# Chapter 2 The Young Republic 1789-1850 **SECTION 1** The New Republic **SECTION 2** The Growth of a Nation **SECTION 3** Growing Division and Reform **SECTION 4** Manifest Destiny and Crisis Missouri Compromise proposed by Henry Clay 1808 1789 Jefferson Madison Monroe J.Q. Adams J. Adams Washington Congress Washington 1825-1829 1817-1825 1809-1817 1801-1809 bans elected international president slave trade **U.S. PRESIDENTS U.S. EVENTS**

**WORLD EVENTS** 

#### 1794

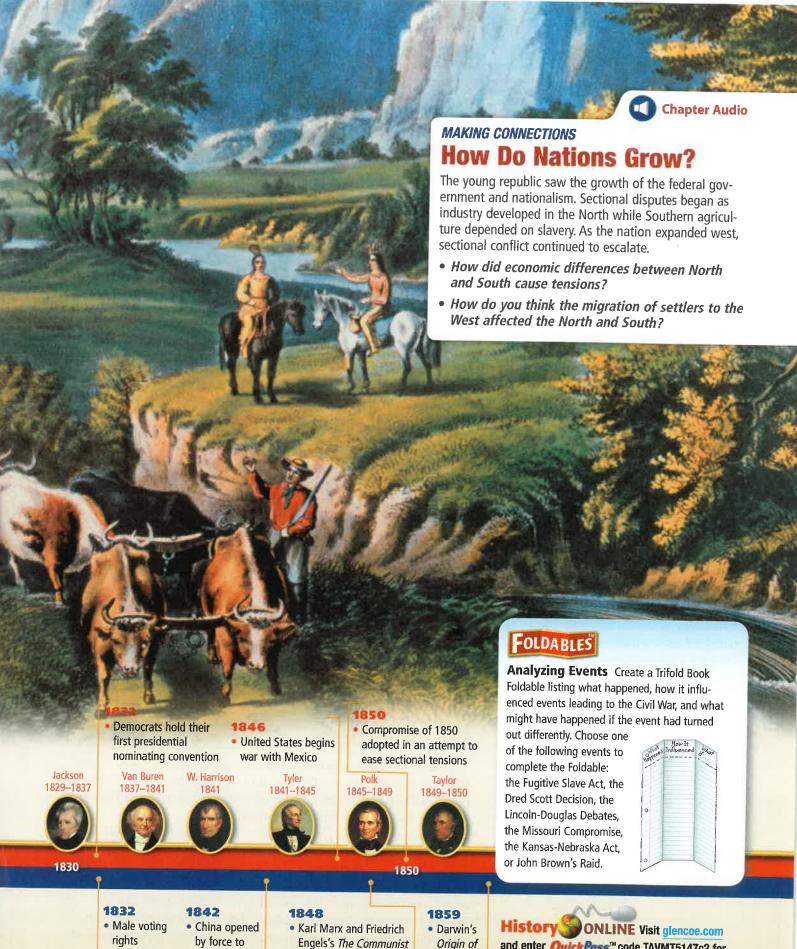
 Polish rebellion suppressed by Russians

#### 1812

Napoleon's invasion and retreat from Russia

 Mexico and Greece declare independence

1790



expanded in England foreign trade

Manifesto published

Species published and enter Quick Poss™ code TAVMT5147c2 for Chapter 2 resources.





# **The New Republic**

# **Guide to Reading**

#### **Big Ideas**

**Government and Society** An important Supreme Court decision asserted that the Court had the power to decide whether laws passed by Congress are constitutional.

#### **Content Vocabulary**

- cabinet (p. 78)
- Bill of Rights (p. 78)
- enumerated powers (p. 79)
- implied powers (p. 79)
- judicial review (p. 83)

#### **Academic Vocabulary**

· constitutional (p. 78)

#### **People and Events to Identify**

- District of Columbia (p. 80)
- Louisiana Territory (p. 83)
- Louisiana Purchase (p. 83)

#### **Reading Strategy**

**Sequencing** Complete a graphic organizer similar to the one below by indicating the tasks completed by the first Congress under the Constitution.



Differences over how to make the government function effectively became the basis for two new political parties. The growth of the nation, along with the War of 1812, gave Americans a strong sense of national pride.

# **The Early Years of the Republic**

MAIN Idea The United States established a federal government, created a Bill of Rights, and witnessed the first political parties.

**HISTORY AND YOU** Of all the freedoms that are granted to Americans, which do you consider most precious, and why? Read on to learn about the ratification of the Bill of Rights, which guarantees basic freedoms to all Americans.

The newly elected members of Congress met even before the Constitution had been ratified. Americans were confident, though, because they knew George Washington would be the first president.

One of the first tasks of President Washington and Congress was to organize the government itself. In the summer of 1789, Congress created three executive departments: the Department of State, the Department of the Treasury, and the Department of War, along with the Office of the Attorney General. Washington then chose his **cabinet**—the individuals who would head these departments and advise him. His appointments included Thomas Jefferson as Secretary of State and Alexander Hamilton as Treasury Secretary.

Congress also organized the judicial branch. The Judiciary Act of 1789 outlined the makeup of the Supreme Court and established lower federal courts. Washington chose John Jay as the first Chief Justice of the United States.

# The Bill of Rights

One of the most important acts of Congress in 1789 was to propose amendments to the Constitution. During the campaign to ratify the Constitution, the Federalists had promised to add a bill of rights detailing the rights of American citizens.

In September 1789, Congress agreed on 12 **constitutional** amendments. They were then sent to the states, but only 10 were approved. These 10 went into effect and are generally referred to as the **Bill of Rights.** Eight of the amendments protect the rights of individuals against the government. The Ninth Amendment states that the people have other rights not listed in the Constitution. The Tenth Amendment adds that any powers not specifically given to the federal government are reserved for the states.

