaved people
 - (B) Andrew Jackson and others who did not focus on the slavery issue
 - (C) John C. Calhoun and others who advocated for slavery
 - (D) John Quincy Adams and others who supported steps to end slavery
2. Finney’s assertions were most closely related to those of
 - (A) supporters of a spiritual awakening during the 18th century
 - (B) Enlightenment thinkers from the late 18th century
 - (C) revolutionaries during the fight for colonial independence
 - (D) warhawks during the War of 1812

SHORT-ANSWER QUESTION

Use complete sentences; an outline or bulleted list alone is not acceptable.

1. “The transformation of American theology in the first quarter of the nineteenth century released the very forces of romantic perfectionism that conservatives most feared. . . . As it spread, perfectionism swept across denominational barriers and penetrated even secular thought. . . .

As the sum of individual sins, social wrong would disappear when enough people had been converted and rededicated to right conduct. Deep and lasting reform, therefore, meant an educational crusade based on the assumption that when a sufficient number of individual Americans had seen the light, they would automatically solve the country’s social problems. Thus formulated, perfectionist reform offered a program of mass conversion achieved through educational rather than political means. In the opinion of the romantic reformers the regeneration of American society began, not in legislative enactments or political manipulation, but in [an] . . . appeal to the American urge for individual self-improvement.”

John L. Thomas, historian, *Romantic Reform in America, 1815–1865*, 1965

“In the United States, the public sphere formed itself in a void, growing lush from the fertilization of religious and political controversies as its signature forms spread rapidly from city to town and town to village. In the ensuing decades, the public realm became an arena of initiatives and experiments, religiously-inspired reform movements and heated political contests. . . .

In creating vast pools of proselytizers . . . and designating the entire society a missionary field, the evangelical Protestants, particularly in the North, encouraged social activism. . . .

The society as a whole had to be redeemed Once converted, men and women found ways to express their new-found spiritual awakening by getting government policy, public morals, and private lives to conform to biblical prescriptions.”

Joyce Appleby, historian, *Inheriting the Revolution*, 2000

Using the excerpts, answer (a), (b), and (c).

- (a) Briefly explain ONE major difference between Thomas’s and Appleby’s historical interpretations of influences on the Constitution.
- (b) Briefly explain how ONE historical event or development in the period 1820 to 1860 that is not explicitly mentioned in the excerpts could be used to support Thomas’s interpretation.
- (c) Briefly explain how ONE historical event or development in the period 1820 to 1860 that is not explicitly mentioned in the excerpts could be used to support Appleby’s interpretation.

An Age of Reform

*We would have every path laid open to Woman as freely as to Man
As the friend of the Negro assumes that one man cannot by right
hold another in bondage, so should the friend of Woman assume that
Man cannot by right lay even well-meant restrictions on Woman.*

Margaret Fuller, reformer and activist, 1845

Learning Objective: Explain how and why various reform movements developed and expanded from 1800 to 1848.

Several historic reform movements began during the Jacksonian era and in the following decades. This period before the Civil War started in 1861 is known as the **antebellum period**. During it, a diverse mix of reformers dedicated themselves to such causes as establishing free (tax-supported) public schools, improving the treatment of the mentally ill, controlling or ending the sale of alcohol, winning equal rights for women, and abolishing slavery. The enthusiasm for reform had many historic sources: the Puritan sense of mission; the Enlightenment belief in human goodness; the Jacksonian emphasis on democracy; and the changes in relationships among men and women, social classes, and ethnic groups. Religious beliefs were an important source.

Improving Society

Reform movements evolved during the antebellum era. At first, the leaders of reform hoped to improve people's behavior through moral persuasion, appealing to individuals' sense of right and wrong. However, after they tried sermons and pamphlets, reformers often moved on to political action and to ideas for creating new institutions to replace the old.

Temperance

The high rate of alcohol consumption (five gallons of hard liquor per person in 1820) prompted reformers to target alcohol as a cause of crime, poverty, abuse of women, and other social ills. Temperance became the most popular of the reform movements.

The temperance movement began by using moral exhortation. In 1826, Protestant ministers and others concerned with drinking and its effects founded the **American Temperance Society**. The society tried to persuade drinkers to take a pledge of total abstinence. In 1840, a group of recovering alcoholics

formed the **Washingtonians** and argued that alcoholism was a disease that needed practical, helpful treatment. By the 1840s, various temperance societies together had more than a million members.

German and Irish immigrants were largely opposed to the temperance campaign. But they lacked the political power to prevent state and city governments from passing reforms. Factory owners and politicians joined with the reformers when it became clear that temperance measures could increase workers' output on the job. In 1851, the state of Maine went beyond simply placing taxes on the sale of liquor and became the first state to prohibit the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors. Twelve states followed within a decade. However, in the 1850s, the issue of slavery came to overshadow the temperance movement. The movement would gain strength again in the late 1870s, with strong support from the **Woman's Christian Temperance Union**. It would achieve national success with the passage of the 18th Amendment in 1919, which banned the sale of intoxicating liquors.

Movement for Public Asylums

Humanitarian reformers of the 1820s and 1830s called attention to the increasing numbers of criminals, emotionally disturbed persons, and paupers. Often these people were forced to live in wretched conditions and were regularly either abused or neglected by their caretakers. To alleviate the suffering of these individuals, reformers proposed setting up new public institutions—state-supported prisons, mental hospitals, and poorhouses. Reformers hoped that inmates would be cured as a result of being withdrawn from squalid surroundings and treated to a disciplined pattern of life in some rural setting.

Mental Hospitals **Dorothea Dix**, a former schoolteacher from Massachusetts, was horrified to find mentally ill persons locked up with convicted criminals in unsanitary cells. She launched a cross-country crusade, publicizing the awful treatment she had witnessed. In the 1840s, one state legislature after another built new mental hospitals or improved existing institutions and mental patients began receiving professional treatment.

Schools for Blind and Deaf Persons Two other reformers founded special institutions to help people with physical disabilities. **Thomas Gallaudet** opened a school for the deaf, and **Dr. Samuel Gridley Howe** started a school for the blind. By the 1850s, special schools modeled after the work of these reformers had been established in many states of the Union.

Prisons Pennsylvania took the lead in prison reform, building new prisons called **penitentiaries** to take the place of crude jails. Reformers placed prisoners in solitary confinement to force them to reflect on their sins and repent. The experiment was dropped because of the high rate of prisoner suicides. These prison reforms reflected a major doctrine of the **asylum movement**: structure and discipline would bring about moral reform. A similar penal experiment, the **Auburn system** in New York, enforced rigid rules of discipline while also providing moral instruction and work programs.