# Origins of the Bill of Rights

Basic Rights	Magna Carta (1215)	English Bill of Rights (1689)	Virginia Declaration of Rights (1776)	Virginia Statute for Religious Freedom (1786)	American Bill of Rights (1791)
No state religion				0	•
Freedom of worship		limited	•	•	•
Freedom of speech		•	•		•
Right to petition		limited			•
Right to bear arms					0
No quartering troops in private homes without permission					•
No searches and seizures without a specific search warrant	•		•		•
Government cannot take away life, liberty, or property unless it follows proper court procedures (due process)	•	•	•		•
Right to a speedy public trial by jury and to a lawyer		•	•	0	0
No excessive bail, fines, or cruel and unusual punishment	•	•	•		•

#### Steps to the Bill of Rights

In creating the Bill of Rights, the first ten amendments to the Constitution, James Madison drew on the great founding documents of English legal history and tradition: the Magna Carta, the English Bill of Rights, the Virginia Declaration of Rights, and the Virginia Statute for Religious Freedom. Beginning in 1215, these and other documents had established protections of individual rights and freedoms designed to safeguard citizens from oppression and tyrannical government.

# **Analyzing VISUALS**

- 1. Specifying Which right was established in the Magna Carta and appears in all subsequent documents?
- 2. Explaining Which two rights are the only ones unique to the American Bill of Rights, and why do you think that is?

# Tackling Financial Troubles

With the bureaucracy up and running, the most pressing concerns involved the economy. The federal government had inherited a huge debt from the Continental Congress. Secretary of the Treasury Alexander Hamilton proposed a plan to pay off all debts. He also wanted the federal government to accept responsibility for the states' outstanding debts. Hamilton called for the creation of a national bank to manage the country's finances.

Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, and others favored less government interference in the economy. They also pointed out that establish-

ing a bank was not one of the federal government's **enumerated powers**—the powers specifically mentioned in the Constitution. Hamilton rebuffed this criticism by citing Article I, Section 8, which gives the federal government the power "to make all laws which shall be necessary and proper" to fulfill its responsibilities. The "necessary and proper" clause, he said, created implied powerspowers not explicitly listed in the Constitution but necessary for the government to do its job. A national bank, Hamilton argued, was indeed necessary so that the government could collect taxes, regulate trade, and provide for the common defense.

Hamilton eventually won approval for his financial program after promises to Southern congressmen that the nation's capital would be moved to the **District of Columbia** on land donated by Virginia and Maryland. With that settled, the Bank of the United States was established in 1791 for a 20-year period.

The same year, Congress enacted a high tax on whiskey. The new tax brought in needed revenue, but it proved extremely unpopular among Western farmers who resisted the tax by terrorizing tax collectors, robbing mail, and destroying whiskey-making stills of those who paid the tax. In August 1794, President Washington sent nearly 13,000 troops to crush the Whiskey Rebellion.

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Activity Visit
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and complete the
activity on political
parties.

# **The Rise of Political Parties**

The handling of the Whiskey Rebellion intensified the tensions that had arisen over Hamilton's financial program. By 1794 the factions in Congress had solidified into rival political parties.

Hamilton's supporters called themselves Federalists. They favored a strong national government led by the "rich, well born, and able." The Federalist Party included many manufacturers, merchants, and bankers, especially in the urban Northeast who believed that manufacturing and trade were the basis of national wealth and power.

Their opponents, led by Madison and Jefferson, took the name Democratic-Republicans, although most people at the time referred to them as Republicans. They favored strict limits on the federal government's power and protection of states' rights. They also believed that the strength of the United States was its independent, land-owning farmers and thus supported agriculture over commerce and trade. The party had a strong base among farmers in the rural South and West.

For an excerpt from "Washington's Farewell Address," see page R46 in Documents in American History.

# **Tough Times for Adams**

After two terms as president, a weary George Washington left office. His Farewell Address to the American people warned of the dangers of party politics and sectionalism—pitting North against South, or East against West. Washington also urged Americans "to steer clear of permanent alliances with any portion of the foreign world."

Washington's successor as president was a fellow Federalist, John Adams. One of Adams's most urgent challenges was averting war with France. France was enraged by a treaty between the United States and Britain and had begun seizing American ships at sea. The two nations soon were fighting an undeclared war at sea until negotiations finally brought an end to hostilities in 1800.

Meanwhile, the division between the two political parties had been deepening. The Federalists resented the harsh Republican criticism. Using their majority in Congress, they passed the Alien and Sedition Acts in 1798. One of these laws made it a crime to utter or print anything "false, scandalous, and malicious" against the federal government or any federal official. The other laws were directed at aliens—foreigners living in the country—who often were anti-British and tended to vote Republican once they became citizens. The new laws made it harder for them to gain citizenship and left them vulnerable to deportation without trial.

Many Americans denounced the Alien and Sedition Acts as an infringement on people's freedoms. In 1798 and 1799, Kentucky and Virginia passed resolutions challenging the laws' constitutionality. At the time, few states accepted the premise behind the resolutions that states had a right to decide on the validity of federal laws. Many years later, states used these ideas to defend their interests.

# **The Election of 1800**

Although John Adams hoped to win reelection in 1800, he faced an uphill battle. The Alien and Sedition Acts had angered many people, as had new taxes on houses, land, and enslaved Africans. The Republican nominees, Thomas Jefferson for president and Aaron Burr for vice president, campaigned against the taxes and the national bank. They accused the Federalists of favoring monarchy and discouraging political participation.

The election was very close, and it revealed a flaw in the system for selecting the president. The Constitution does not let citizens vote directly for the chief executive. Instead, each state chooses electors—the same number as it has senators and representatives. This group, known as the Electoral College, then votes for the president.

# The Election of 1800

The election of 1800 was a major turning point in American political history. This is because it was the first transfer of power between parties under the federal Constitution, and, despite the enormous political and personal hatred between the party members, it was accomplished peacefully. It demonstrated the commitment on all sides to the Constitution and to a democratic republic despite partisan passions.

**ANALYZING HISTORY** What made the election of 1800 so significant in American political history?



This cartoon reveals the emotions in American politics and the divisive nature of the relationship between the parties in the early years of the nation. The scene depicts a fight in the House of Representatives in 1798, begun when Federalist Roger Griswold of Connecticut assaulted Republican Matthew Lyon of Vermont.

**Presidential Election of 1800** Presidential **Popular Electoral** Popular Candidate Votes Vote Jefferson 73 Adams 65 \*Electors were not chosen by popular vote, but by state legislatures.

According to the original terms of the Constitution, each elector in the Electoral College voted for two people in a presidential election. The person receiving the most votes became president, and the person receiving the secondhighest number of votes became vice president. Under this system a tie was possible, as happened in the case of the tie between Thomas Jefferson and Aaron Burr in 1800. The House of Representatives then elected Jefferson after 35 rounds of voting in which there was no clear winner. To prevent such confusion in the future, the Twelfth Amendment was added to the Constitution in 1804. The amendment stipulates that electoral votes for president and vice president are counted and listed separately.

The Constitution called for each elector in the Electoral College to vote for two people. The normal practice was for an elector to cast one vote for his party's presidential candidate and another for the vice presidential candidate. To avoid a tie between Jefferson and Burr, the Republicans had intended for one elector to refrain from voting for Burr, but when the votes were counted, Jefferson and Burr each had 73. Since no candidate had a majority, the Federalist-controlled House of Representatives had to choose a president.

The divided House took days to reach a decision. Many Federalists distrusted Jefferson and refused to vote for him. Historians think Jefferson may have promised he would not dis-

mantle Hamilton's financial system because eventually one Federalist cast a blank ballot enabling Jefferson to become president. The election of 1800 was an important turning point in American history. At the time, the Federalists controlled the army and the government, and were powerful enough to overthrow the Constitution. Instead they stepped down, establishing that power could be peacefully transferred despite strong disagreements. The election also led to the Twelfth Amendment in 1804, providing for separate ballots for the president and vice president.

Reading Check Examining What is the difference between enumerated powers and implied powers?

# **Republicans in Power**

MAIN Idea During the Jefferson administration, the Supreme Court established judicial review, and the country doubled in size.

**HISTORY AND YOU** Are there times when you feel especially patriotic? Read on to learn about the War of 1812, which generated a new spirit of patriotism.

President Jefferson attempted to limit federal powers, while the country expanded in size and faced a war with Great Britain.

# **Jefferson in Office**

Thomas Jefferson took office committed to limiting the scope of government. He began paying off the federal debt, cut government spending, eliminated the hated whiskey tax, and trimmed the armed forces.

Weakening the Federalists' control of the judiciary was another aim of the new administration. On his last day in office, President Adams had appointed dozens of new Federalist judges and court officers. Jefferson asked the incoming Republican Congress to abolish some of the new positions and to withhold the paperwork confirming other appointments. One of those who didn't receive his documents, William Marbury, took the matter to the Supreme Court. The Court sympathized with Marbury but ruled in 1803 that it could not issue an enforcement order. According to Chief Justice John Marshall and his colleagues, the law that authorized the Court to write such orders actually was unconstitutional and invalid.



With the case of *Marbury* v. *Madison*, the Court asserted its right of **judicial review**, the power to decide whether laws are constitutional and to strike down those that are not. During more than 30 years as Chief Justice, John Marshall continued to build the Supreme Court into a powerful, independent branch of government.

# **Westward Expansion**

Under Jefferson, the size of the country increased considerably. The Treaty of Paris of 1783 had already established the Mississippi River as the western border of the United States. After the defeat of Native Americans in the Northwest Territory and the Treaty of Greenville in 1795, more settlers poured into the region. During Washington's term, Kentucky and Tennessee had become new states, and Ohio followed suit in 1803.

In 1800 Spain had given Louisiana back to France. To finance his plans for European conquest, the French leader, Napoleon Bonaparte, now offered to sell all of the **Louisiana Territory**, as well as New Orleans, to the United States. Congress overwhelmingly approved the **Louisiana Purchase** of April 30, 1803. The United States paid \$11.25 million and also agreed to take on French debts of about \$3.75 million owed to American citizens. With the purchase, the United States had more than doubled its size.

# The War of 1812

A foreign relations crisis loomed when Republican James Madison became president in 1809. The British regularly seized American ships at sea and often practiced impressment, kidnapping sailors to serve in the British navy. Americans in the West also accused Britain of inciting Native Americans to attack white settlers. President Jefferson had tried economic sanctions with the Embargo Act of 1807, but the actions mostly hurt the United States.

Like Jefferson, President Madison first responded with economic measures. After several attempts, the measures finally began to have the desired effect; unfortunately, word of British cooperation came too late—Congress had already declared war.

At the beginning of the War of 1812, conquering Canada was the primary objective of the United States. American forces on Lake Erie and Lake Champlain were victorious but could not prevent the British from setting fire to both the White House and the Capitol in Washington, D.C. The British, however, had to abandon their attack on Baltimore after bombarding the city's harbor throughout the night of September 13. The sight of the American flag still flying at dawn inspired Francis Scott Key to pen"The Star-Spangled Banner," which later became the national anthem.

With battles still raging, peace talks began in the European city of Ghent. The Treaty of Ghent, signed on December 24, 1814, restored prewar boundaries but did not mention neutral rights or impressment. Still, it increased the nation's prestige overseas and generated a new spirit of patriotism. The American victory also destroyed the Federalist Party, which had strongly opposed the war.

Reading Check **Explaining** Why is the Supreme Court decision *Marbury* v. *Madison* important?

# **Section 1** REVIEW

#### **Vocabulary**

Explain the significance of: cabinet, Bill
of Rights, enumerated powers, implied
powers, judicial review, District of
Columbia, Louisiana Territory, Louisiana
Purchase.

#### **Main Ideas**

- 2. Summarizing How was the election of 1800 different from previous elections? What resulted from the election?
- 3. Explaining Why did Napoleon sell Louisiana to the United States?