Public Education

Another reform movement started in the Jacksonian era focused on the need for establishing free public schools for children of all classes. Middle-class reformers were motivated in part by their fears for the future of the republic posed by growing numbers of the uneducated poor—both immigrant and native-born. Workers' groups in the cities generally supported the reformers' campaign for free (tax-supported) schools.

Free Common Schools **Horace Mann** was the leading advocate of the **common (public) school movement**. As secretary of the newly founded Massachusetts Board of Education, Mann worked for compulsory attendance for all children, a longer school year, and increased teacher preparation. In the 1840s, the movement for public schools spread rapidly to other states.

Moral Education Mann and other educational reformers wanted children to learn not only basic literacy, but also moral principles. Toward this end, William Holmes McGuffey, a Pennsylvania teacher, created a series of elementary textbooks that became widely used to teach reading and morality. The **McGuffey readers** extolled the virtues of hard work, punctuality, and sobriety—the kind of behaviors needed in an emerging industrial society.

Many public schools reflected the Protestant beliefs of the majority of community residents. In response, Roman Catholics founded private schools for the instruction of Catholic children.

Higher Education The religious enthusiasm of the Second Great Awakening helped fuel the growth of private colleges. Beginning in the 1830s, various Protestant denominations founded small denominational colleges, especially in the newer western states (Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and Iowa). Several new colleges, including Mount Holyoke College in Massachusetts (founded by Mary Lyon in 1837) and Oberlin College in Ohio, began to admit women. Adult education was furthered by lyceum lecture societies, which brought speakers such as Ralph Waldo Emerson to small-town audiences.

Changes in Families and Roles for Women

American society was still overwhelmingly rural in the mid-19th century. But in the growing cities, the impact of the Industrial Revolution was redefining the family. Industrialization reduced the economic value of children. In middle-class families, birth control was used to reduce average family size, which declined from 7.04 family members in 1800 to 5.42 in 1830. Affluent women now had the leisure time to devote to organizations based on religion or moral uplift. The New York Female Moral Reform Society, for example, helped impoverished young women avoid being forced into lives of prostitution.

Cult of Domesticity Industrialization also changed roles within families. In traditional farm families, men were the moral leaders. However, when men took jobs outside the home to work for salaries or wages in an office or a factory, they were absent most of the time. As a result, the women in these households who remained at home took charge of the household and children.

The idealized view of women as moral leaders in the home is called the *cult of domesticity*.

Women's Rights Women reformers, especially those involved in the antislavery movement, resented the way men relegated them to secondary roles in the movement. For example, men prevented women from taking part fully in policy discussions. Among the women who spoke out against discrimination was **Sarah Grimké** in *Letters on the Equality of the Sexes, and the Condition of Women* (1838). Sarah and her sister, **Angelina Grimké**, were among the leaders opposing slavery. Another pair of reformers, **Lucretia Mott** and **Elizabeth Cady Stanton**, began campaigning for women's rights after they had been barred from speaking at an antislavery convention.

Seneca Falls Convention (1848) The leading feminists met at Seneca Falls, New York, in 1848. At the conclusion of their convention—the first women's rights convention in American history—they issued a document closely modeled after the Declaration of Independence. Their “Declaration of Sentiments” declared that “all men and women are created equal” and listed women's grievances against laws and customs that discriminated against them.

Following the Seneca Falls Convention, Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony led the campaign for equal voting, legal, and property rights for women. In the 1850s, however, the issue of women's rights was overshadowed by the crisis over slavery.

Antislavery Movement

Opponents of slavery ranged from moderates who proposed gradual abolition to radicals who demanded immediate abolition without compensating their owners. The Second Great Awakening led many Christians to view slavery as a sin. This moral view made compromise with defenders of slavery difficult.

American Colonization Society The idea of transporting those people freed from slavery to an African colony was first tried in 1817 with the founding of the **American Colonization Society**. This appealed to some opponents of slavery. It also appealed to many White Americans who wanted to remove all free Black Americans from U.S. society. In 1822, the American Colonization Society established an African American settlement in Monrovia, Liberia. Colonization never proved practical. For the most part, free African Americans did not want to leave the land where they and their ancestors had been born. Between 1820 and 1860, only about 12,000 African Americans moved to Africa, while the enslaved population grew by 2.5 million.

American Antislavery Society In 1831, **William Lloyd Garrison** began publication of an abolitionist newspaper, *The Liberator*, an event that marks the beginning of the radical abolitionist movement. The uncompromising Garrison advocated immediate abolition of slavery in every state and territory without compensating the slaveowners. In 1833, Garrison and other abolitionists founded the American Antislavery Society. Garrison stepped up his attacks by condemning and burning the Constitution as a proslavery document. He

argued for “no Union with slaveholders” until they repented for their sins by freeing their slaves.

Liberty Party Garrison’s radicalism soon led to a split in the abolitionist movement. Believing that political action was a more practical route to reform than Garrison’s moral crusade, a group of northerners formed the **Liberty Party** in 1840. They ran James Birney as their candidate for president in 1840 and 1844. The party’s one campaign pledge was to bring about the end of slavery by political and legal means.

Black Abolitionists Individuals who had escaped enslavement and free African Americans were among the most outspoken and convincing critics of slavery. One who was formerly enslaved, such as **Frederick Douglass**, could speak about the brutality and degradation of slavery from firsthand experience. An early follower of Garrison, Douglass later advocated both political and direct action to end slavery and racial prejudice. In 1847, he started the antislavery journal *The North Star*. Other African American leaders, such as **Harriet Tubman**, **David Ruggles**, **Sojourner Truth**, and **William Still**, helped organize the effort to assist fugitive slaves escape to free territory in the North or to Canada, where slavery was prohibited.

Violent Abolitionism **David Walker** and **Henry Highland Garnet** were two northern African Americans who advocated the most radical solution to the slavery question. They argued that those enslaved should take action themselves by rising up in revolt against their owners. In 1831, an enslaved Virginian, **Nat Turner**, led a revolt in which 55 Whites were killed. In retaliation, Whites killed hundreds of African Americans in brutal fashion and put down the revolt. Before this event, there had been some antislavery sentiment and discussion in the South. After the revolt, fear of future uprisings as well as Garrison’s inflamed rhetoric put an end to antislavery talk in the South.

Other Reforms

Efforts to reform individuals and society during the antebellum era also included several smaller movements besides those calling for temperance and abolition:

- The **American Peace Society**, founded in 1828, had the objective of abolishing war. It actively protested the war with Mexico in 1846.
- Some reformers fought for laws to protect sailors from being flogged.
- Advocates of dietary reforms, such as eating whole wheat bread or Sylvester Graham’s crackers, wanted to promote good digestion.
- Several women called for dress reform for women so they could move about more easily. For example, Amelia Bloomer called for women to wear pantaloons instead of long skirts.
- One unusual reform was phrenology, a pseudoscience that studied the bumps on a person’s skull to assess the person’s character and ability.

REFLECT ON THE LEARNING OBJECTIVE

1. Explain reasons different reform efforts started and how the efforts developed differently from 1800 to 1848.

KEY TERMS BY THEME

| | | |
|------------------------------------|--|---|
| Reforming Society (POL) | Seneca Falls Convention (1848) | Sojourner Truth |
| temperance | | William Still |
| American Temperance Society | Susan B. Anthony | David Walker |
| Washingtonians | American Peace Society | Henry Highland Garnet |
| Woman's Christian Temperance Union | Abolition Efforts (POL) | Nat Turner |
| asylum movement | American Colonization Society | Women's Rights (SOC) |
| Dorothea Dix | American Antislavery Society | antebellum period |
| Thomas Gallaudet | abolition | women's rights |
| Dr. Samuel Gridley Howe | William Lloyd Garrison; <i>The Liberator</i> | cult of domesticity |
| penitentiaries | Liberty Party | Sarah Grimké |
| Auburn system | Frederick Douglass; <i>The North Star</i> | Angelina Grimké |
| Horace Mann | Harriet Tubman | <i>Letters on the Equality of the Sexes, and the Condition of Woman</i> |
| common (public) school movement | David Ruggles | Lucretia Mott |
| McGuffey readers | | Elizabeth Cady Stanton |
| | | Susan B. Anthony |

MULTIPLE-CHOICE QUESTIONS

Questions 1–3 refer to the following excerpt.

“If, then education be of admitted importance to the people, under all forms of Governments, and of unquestioned *necessity* when they govern themselves, it follows of course that its cultivation and diffusion is a matter of *public* concern and a duty which every government owes to its people. . . .

“Many complain of this tax, not so much on account of its amount, as because it is for the benefit of others and not themselves. This is a mistake; it is for *their own* benefit, inasmuch as it perpetuates the Government

He who would oppose it, either through inability to comprehend the advantages of general education, or from unwillingness to bestow them on all his fellow citizens, even to the lowest and the poorest, or from dread of popular vengeance, seems to me to want [lack] either the head of the philosopher, the heart of the philanthropist, or the nerve of the hero.”

Representative Thaddeus Stevens, speech to the Pennsylvania Legislature, 1835

1. Which of the following statements best describes the issues causing the sentiments expressed in the excerpt?
 - (A) People inspired by Henry David Thoreau were refusing to pay taxes.
 - (B) Reformers in many states were advocating for publicly funded education.
 - (C) Pennsylvania was slower than most states in passing social reforms.
 - (D) Debates on most issues were based on the growing division over slavery.
2. The views of Stevens on education were most similar to those of which of the following groups during the colonial era?
 - (A) Small farmers in rural regions
 - (B) Merchants based in large cities
 - (C) Puritans in New England
 - (D) Plantation owners in southern colonies
3. Stevens said, “Many complain of this tax, not so much on account of its amount, as because it is for the benefit of others and not themselves. This is a mistake.” This statement supported which of the following positions?
 - (A) Free public education would help everyone in a society.
 - (B) High taxes benefit only the poorest people in a society.
 - (C) Society works best when people act in what they see as their self-interest.
 - (D) Society suffers when citizens allow government to expand its role.

SHORT-ANSWER QUESTION

Use complete sentences; an outline or bulleted list alone is not acceptable.

1. Answer (a), (b), and (c).
 - (a) Briefly explain ONE specific development in the opposition to slavery in the period 1820 to 1860.
 - (b) Briefly explain ONE historical event or development related to women’s rights in the period 1820 to 1860.
 - (c) Briefly explain ONE specific government response to the reform movements in the period 1820 to 1860.

Topic 4.12

African Americans in the Early Republic

Now I've been free, I know what a dreadful condition slavery is. I have seen hundreds of escaped slaves, but I never saw one who was willing to go back and be a slave.

Harriet Tubman, 1856

Learning Objective: Explain the continuities and changes in the experience of African Americans from 1800 to 1848.

At the outset of the 19th century, many people throughout the nation believed and hoped that slavery would gradually disappear. They thought that the exhaustion of soil in the coastal lands of Virginia and the Carolinas and the constitutional ban on the importation and enslaving of Africans after 1808 would make slavery economically unfeasible. However, the rapid growth of the cotton industry and the expansion of slavery into new states such as Alabama and Mississippi ended hopes for a quiet end to slavery. As the arguments over the Missouri Compromise suggested, the slavery issue defied easy answers.

| UNITED STATES LABOR FORCE, 1800–1860 (IN MILLIONS) | | | |
|--|------|----------|-------|
| Year | Free | Enslaved | Total |
| 1800 | 1.4 | 0.5 | 1.9 |
| 1810 | 1.6 | 0.7 | 2.3 |
| 1820 | 2.1 | 1.0 | 3.1 |
| 1830 | 3.0 | 1.2 | 4.2 |
| 1840 | 4.2 | 1.5 | 5.7 |
| 1850 | 6.3 | 2.0 | 8.3 |
| 1860 | 8.8 | 2.3 | 11.1 |

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census. *Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1970*

Free African Americans

By 1860, there were approximately 500,000 free African Americans living throughout the United States.

In the North The 250,000 African Americans who lived in the North in 1860 constituted only 1 percent of northerners. However, they represented 50 percent of all free African Americans in the country. Freedom enabled them to maintain a family and, in some instances, own land. In response to discrimination in White-dominated churches, many free African Americans formed their own Christian congregations. Some of these congregations joined together as the African Methodist Episcopal Church.

However, freedom did not mean economic or political equality for African Americans, since strong racial prejudices kept them from voting and holding jobs in most skilled professions and crafts. In the mid-1800s, immigrants displaced them from occupations and jobs that they had held since the time of the Revolution. Denied membership in unions, African Americans were often hired as strikebreakers—and often dismissed after the strike ended.

In the South As many as 250,000 African Americans in the South were not enslaved. They were free citizens (even though, as in the North, racial prejudice restricted their liberties). A number of those enslaved had been emancipated during the American Revolution. Some were mulatto children whose White fathers had decided to liberate them. Others achieved freedom on their own, when permitted, through self-purchase—if they were fortunate enough to have been paid wages for extra work, usually as skilled craftspeople.

Most free southern Blacks lived in cities where they could own property. By state law, they were not equal with Whites, were not permitted to vote, and were barred from entering certain occupations. Constantly in danger of being kidnapped by slave traders, they had to show legal papers proving their free status. They remained in the South for various reasons. Some wanted to be near family members who were still in bondage. Others thought of the South as their home and believed the North offered no greater opportunities.