#### **Critical Thinking**

- **4. Big Ideas** How did the Supreme Court decision in *Marbury* v. *Madison* strengthen the federal judiciary?
- 5. Categorizing Use a graphic organizer similar to the one below to list the first political parties in the United States, their supporters, and the issues they promoted.

Political Party	Supporters	Issues Supported

**6. Analyzing Visuals** Study the map of the Louisiana Purchase on page 82. In what territory did Lewis and Clark make their 1805–1806 winter camp during their expedition?

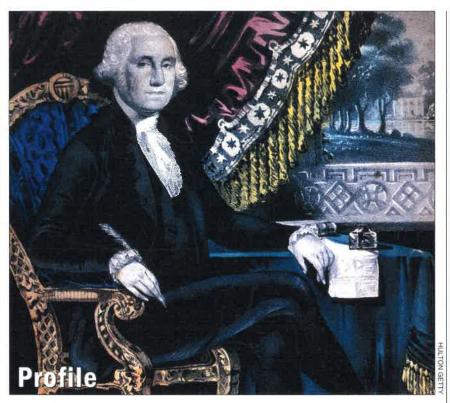
#### **Writing About History**

 Persuasive Writing Take on the role of an American citizen in 1798. Write a speech to persuade others not to support Alexander Hamilton's financial program.



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# TIME NOTEBOOK



**GEORGE WASHINGTON** At the age of 16, George Washington carefully transcribed in his own hand the Rules of Civility and Decent Behaviour in Company and Conversation. Among the rules our first president lived by:

- Every action done in company ought to be with some sign of respect to those that are present.
- When in company, put not your hands to any part of the body, not usually [un]covered.
- Put not off your clothes in the presence of others, nor go out your chamber half dressed.
- Sleep not when others speak.
- Spit not in the fire, nor stoop low before it. Neither put your hands into the flames to warm them, nor set your feet upon the fire, especially if there is meat before it.
- Shake not the head, feet or legs. Roll not the eyes. Lift not one eyebrow higher than the other. Wry not the mouth, and bedew no man's face with your spittle, by approaching too near him when you speak.
- Show not yourself glad at the misfortune of another though he were your enemy.
- Be not hasty to believe flying reports to the disparagement of any.
- Think before you speak.
- Cleanse not your teeth with the Table Cloth.

## VERBATIM

#### WAR'S END

44 I hope you will not consider yourself as commander-in-chief of your own house, but be convinced, that there is such a thing as equal command.

#### LUCY FLUCKER KNOX,

to her husband Henry Knox, upon his return as a hero from the Revolutionary War

44 The American war is over, but this is far from being the case with the American Revolution. Nothing but the first act of the drama is closed. ??

#### **BENJAMIN RUSH,**

signer of the Declaration of Independence and member of the Constitutional Convention

44 You could not have found a person to whom your schemes were more disagreeable. 77

#### **GEORGE WASHINGTON,**

to Colonel Lewis Nicola, in response to his letter urging Washington to seize power and proclaim himself king

44 It appears to me, then, little short of a miracle that the delegates from so many states . . . should unite in forming a system of national government.

#### **GEORGE WASHINGTON,**

in a letter to the Marquis de Lafayette at the close of the Constitutional Convention

It astonishes me to find this system approaching to near perfection as it does; and I think it will astonish our enemies.



WIND DESCRIPTION OF THE

#### BENJAMIN FRANKLIN,

remarking on the structure of the new United States government

# **Annual Salaries**

Annual federal employee salaries, 1789

\$25,000
\$5,000
\$3,500
\$4,000
\$6 per day
\$6 per day
\$420
\$48



#### 1780s WORD PLAY

# **Dressing the "Little Pudding Heads"**

Can you match these common items of Early American clothing with their descriptions?

- 1. clout
- 2. stays
- **3.** surcingle
- 4. pilch
- **5.** pudding cap
- a. a band of strong fabric wrapped around a baby to suppress the navel
- **b.** a diaper
- c. the wool cover worn over a diaper
- **d.** a head covering for a child learning to walk to protect its brain from falls
- e. a garment worn by children to foster good posture, made from linen and wood or baleen splints

answers: 1. b; 2. e; 3. a; 4. c; 5. d

# **Milestones**

#### SETTLED, 1781. LOS ANGELES,

by a group of 46 men and women, most of whom are of Native American and African descent.

#### CALLED, 1785, LEMUEL HAYNES,

as minister to a church in Torrington, Connecticut. Haynes, who fought at Lexington during the Revolutionary War, is the first African American to minister to a white congregation. A parishioner insulted Haynes by refusing to remove his hat in church, but minutes into the sermon, the parishioner was so moved that

the hat came off. He is now a prayerful and loyal member of the congregation.

#### PUBLISHED, 1788. THE **ELEMENTARY SPELLING BOOK,**

by Noah Webster, a 25-year-old teacher from Goshen, N.Y. The book standardizes American spelling and usage that differs from the British.

#### NUMBERS

- **Number of years younger** average American bride compared to her European counterpart
- Average number of children per family to survive to adulthood
- Average number of children born per family
- **Number of Daniel Boone's** surviving children
- **Number of Daniel Boone's** grandchildren
- **Average monthly wage** for male agricultural laborer, 1784
- Average monthly wage for female agricultural laborer, 1784



#### THINKING CRITICAL

- **1.** Contrasting Benjamin Rush made a distinction between the American war and the American Revolution. What do you think he meant by his statement?
- **2.** Making Inferences Based on the rules George Washington lived by, how would you describe his character?



# The Growth of a Nation

## **Guide to Reading**

#### **Big Ideas**

**Science and Technology** New technologies reshaped American industry.

#### **Content Vocabulary**

- revenue tariff (p. 87)
- protective tariff (p. 87)
- labor union (p. 92)

#### **Academic Vocabulary**

• transportation (p. 86)

#### People and Events to Identify

- "Era of Good Feelings" (p. 86)
- John C. Calhoun (p. 87)
- · McCulloch v. Maryland (p. 88)
- Monroe Doctrine (p. 88)
- Industrial Revolution (p. 90)

#### **Reading Strategy**

**Organizing** Complete a graphic organizer similar to the one below by listing actions that strengthened the federal government after the War of 1812.