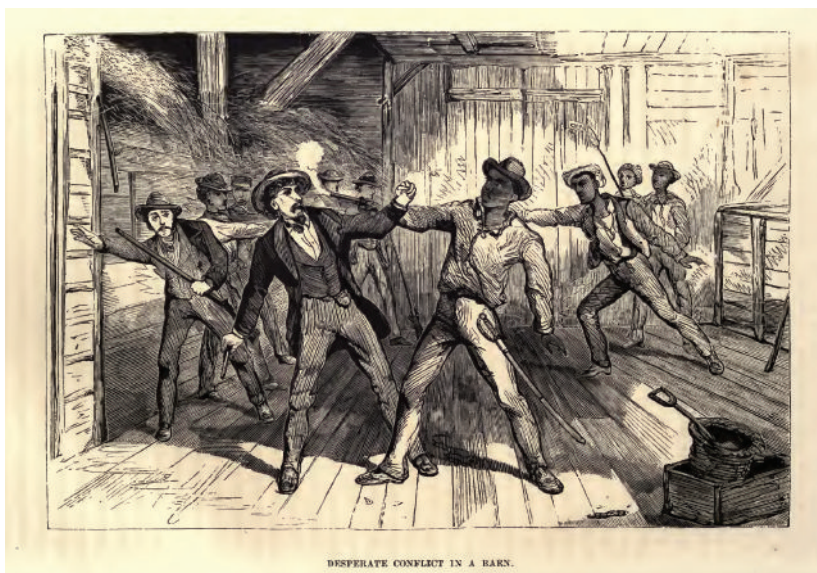
Resistance by the Enslaved

Conditions of slavery varied from one plantation to the next, but all suffered from being deprived of their freedom. Families could be separated at any time by an owner's decision to sell a wife, a husband, or a child. Women were vulnerable to sexual exploitation. Despite the hard, nearly hopeless circumstances of their lives, enslaved African Americans maintained a strong sense of family and of religious faith.

Those enslaved contested their status through a range of actions, including restrained resistance, running away, or open rebellion. The search for freedom was continuous and took many forms.

Restrained Actions On a daily basis, an untold number of those enslaved engaged in work slowdowns and equipment sabotage. What Whites called “laziness” in those enslaved was in reality a subtle defiance against their situation.

Runaways For an individual, escape from enslavement was a challenging goal. It was even more difficult for women who were caring for their children or pregnant. All escaping faced organized militia patrols and hunters who were paid a bounty for those they captured. Those returned to their owners were normally severely physically mistreated. The growth of the “Underground Railroad” and increasing demands of Southerners for stricter fugitive slave laws (see Topics 4.11, 5.4, 5.5) demonstrate the increasing number of slaves willing to attempt running away despite the risks.



Source: Library of Congress

When Robert Jackson and two other enslaved men from Virginia attempted to escape, they were caught in a barn in Maryland. After a violent struggle, they were captured and returned to slavery.

Rebellions While there were few large uprisings instigated by those enslaved, their impact on both other enslaved people and on White Southerners was considerable. In particular, the successful slave revolt and the establishment of an independent nation in Haiti in the early 1800s caused consternation among slaveholders in the South. For years Southerners resisted political recognition or any diplomatic interaction with Haiti.

One of the earliest reported organized efforts to rebel was on a plantation near Richmond, Virginia, in 1800. Gabriel Prosser is reputed to have engaged approximately a thousand others enslaved to rise up against their oppressors. Betrayed before they could take action, Gabriel and a number of his followers were executed.

Another notable conspiracy for freedom was organized by **Denmark Vesey**, a free African American, in 1822, near Charleston, South Carolina. Vesey and other fellow congregants of a large African Methodist Church that included many slaves were reputedly inspired by their readings from the Bible and possibly discussions of the recent Missouri Compromise limiting the spread of slavery. They forged a plan to seize ships in the harbor and sail away to freedom, possibly to Haiti. These efforts were ended by informers before Vesey could act, and he along with over thirty conspirators were hanged.

There is one instance of an uprising by those enslaved that was well known. **Nat Turner**, enslaved in Southampton County, Virginia, in 1831, and considered a religious zealot by some, organized an attack on his surrounding community. In a single day, over 50 White men, women, and children were killed. Reaction was swift, and the militia killed not only Turner and his followers but also many innocent African Americans in reprisal for the rebellion.

While any efforts at organized rebellions were quickly and violently suppressed, they had a lasting influence. They gave hope to enslaved African Americans, drove southern states to tighten already strict **slave codes** with growing fear, and demonstrated to many the evils of slavery. Revolts polarized the country by making slaveholders more defensive about slavery and nonslaveholders more critical of the institution.

| POPULATION OF ENSLAVED AFRICAN AMERICANS | | | |
|--|---------|-----------|-----------|
| | 1800 | 1830 | 1860 |
| New York | 20,613 | 75 | 0 |
| Maryland | 106,635 | 102,994 | 87,189 |
| Virginia | 346,671 | 469,767 | 490,865 |
| Georgia | 59,699 | 217,531 | 462,198 |
| Alabama | — | 117,549 | 435,080 |
| Mississippi | — | 65,659 | 436,631 |
| Arkansas | — | 4,576 | 111,115 |
| All States | 893,605 | 2,009,043 | 3,953,760 |

Source: State-level data from Historical Census Browser from the University of Virginia, Geospatial and Statistical Data Center. Data drawn from the U.S. Census.

REFLECT ON THE LEARNING OBJECTIVE

1. Explain what stayed the same and what became different for African Americans during the period from 1800 to 1848.

KEY TERMS BY THEME

Identities & Conflict (ARC)

free African Americans

The Slave Industry (MIG, WXT)

Denmark Vesey

Nat Turner

slave codes

MULTIPLE-CHOICE QUESTIONS

Questions 1–2 refer to the following excerpt.

“I think that ’twixt the negroes of the South and the women at the North, all talking about rights, the white men will be in a fix pretty soon. But what’s all this here talk about?

That man over there says that women need to be helped . . . Nobody ever helps me. . .! And ain’t I a woman?

Then they talk about this thing in the head . . . [audience member whispers “intellect”] . . . What’s that got to do with women’s rights or negro’s rights? If my cup won’t hold but a pint, and yours holds a quart, wouldn’t you be mean not to let me have my little half measure full?

Then that little man in black there, he says women can’t have as much rights as men, ’cause Christ wasn’t a woman! Where did your Christ come from? . . . From God and a woman! Man had nothing to do with Him.”