The United States entered an "Era of Good Feelings" after the War of 1812. The national government began building the national road, defended its authority to regulate interstate commerce, and declared the Western Hemisphere off-limits for future colonization.

# **Growth of American Nationalism**

MAIN Idea The surge of nationalism and the survival of only one political party made it possible to make economic and judicial decisions that strengthened the national government.

**HISTORY AND YOU** Do you know of any Supreme Court decisions that had a significant national impact? Read on to learn about Supreme Court decisions that strengthened the power of the federal government.

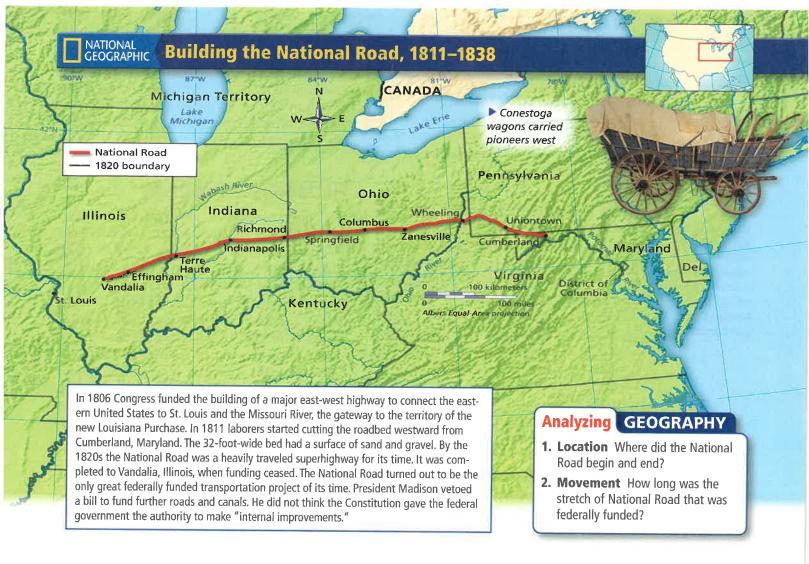
After the War of 1812, a sense of nationalism swept the United States. More and more Americans began to consider themselves to be part of a whole, rather than identifying with a state or region. The *Columbian Centinel*, a Boston newspaper, called this time the **"Era of Good Feelings."** Riding this wave of nationalism was Republican James Monroe, the nation's fifth president.

Partisan infighting had largely ended in national politics because only one major political party—the Republicans—remained. The Federalist Party rapidly lost political influence after the War of 1812. At the same time, the war taught Republican leaders that a stronger federal government was necessary. This new perspective allowed many who might have been Federalists in the past to now join the Republicans instead. As a result, James Monroe won the presidency in 1816 with 83 percent of the electoral vote. By the election of 1820, the Federalist Party was gone. All the presidential candidates were members of the Republican Party.

# **Economic Nationalism**

As Monroe's presidency began, focus shifted from world affairs to national growth. The Republicans quickly set out to strengthen the American financial system, protect manufacturers, and to improve the **transportation** system.

**The Second Bank** Republicans traditionally had opposed the idea of a national bank. They had blocked the charter renewal of the First Bank of the United States in 1811 and offered nothing in its place. The results were disastrous. State-chartered banks and other private banks greatly expanded their lending with bank notes that were used



as money. Without a national bank to regulate currency, prices rose rapidly during the War of 1812. When the government borrowed money to pay for the war, it had to pay high interest rates on the loans.

Because of these problems, many Republicans changed their minds after the war. In 1816 Representative John C. Calhoun of South Carolina introduced a bill proposing the Second Bank of the United States. With the support of Henry Clay of Kentucky and Daniel Webster of Massachusetts, the bill passed in 1816. This legislation gave the bank the power to issue notes that would serve as a national currency and to control state banks.

The Protective Tariff Protection of manufacturers from foreign competition was another part of the Republican program. During the War of 1812, an embargo had prevented Americans from buying British goods. American manufacturers had increased their output to meet the demand. Once the war was over, however, British goods flowed into the United States at

such low prices that they threatened to put American manufacturers out of business.

Congress responded with the Tariff of 1816. Unlike earlier revenue tariffs, which provided income for the federal government, this tariff was a protective tariff, designed to protect American manufacturers by taxing imports to drive up their prices. New England shippers and Southern farmers opposed the tariff and the higher prices it caused, but they could not block its passage.

**Transportation** The Republicans also wanted to improve the nation's transportation system. In 1816 Calhoun sponsored a federal internal improvement plan that included building roads and canals, but President Madison vetoed it, arguing that spending money to improve transportation was not expressly granted in the Constitution. Nevertheless, road and canal construction soon began, with private businesses and state and local governments funding much of the work.

## **Judicial Nationalism**

The judicial philosophy of the Chief Justice of the United States, John Marshall, provided another boost to postwar nationalism. In several important cases between 1816 and 1824, Marshall interpreted the Constitution broadly to support federal power.

For further information on the cases of *Martin v. Hunter's Lessee* and *Gibbons v. Ogden*, see page R59 in Supreme Court Case Summaries.

Martin v. Hunter's Lessee In 1816 the Court decided in Martin v. Hunter's Lessee that it had the authority to hear all appeals of state court decisions in cases involving federal statutes and treaties. In this case, Denny Martin, a British subject, tried to sell land in Virginia inherited from his uncle, Lord Fairfax, a British Loyalist during the war. However, Virginia law stated that no "enemy" could inherit land. The Supreme Court ruled that Virginia's law conflicted with Jay's Treaty, which protected land belonging to Loyalists before the war. The decision helped establish the Supreme Court as the nation's court of final appeal.

**McCulloch v. Maryland** The 1819 case of McCulloch v. Maryland involved Maryland's attempt to tax the Baltimore branch of the Second Bank of the United States. Before addressing Maryland's right to tax the national bank, the Supreme Court first ruled on the federal government's right to create a national bank in the first place. In the Court's opinion, written by John Marshall, the Constitution gave the federal government the power to collect taxes, to borrow money, to regulate commerce, and to raise armies and navies. The national bank helped the federal government exercise these powers. Marshall concluded that the "necessary and proper" clause allowed the federal government to use its powers in any way not specifically prohibited by the Constitution.

For the text of the Monroe Doctrine, see page R48 in Documents in American History.

Marshall went on to argue that the federal government was "supreme in its own sphere of action." This meant that a state government could not interfere with an agency of the federal government exercising its specific constitutional powers within a state's borders.

**Gibbons v. Ogden** The Court ruled in another case, Gibbons v. Ogden, that states could regulate commerce only within their

borders, but that control of interstate commerce was a federal right. Defenders of states' rights attacked many of Marshall's decisions, which helped make the "necessary and proper" clause and the interstate commerce clause vehicles for expanding federal power.

# **Nationalist Diplomacy**

Postwar nationalism also influenced foreign affairs. During the early 1800s, Spanish-held Florida was a source of frustration for Southerners. Many runaway slaves hid there, and the Seminole, a Native American group, often clashed with American settlers across the border in Georgia. When Spain was unable to control the border, Secretary of War John C. Calhoun sent troops under the command of Andrew Jackson into Florida. Secretary of State John Quincy Adams then put pressure on Spain concerning ongoing border questions. Occupied with problems throughout its Latin American empire, Spain gave in and ceded all of Florida to the United States in the Adams-Onís Treaty of 1819.

Spain had good reason to worry about Latin America. In 1809 rebellions began to erupt in Spain's colonies, and by 1824 all of Spain's colonies on the American mainland had declared independence. Meanwhile, some European monarchies expressed their interest in helping Spain suppress these Latin American revolutions. However, neither Great Britain nor the United States wanted Spain to regain control of its colonies.

At the same time, Russia's growing presence on North America's Pacific Coast also worried the American government. Russia already claimed Alaska, and in 1821 it announced that its empire extended south into the Oregon Country between Russian Alaska and the western United States.

Under these circumstances, Monroe decided to issue a statement in December 1823. In the **Monroe Doctrine**, the president declared that the American continents were "henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European powers." He specifically advised Europe to respect the sovereignty of new Latin American nations.

Reading Check Analyzing How did the decisions of the Marshall Court strengthen the federal government?



# ANALYZING SUPREME COURT CASES

# What Does "Necessary and Proper" Mean?

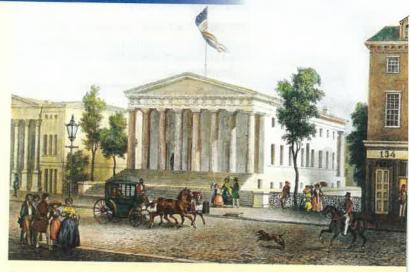
# \* McCulloch v. Maryland, 1819

# **Background to the Case**

In 1816, President James Madison and Congress worked to establish the Second Bank of the United States. Two years later, the state of Maryland passed legislation imposing a tax on the Second Bank. The cashier at the Second Bank's branch in Baltimore, Maryland, James McCulloch, refused to pay the tax, and the matter went to the Supreme Court.

#### **How the Court Ruled**

In a unanimous decision the Court found that, under the "necessary and proper" clause, the federal government did have the unenumerated power to establish a national bank and that, while the states had the power to tax, they could not interfere with instruments of the federal government, and the tax was construed to be interference. This established the supremacy of the federal government over the governments of the states.



▲ The Second Bank of the United States was located in Philadelphia. The Supreme Court held with the McCulloch v. Maryland ruling that the federal government had the right to establish a national bank and that the states could not tax it or otherwise interfere in any federal enterprise.

#### PRIMARY SOURCE

# **The Court's Opinion**

#### Can the Federal Government Create a Bank?

"...Although, among the enumerated powers of government, we do not find the word 'bank' or 'incorporation,' we find the great powers, to lay and collect taxes; to borrow money; to regulate commerce; to declare and conduct a war; and to raise and support armies and navies. . . . But it may with great reason be contended, that a government, entrusted with such ample powers . . . must also be entrusted with ample means for their execution.

... To its enumeration of powers is added, that of making 'all laws which shall be necessary and proper, for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, and all other powers vested by this constitution, in the government of the United States, or in any department thereof.'... [I]t is the unanimous and decided opinion of this Court, that the act to incorporate the Bank of the United States is . . . constitutional."

#### Can a State Tax a Federal Agency or Activity?

"... the power to tax involves the power to destroy.... If the states may tax one instrument, employed by the government . . . they may tax all the means employed by the government, to an excess which would defeat all the ends of government. . . . The result is a conviction that the states have no power, by taxation or otherwise, to retard, impede, burden, or in any manner control, the operations of the constitutional laws enacted by congress to carry into execution the powers vested in the general government. This is, we think, the unavoidable consequence of that supremacy which the constitution has declared."

> —Chief Justice John Marshall writing for the Court in McCulloch v. Maryland

#### **Document-Based Questions**

- 1. Specifying What two questions did the decision in McCulloch v. Maryland address?
- 2. **Describing** How did Marshall interpret the "necessary and proper" clause in this case?
- 3. Summarizing How did Marshall's decision establish the authority of the federal government over the states?

# **A Growing Nation**

MAIN Idea New industries and railroads transformed the North in the early 1800s, while slavery expanded in the South.

**HISTORY AND YOU** What kinds of businesses generate the most wealth in the United States today? Read on to learn about the critical role that farming and industry played during the early 1800s.

The early 1800s were a time of rapid change in the United States. Transportation greatly improved access to different regions, while the Industrial Revolution began transforming the North into a manufacturing center. The South, meanwhile, continued to rely on agriculture.

# **Transportation Revolution**

With the United States expanding rapidly, Americans sought new ways to connect the distant regions of the country. The first steps came in 1806, when Congress funded the National Road. Soon afterward, states, localities, and private businesses began laying hundreds of miles of toll roads.