Sojourner Truth, abolitionist and former slave, speech to a Women’s Convention in Ohio, 1851

1. Sojourner Truth most clearly rejects criticisms of women that are based on which of the following?
 - (A) The ideas of transcendentalism
 - (B) The principles of the Enlightenment
 - (C) The teachings of religion
 - (D) The working status of women
2. Sojourner Truth saw connections between the women’s rights movement and
 - (A) the Second Great Awakening
 - (B) the antislavery movement
 - (C) the cult of domesticity
 - (D) the Constitution

SHORT-ANSWER QUESTION

1. “Slaves apparently thought of the South’s peculiar institution chiefly as a system of labor extortion. Of course they felt its impact in other ways—in their social status, their legal status, and their private lives—but they felt it most acutely in their lack of control of their own time and labor. . . .

In Africa the Negroes had been accustomed to a strictly regulated family life and a rigidly enforced moral code. But in America the disintegration of their social organization removed the traditional sanctions which had encouraged them to respect their old customs. . . . Here, as at so many other points, the slaves had lost their native culture without being able to find a workable substitute and therefore lived in a kind of cultural chaos. . . . Marriage, insisted Frederick Douglass, had no existence among slaves. . . . His consolation was that at least some slaves ‘maintained their honor, where all around was corrupt.’”

Kenneth M. Stampp, historian, *The Peculiar Institution*, 1956

“We have made a great error in the way in which we have viewed slave life, and this error has been perpetuated by both whites and blacks, racists and antiracists. . . .

What the sources show . . . is that the average plantation slave lived in a family setting, developed strong family ties, and held the nuclear family as the proper social norm. . . . We do not know just how many slaves lived as a family or were willing and able to maintain a stable family life during slavery. But the number was certainly great, whatever the percentage, and as a result, the social norm that black people carried from slavery to freedom was that of the nuclear family. . . . There are moments in the history of every people—in which they cannot do more than succeed in keeping themselves together and maintaining themselves as human beings with a sense of individual dignity and collective identity. Slavery was such a moment for black people in America.”

Eugene Genovese, historian, *American Slaves and Their History*, 1971

Using the excerpts, answer (a), (b), and (c).

- Briefly explain ONE major difference between Stampp’s and Genovese’s historical interpretations of the nature of slavery.
- Briefly explain how ONE historical event or development in the period 1820 to 1860 that is not explicitly mentioned in the excerpts could be used to support Stampp’s interpretation.
- Briefly explain how ONE historical event or development in the period 1820 to 1860 that is not explicitly mentioned in the excerpts could be used to support Genovese’s interpretation.

Southern Society in the Early Republic

I never use the word "nation" in speaking of the United States. I always use the word "Union" or "Confederacy." We are not a nation but a union, a confederacy of equal and sovereign States.

Senator John C. Calhoun, South Carolina, 1849

Learning Objective: Explain how geographic and environmental factors shaped the development of the South from 1800 to 1848.

Initially the English colonies had developed as parts of distinct regions: New England, Middle, and Southern. A combination of geography and cultural differences among immigrants, compounded by limited contact because of poor transportation, shaped the differences among the regions. As the colonies became states and as transportation improved in the 19th century, the regional distinctions remained, based on a combination of geography and economics.

The states where slavery was widely practiced formed a distinctive region, the South. By 1861, the region included 15 states, all but four of which (Delaware, Maryland, Kentucky, and Missouri) seceded and joined the Confederacy.

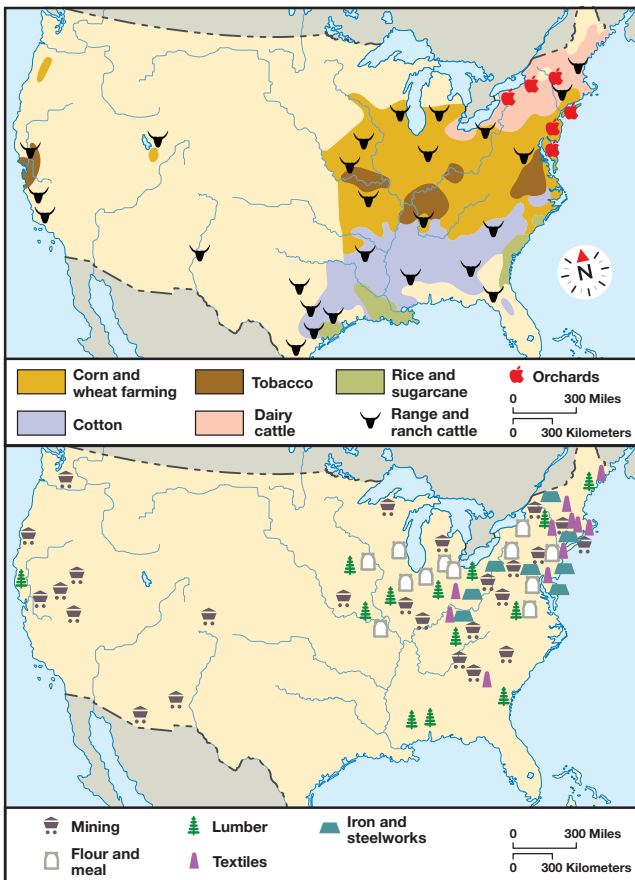
Agriculture and King Cotton

Agriculture was the foundation of the South's economy, even though by the 1850s, small factories in the region were producing approximately 15 percent of the nation's manufactured goods. Tobacco, rice, and sugarcane were important cash crops, but these were far exceeded by the South's chief economic activity: the production and sale of cotton.

The development of mechanized textile mills in England, coupled with **Eli Whitney's** cotton gin, made cotton cloth affordable, not just in Europe and the United States, but throughout the world. Before 1860, the world depended chiefly on Britain's mills for its supply of cloth, and Britain, in turn, depended chiefly on the American South for its supply of cotton fiber. Originally, the cotton was grown almost entirely in two states, South Carolina and Georgia, but as demand and profits increased, **planters** moved westward into Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Texas. New land was constantly in demand because the high cotton yields desired for profits quickly depleted the soil. By the 1850s, cotton provided two-thirds of all U.S. exports and

linked the South and Great Britain. “Cotton is king,” said one southerner of his region’s greatest asset.

AGRICULTURE, MINING AND MANUFACTURING BEFORE THE CIVIL WAR



Slavery, the “Peculiar Institution”

Wealth in the South was measured in terms of land and enslaved people. The latter were treated as a form of property, subject to being bought and sold. However, some Whites were sensitive about how they treated the other humans, so they referred to slavery as “that peculiar institution.” In colonial times, people justified slavery as an economic necessity, but in the 19th century, apologists for slavery mustered historical and religious arguments to support their claim that it was good for both the enslaved and the master.