Rivers offered a more efficient and cheaper way to move goods than did early roads.

Loaded boats and barges, however, could usually travel only downstream, as trips against the current with heavy cargoes were impractical. The invention of the steamboat changed all that. The first successful steamboat was the *Clermont*, developed by Robert Fulton and promoted by Robert R. Livingston. By 1850 more than 700 steamboats, also called riverboats, traveled the Mississippi, the Great Lakes, and other waterways.

Railroads also appeared in the early 1800s. A wealthy, self-educated industrialist named Peter Cooper built the *Tom Thumb*, a tiny but powerful locomotive based on engines originally developed in Great Britain. Perhaps more than any other kind of transportation, trains helped settle the West and expand trade among the nation's different regions.

# Industrialization

Along with changes in transportation, a revolution occurred in industry. The **Industrial Revolution**, which began in Britain in the middle 1700s, spread to the United States. Businesses began large-scale manufacturing using complex machines and organized workforces in factories. Manufacturers sold their wares nationwide or abroad instead of just

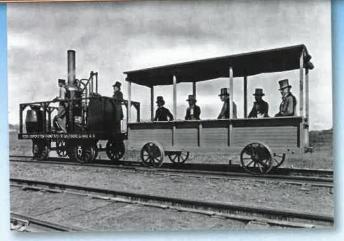
# TECHNOLOGY & HISTORY

New technologies in the early 1800s revolutionized transportation, communications, manufacturing, and agriculture. They began transforming the North into an industrial society and contributed to the spread of the cotton plantation in the South.



#### ▲ The Steamboat

Paddle-wheeled steamboats, such as Robert Fulton's Clermont, made river travel easier and more reliable.



#### ▲ The Railroad Locomotive

The *Tom Thumb* was the first American locomotive. Railroads transformed the nation, allowing people and goods to move quickly from city to city and helping to encourage settlement in the West.

locally. These developments transformed not only the economy, but society as well.

The United States industrialized quickly for several reasons. Perhaps the key factor was the American system of free enterprise based on private property rights. People could acquire and use capital without strict governmental controls. At the same time, competition between companies encouraged them to try new technologies. The era's low taxes also meant that entrepreneurs had more money to invest. In addition, beginning in the 1830s, many states promoted industrialization by passing general incorporation laws that made it much easier to form businesses.

Industrialization began in the Northeast, where many swift-flowing streams provided factories with waterpower. The region was also home to many entrepreneurs who were willing to invest in British technology. Soon textile mills sprung up throughout the Northeast. The use of interchangeable parts, or standard components, popularized by a New Englander named Eli Whitney, led to factories producing lumber, shoes, leather, wagons, and other products. The sewing machine allowed inexpensive clothes to be mass produced, and canning allowed foods to be stored and transported without fear of spoilage.

In 1832 a major improvement in communications took place when Samuel F.B. Morse began perfecting the telegraph and developing Morse code. Journalists began using the telegraph to speedily relay news. By 1860 more than 50,000 miles of telegraph wire connected most parts of the country.

# **Immigration**

Between 1815 and 1860, over 5 million foreigners journeyed to America. While thousands of newcomers, particularly Germans, became farmers in the rural West, many others settled in cities, providing a steady source of cheap labor. A large number of Irish—over 44,000-arrived in 1845, after a devastating potato blight caused widespread famine in their homeland.

Not all Americans welcomed the new immigrants. Some had feelings of nativism, a preference for native-born people and a desire to limit immigration. Several societies sprang up to keep foreign-born persons and Catholics the main religion of the Irish and many Germans—from holding public office. In 1854 delegates from some of these groups formed the American Party. This party came to be called the Know-Nothings.



#### ■ The Water Frame

The water frame allowed cotton fibers to be easily spun into cotton thread.



In 1793, Eli Whitney built a device that removed the seeds of cotton and increased the profitability of cotton and the need for enslaved laborers.

#### The Telegraph >

The first modern breakthrough in communications was the telegraph and Morse code. Suddenly, news and other information could be sent via telegraph keys over long distances nearly instantly.

# Analyzing VISUALS

- 1. Making Connections What were the advantages to traveling by railroad rather than steamboat?
- 2. Discussing Which invention do you think was the most significant? Why?

# **Rise of Labor Unions**

By 1860, factory workers numbered roughly 1.3 million. They included many women and children, who would accept lower wages than men. Not even men were well paid, however, and factory workers typically toiled for 12 or more drudgery-filled hours a day. Hoping to gain higher wages or shorter workdays, some workers began to organize in labor unions groups of workers who press for better working conditions and member benefits. During the late 1820s and early 1830s, about 300,000 men and women belonged to these organizations. Early labor unions had little power. Most employers refused to bargain with them, and the courts often saw them as unlawful conspiracies that limited free enterprise.

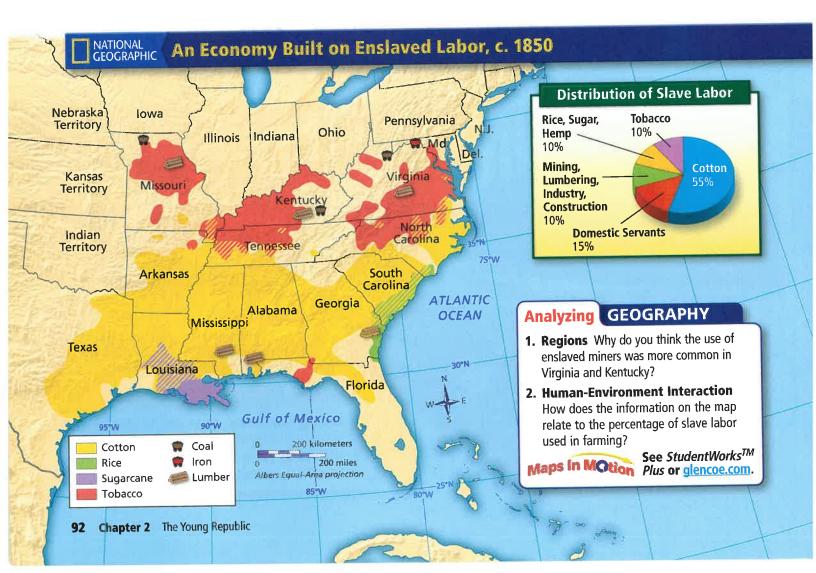
# **Importance of Agriculture**

Despite the trend toward urban and industrial growth, agriculture remained the country's leading economic activity. Until the late 1800s, farm-

ing employed more people and produced more wealth than any other kind of work. Northern farmers produced enough to sell their surplus in the growing eastern cities and towns.