Population The cotton boom was largely responsible for a fourfold increase in the number of people held in slavery, from 1 million in 1800 to nearly 4 million in 1860. Most of the increase came from natural growth, although thousands of Africans were also smuggled into the South in violation of the 1808 law against importing enslaved people. In parts of the **Deep**

South, enslaved African Americans made up as much as 75 percent of the total population. Fearing slave revolts, southern legislatures added increased restrictions on movement and education to their **slave codes**.

Economics Enslaved workers were employed doing whatever their owners demanded of them. Most labored in the fields, but many learned skilled crafts or worked as house servants, in factories, or on construction gangs. Because of the greater profits to be made on the new cotton plantations in the West, many owners in the Upper South sold their enslaved workers to owners in the cotton-rich Deep South of the lower Mississippi Valley. By 1860, the value of an enslaved field hand had risen to almost \$2,000 at a time when a typical wage for a laborer was \$1 a day. One result of the heavy capital investment in slavery was that the South had much less capital than the North to undertake industrialization.

White Society

Southern Whites observed a rigid hierarchy among themselves. Aristocratic planters lived comfortably at the top of society, while poor farmers and mountain people struggled at the bottom.

Aristocracy Members of the South's small elite of wealthy planters owned at least 100 enslaved people and at least 1,000 acres. The planter aristocracy maintained its power by dominating the state legislatures of the South and enacting laws that favored the large landholders' economic interests.

Farmers The vast majority of slaveholders held fewer than 20 people in bondage and worked only several hundred acres. Southern White farmers produced the bulk of the cotton crop, worked in the fields alongside enslaved African Americans, and lived as modestly as farmers of the North.

Poor Whites Three-fourths of the White households in the South owned no enslaved people. They could not afford the rich river-bottom farmland controlled by the planters, and many lived in the hills as subsistence farmers. These "**hillbillies**" or "poor White trash," as planters derisively called them, defended the system, hoping that some day they, too, could own enslaved people. Further, the slave system meant that White farmers, no matter how poor, still felt superior on the social scale to Black people.

Mountain People A number of small farmers lived in frontier conditions along the slopes and valleys of the Appalachian and Ozark mountains. They were somewhat isolated from the rest of the South. The mountain people disliked the planters and slavery. During the Civil War, many (including a future president, Andrew Johnson of Tennessee) remained loyal to the Union.

Cities The South was an agricultural region with few large commercial cities. The largest city in the region was New Orleans, with a population of about 170,000. It was the fifth-largest city in the country, after New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Boston. Only three other southern cities—St. Louis, Louisville, and Charleston—had populations greater than 40,000 people.

The South developed a unique culture and outlook on life. As cotton became the basis of its economy, slavery became the focus of its political thought. White southerners felt increasingly isolated and defensive about slavery as northerners grew hostile toward it, and as Great Britain, France, Mexico, and other European and Latin America states outlawed it altogether.

Code of Chivalry Dominated by the aristocratic planter class, the agricultural South was in some ways a feudal society. Southern gentlemen ascribed to a code of chivalrous conduct, which included a strong sense of personal honor, the defense of womanhood, and paternalistic attitudes toward all who were deemed inferior, especially slaves.

Education The upper class valued a college education for their children. Acceptable professions for gentlemen were limited to farming, law, the ministry, and the military. For the lower classes, schooling beyond the early elementary grades was generally not available. To reduce the risk of slave revolts, the law strictly prohibited teaching enslaved people to read or write.

Religion The slavery question affected churches. Partly because they preached biblical support for slavery, both Methodist and Baptist denominations gained members in the South. However, both groups split into northern and southern branches in the 1840s. The Unitarians, who challenged slavery, faced declining membership and hostility. Even Catholics and Episcopalians, who took a neutral stand on slavery, saw their numbers decline in the South.

Social Reform The antebellum reform movement of the first half of the 19th century was largely found in the northern and western states, with little impact in the South. While “modernizers” worked to perfect society in the North, southerners were more committed to tradition and slower to support public education and humanitarian reforms. They were alarmed to see northern reformers join forces to support the antislavery movement. Increasingly, they viewed social reform as a northern threat against the southern way of life.

REFLECT ON THE LEARNING OBJECTIVE

1. Explain the influences of geography and the environment on the growth of the South in the period from 1800 to 1848.



HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES: WHAT WAS THE NATURE OF SLAVERY?

During the two decades following the end of World War II, Black Americans led a vigorous fight against racial discrimination. In the context of this civil rights movement, historians began to reevaluate slavery.

Features of Slavery Before 1945, scholarship on slavery followed Ulrich B. Phillips’s *American Negro Slavery* (1918). He portrayed slavery as failing economically but maintained by paternalistic White owners who gave civilization to enslaved but contented Black Americans. Most of his views have been entirely discredited. For example, historians demonstrated that owners

and enslaved people were in continual conflict. Kenneth Stampp summarized this view in *The Peculiar Institution: Slavery in the Ante-Bellum South* (1956). Two years later, Alfred Conrad and John Meyers published an influential article that provided evidence that slavery was profitable, adding to the argument that the institution would not fade away as it had in most of Latin America.

Slavery's Impact on Black Culture Historians have bitterly disagreed over the legacy of slavery on the culture of African Americans. Stanley Elkins, in *Slavery: A Problem in American Institutional Life* (1959), argued that slavery was so oppressive that no distinctive Black culture could develop. In contrast, Eugene Genovese's *Roll, Jordan, Roll: The World the Slaves Made* (1974) argued that enslaved African Americans did develop and maintain a culture based on family life, tradition, and religion.

Recent scholars have expanded on how enslaved people not only created their own culture but found creative ways to resist their condition. Tera W. Hunter's *Bound in Wedlock: Slave and Free Black Marriage in the Nineteenth Century* (2017) highlighted how enslaved people developed long-term relationships, despite obstacles to traditional marriage created by their owners.

Support an Argument Explain two perspectives on the nature of slavery.

KEY TERMS BY THEME

Identities & Conflict (ARC)

planters
code of chivalry
poor Whites
hillbillies
mountain people

Migration (NAT, MIG)

Deep South

The Slave Industry (MIG, WXT)

King Cotton
Eli Whitney
peculiar institution
slave codes

MULTIPLE-CHOICE QUESTIONS

Questions 1–2 refer to the following excerpt.

“That we have cultivated cotton, cotton, cotton and bought everything else, has long enough been our opprobrium [disgrace]. It is time we should be roused by some means or other to see, that such a course of conduct will inevitably terminate in our ultimate poverty and ruin. Let us manufacture, because it is our best policy. Let us go more on provision crops and less on cotton, because we have had every thing about us poor and impoverished long enough— . . . If we have followed a ruinous policy and bought all the articles of subsistence instead of raising them, who is to blame? . . . Let us change our policy . . . We have good land, unlimited water-powers, capital in plenty, and a patriotism which is running over in some places.”

Georgia Courier, June 21, 1827

1. The remarks in the excerpt were directed most clearly toward which of the following groups?
 - (A) Bankers who did not want to invest money outside their own region
 - (B) Manufacturers who failed to market their products effectively
 - (C) Farmers who grew crops and raised livestock mostly for their own consumption
 - (D) Plantation owners who profited from producing crops they could sell overseas
2. At the time this excerpt was written, in which of the following was the largest amount of Southern capital invested?
 - (A) Railroads and other transportation systems to connect urban areas
 - (B) Enslaved people who mostly performed agricultural labor
 - (C) Land that was purchased for use or sale at a later time
 - (D) Small factories that produced a variety of goods for export

SHORT-ANSWER QUESTION

1. “That a country should become eminently prosperous in agriculture, without a high state of perfection in the mechanic arts, is a thing next to impossible . . . that we shall follow the footsteps of our forefathers, and still further exhaust our soil by the exclusive cultivation of cotton?

Unless we betake ourselves to some more profitable employment than the planting of cotton, what is to prevent our most enterprising planters from moving, with their negro capital, to the Southwest?

Cotton . . . has produced us such an abundant supply of all the luxuries and elegancies of life, with so little exertion on our part, that we have become . . . unfitted for other more laborious pursuits, and unprepared to meet the state of things, which sooner or later must come about.”

William Gregg, manufacturer in South Carolina,
“Essays on Domestic Industry,” 1845

Using the excerpt, answer (a), (b), and (c).

- (a) Briefly explain ONE specific factor that contributed to the lack of manufacturing in the South during the first half of the 19th century.
- (b) Briefly explain ONE specific advantage, if any, the North had over the South in developing manufacturing during the first half of the 19th century.
- (c) Briefly explain ONE specific long-term effect on the Southern economy as a result of its lack of a large manufacturing base.

Causation in Period 4

Learning Objective: Explain the extent to which politics, economics, and foreign policy promoted the development of American identity from 1800 to 1848.

You can use the reasoning skill “causation” with the content of Period 4 to consider the extent to which politics, economics, and foreign policy influenced the development of American identity between 1800 and 1848. By examining the *relationships among the pieces of historical evidence*, one can develop an argument to explain how the rise of one political party, Democratic-Republicans, was connected to the fall of another, the Federalists. These developments caused people to use political parties to express their American identity.

In economics, the development of new means of transportation led to the market revolution. The shift toward a market economy caused people to change how they thought of themselves. They identified as producers of goods to sell others and as workers for others, and they took pride in being industrious. The market revolution also influenced foreign policy. People looked to territorial expansion such as the Louisiana Purchase to provide new opportunities. They focused on the west and away from foreign involvements.

While the historical evidence relates to the coalescence of a stronger American identity, this same evidence shows a people with growing differences resulting from new religious and cultural ideas. These differences were particularly sharp over the place of slavery in the growing nation.

QUESTIONS ABOUT CAUSATION

Use the questions below to make a historically defensible claim.

1. Explain the factors that caused the expansion of participation in politics, including the right to vote. For example, as new states were formed on the western frontier, they embraced the ideal of equality for all White males and adopted universal male suffrage as well as nominating conventions to limit the power of any elite group.
2. Explain the developments in technology, agriculture, and commerce that caused the market revolution during the period from 1800 to 1848. For example, technological innovations that produced a canal system, steamboats, and railroads tied together the cities and farms and thus enabled the development of the market system.



THINK AS A HISTORIAN: CLAIMS AND EVIDENCE IN SOURCES

When analyzing sources, you need to identify the author's argument. Then you need to weigh the evidence used to support it. To a historian, an effective argument is a historically defensible claim backed up with reasons and evidence that are logical and relevant. Breaking the tasks down into steps makes it easier:

- **Identify the argument.** What claim is the source making? What position is the source taking about a person, event, or issue?
- **Identify the evidence.** What information does the source use to support the argument? Are there facts, statistics, quotations, details, or images? Consider whether this information directly relates to the argument.
- **Compare arguments.** Historians and witnesses to history often have conflicting opinions about any individual, event, or issue. Which arguments have more evidence? Which arguments have higher-quality evidence?

The AP® exam includes long essay questions and a document-based question that ask you to develop an argument. Some short-answer items and some multiple-choice items also relate to claims and evidence in sources.

Read the two sources about the Missouri Compromise. Then answer the questions.

Source 1

“This momentous question, like a fire bell in the night, awakened and filled me with terror. I considered it at once as the knell [approaching end] of the Union. It is hushed, indeed, for the moment. But this is a reprieve only, not a final sentence. A geographical line, coinciding with a marked principle, moral and political, once conceived and held up to the angry passions of men, will never be obliterated; and every new irritation will mark it deeper and deeper.”

Thomas Jefferson, personal letter, April 22, 1820

Source 2

“The discussion on the Missouri question has undoubtedly contributed to weaken in some degree the attachment of our southern and western people to the Union; but the agitators of that question have, in my opinion, not only completely failed; but have destroyed to a great extent their capacity for future mischief. Should Missouri be admitted at the next session, as I think she will without difficulty, the evil effects of the discussion must gradually subside.”

Secretary of War John C. Calhoun, letter to Andrew Jackson, June 1, 1820

1. Describe the argument Jefferson makes in Source 1.
2. Describe the argument Calhoun makes in Source 2.
3. Describe evidence that would support Jefferson's argument.
4. Describe evidence that would support Calhoun's argument.
5. Based on the sources and what you know about the historical period, explain which argument you think is more defensible.

UNIT 4 – Period 4 Review: 1800–1848



WRITE AS A HISTORIAN: GATHER AND ORGANIZE THE EVIDENCE

After analyzing the task and developing questions you need to answer to complete it (see page 157), the next step in writing a long essay is to gather and organize your evidence. *Gathering evidence* relies on recall—how much you remember from your reading and other studies. *Organizing evidence* requires the skills of seeing patterns and connections and using historical reasoning.

Suppose you are answering this long essay question: “Evaluate the extent to which the American Revolution was primarily an effort to maintain basic British rights. Make a list of questions for deeper analysis (see page 157), and answer them. In doing so, you should list the information you will use in your essay to answer the question. Your essay might include the following:

- British rights included beliefs about taxation, such as the difference between direct and indirect taxation.
- Colonists believed that as British citizens, they had certain individual liberty and restraints on government.
- Colonists felt that the British had ignored or violated these rights.
- Colonists often traded goods with non-British colonies and countries in violation of British laws. The right to smuggle was not a basic British right, but it was a custom that colonists wanted to defend.
- Colonists had gone further than the British in recognizing press freedom (the Zenger case) and religious toleration.

After writing everything you can remember, organize your evidence. Review your notes, looking for patterns related to the task. Which pieces of evidence represent a continuity, a way to preserve British rights? Which represent a change from how British rights were traditionally interpreted? Make a simple chart to place the evidence in the correct category. Then evaluate the extent to which change outweighed continuity or vice versa.

Application: On a separate sheet of paper, expand on the evidence you recall about colonial attitudes regarding basic British rights by adding notes to the above list. Then make a chart like the one below. Place each piece of evidence in the appropriate column.

| Continuities | Changes |
|--------------|---------|
| | |

For current free-response question samples, visit: <https://apcentral.collegeboard.org/courses/ap-united-states-history/exam>.

LONG ESSAY QUESTIONS

Directions: The suggested writing time for each question is 40 minutes. In your response, you should do the following:

- Respond to the prompt with a historically defensible thesis or claim that establishes a line of reasoning.
 - Describe a broader historical context relevant to the prompt.
 - Support an argument in response to the prompt using specific and relevant examples of evidence.
 - Use historical reasoning (e.g., comparison, causation, continuity, or change) to frame or structure an argument that addresses the prompt.
 - Use evidence to corroborate, qualify, or modify an argument that addresses the prompt.
1. Evaluate the extent to which economic factors contributed to the development of regional rivalries during the period of 1800–1848.
 2. Evaluate the extent of the influence of the Monroe Doctrine on the formation of United States foreign policy in the early 19th century.
 3. Evaluate the extent of the similarities between the policies of President George Washington and those of President Thomas Jefferson.
 4. Evaluate the extent to which the decisions of the Supreme Court under Chief Justice John Marshall defined the relationship between the central government and the states.
 5. Evaluate the extent to which Andrew Jackson’s economic views affected the economy during the 1830s.
 6. Evaluate the extent to which the election of Andrew Jackson fostered a change in politics during the period of 1800–1848.
 7. Evaluate the extent to which the United States developed its own culture distinct from Europe during the period of 1800–1848.
 8. Evaluate the extent of the similarities among the reform movements during the period of 1800–1848.

DOCUMENT-BASED QUESTION

Directions: Question 1 is based on the accompanying documents. The documents have been edited for the purpose of this exercise. You are advised to spend 15 minutes planning and 45 minutes writing your answer. In your response you should do the following:

- Respond to the prompt with a historically defensible thesis or claim that establishes a line of reasoning.
 - Describe a broader historical context relevant to the prompt.
 - Support an argument in response to the prompt using at least six documents.
 - Use at least one additional piece of specific historical evidence (beyond that found in the documents) relevant to an argument about the prompt.
 - For at least three documents, explain how or why the document's point of view, purpose, historical situation, and/or audience is relevant to an argument.
 - Use evidence to corroborate, qualify, or modify an argument that addresses the prompt.
1. Evaluate the extent to which sectionalism overcame nationalism in U.S. politics during the years from 1800 to 1848.

Document 1

Source: Stephen Decatur, naval officer, toast given at Norfolk, Virginia, 1816

Our Country! In her intercourse with foreign nations may she always be in the right; but our country, right or wrong!

Document 2

Source: Joseph Rodman Drake, poet, "The American Flag," 1819

Flag of the free heart's hope and home,
By angel hands to valor given,
Thy stars have lit the welkin dome,
And all thy hues were born in heaven!
Forever float that standard sheet
Where breathes the foe but falls before us,
With Freedom's soil beneath our feet,
And Freedom's banner streaming o'er us!

Document 3

Source: Emma Hart Willard, educator and feminist, address to the New York Legislature, 1819

But where is that wise and heroic country which has considered that our rights [as women] are sacred . . . ? History shows not that country. . . . Yet though history lifts not her finger to such a one, anticipation does. She points to a nation which, having thrown off the shackles of authority and precedent, shrinks not from schemes of improvement because other nations have never attempted them; but which, in its pride of independence, would rather lead than follow in the march of human improvement: a nation, wise and magnanimous to plan, enterprising to undertake, and rich in resources to execute. Does not every American exult that this country is his own?

Document 4

Source: Henry Clay, Speech in Congress, March 31, 1824

Are we doomed to behold our industry languish and decay yet more and more? But there is a remedy, and that remedy consists in modifying our foreign policy, and in adopting a genuine American System. We must naturalize the arts in our country; and we must naturalize them by the only means which the wisdom of nations has yet discovered to be effectual—by adequate protection against the otherwise overwhelming influence of foreigners. This is only to be accomplished by the establishment of a tariff, to the consideration of which I am now brought. . . . The sole object of the tariff is to tax the produce of foreign industry with the view of promoting American industry The tax is exclusively leveled at foreign industry.

Document 5

Source: John Quincy Adams, *Diary*, March 3, 1820

I have favored this Missouri Compromise, believing it to be all that could be effected under the present Constitution, and from extreme unwillingness to put the Union at hazard. But perhaps it would have been a wiser as well as a bolder course to have persisted in the restriction upon Missouri, till it should have terminated in a convention of the States to revise and amend the Constitution. This would have produced a new Union of thirteen or fourteen States, unpolluted with slavery, with a great and glorious object to effect, namely, that of rallying to their standard the other States by the universal emancipation of their slaves. If the Union must be dissolved, slavery is precisely the question upon which it ought to break. For the present, however, this contest is laid asleep.

Document 6

Source: Thomas Jefferson, Letter to Congressman John Holmes of Massachusetts, April 22, 1820

I thank you, dear sir, for the copy you have been so kind to send me of the letter to your constituents on the Missouri question. It is perfect justification to them. I had for a long time ceased to read newspapers, or pay any attention to public affairs, confident they were in good hands . . . But this momentous question, like a firebell in the night, awakened and filled me with terror. I considered it at once as the knell of the union. It is hushed, indeed, for the moment. But this is a reprieve only, not a final sentence. A geographical line, coinciding with a marked principle, moral and political, once conceived and held up to the angry passions of men, will never be obliterated; and every new irritation will mark it deeper and deeper.

Document 7

Source: *Congressional Record*, 1816

| VOTE ON THE TARIFF OF 1816 IN THE U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES | | |
|---|-----|---------|
| Region | For | Against |
| New England | 17 | 10 |
| Middle States | 44 | 10 |
| South | 23 | 34 |
| Total | 88 | 54 |