Farming was even more important in the South, which had few cities and less industry. The South thrived on the production of several major cash crops, including tobacco, rice, and sugarcane. No crop, however, played a greater role in the South's fortunes during this period than cotton, which was grown in a wide belt stretching from inland South Carolina west into Texas.

Removing cotton seeds by hand from the fluffy bolls was so tedious that it took a worker an entire day to separate a pound of cotton lint. In 1793 Eli Whitney invented the cotton gin—"gin" being short for engine—that quickly and efficiently removed cotton seeds from bolls, or cotton pods. Cotton production soared, and by 1860 Southern cotton accounted for nearly two-thirds of the total export trade of the United States. Southerners began saying, rightly, "Cotton is King."



While agriculture brought prosperity to Southern states, they lagged behind the North in industrialization. Compared to the many textile mills and factories in the North, the Southern region had only scattered iron works, textile mills, and coal, iron, salt, and copper mines. Together, these accounted for only 16 percent of the nation's total manufacturing.

# **Enslaved and Free African Americans**

The spread of cotton plantations boosted the Southern economy, but it also made the demand for slave labor skyrocket. Congress had outlawed the foreign slave trade in 1808, but a high birthrate among enslaved women—encouraged by slaveholders—kept the population growing. Between 1820 and 1850, the number of enslaved persons in the South rose from about 1.5 million to nearly 3.2 million, to account for almost 37 percent of the total Southern population.

The overwhelming majority of enslaved African Americans toiled in the fields on small farms. Some became house servants, while others worked in trades. All enslaved persons, no matter how well treated, suffered indignities. State slave codes forbade enslaved men and women from owning property, leaving a slave-holder's premises without permission, or testifying in court against a white person. Laws even banned them from learning to read and write. Frederick Douglass, who rose from slavery to become a prominent leader of the antislavery movement, recalled how life as an enslaved person affected him:

## PRIMARY SOURCE

"My natural elasticity was crushed; my intellect languished; the disposition to read departed; the cheerful spark that lingered about my eye died; the dark night of slavery closed in upon me, and behold a man transformed to a brute."

—from Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass

Music helped many African Americans endure the horrors of slavery. Songs also played a key role in religion, one of the most important parts of African American culture.

Many enslaved men and women found ways to actively resist the dreadful lifestyle forced on them. Some quietly staged work slow-downs. Others broke tools or set fire to houses and barns. Still others risked beatings or mutilations by running away. Some enslaved persons turned to violence, killing their owners or plotting revolts.

Free African Americans occupied an ambiguous position in Southern society. In cities like Charleston and New Orleans, some were successful enough to become slaveholders themselves. Almost 200,000 free African Americans lived in the North, where slavery had been outlawed, but they were not embraced there either. Still, in the North free African Americans could organize their own churches and voluntary associations. They also were able to earn money from the jobs they held.

Reading Check Describing How did the Industrial Revolution change American society?

# **Section 2 REVIEW**

#### **Vocabulary**

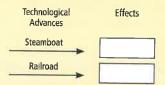
 Explain the significance of: "Era of Good Feelings," John C. Calhoun, revenue tariff, protective tariff, McCulloch v. Maryland, Monroe Doctrine, Industrial Revolution, labor union.

#### **Main Ideas**

- 2. Summarizing What did the Marshall Court interpret the "necessary and proper" clause to mean?
- 3. Determining Cause and Effect How did the invention of the cotton gin help to increase the importance of cotton as a cash crop in the South?

#### **Critical Thinking**

- 4. Big Ideas How did interchangeable parts revolutionize the manufacturing process?
- **5. Organizing** Use a graphic organizer similar to the one below to list the effects of some of the technological advances of the early 1800s.



**6. Analyzing Visuals** Study the circle graph on the distribution of slave labor on page 92. After those who worked to produce cotton, what was the next largest group of enslaved workers?

#### **Writing About History**

**7. Expository Writing** Suppose that you are a European visitor to the South in 1830. Write a newspaper article explaining your impressions of life in this region.



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# **Growing Division and Reform**

# **Guide to Reading**

#### **Big Ideas**

**Government and Society** The American political system became more democratic during the Jacksonian era.

#### **Content Vocabulary**

- spoils system (p. 97)
- secede (p. 97)
- benevolent societies (p. 100)
- temperance (p. 100)
- emancipation (p. 102)

#### **Academic Vocabulary**

- controversy (p. 95)
- exposure (p. 99)

#### **People and Events to Identify**

- Missouri Compromise (p. 95)
- Tariff of Abominations (p. 97)
- Trail of Tears (p. 99)
- Whigs (p. 99)
- Second Great Awakening (p. 100)
- Frederick Douglass (p. 103)

#### Reading Strategy

**Organizing** Complete a graphic organizer similar to the one below by listing the divisive political issues of the 1820s.



Sectional differences continued to divide free and slave states as new states joined the Union. While Native Americans were forced to move west, reform movements focused on social issues and the rights of women and African Americans.

# **The Resurgence of Sectionalism**

MAIN Idea Sectionalism increased after the War of 1812, while voting rights expanded for American citizens.

**HISTORY AND YOU** What do you see as the defining characteristics of your state and region? Read on to learn why conflicts between different sections of the United States arose in the early and mid-1800s.

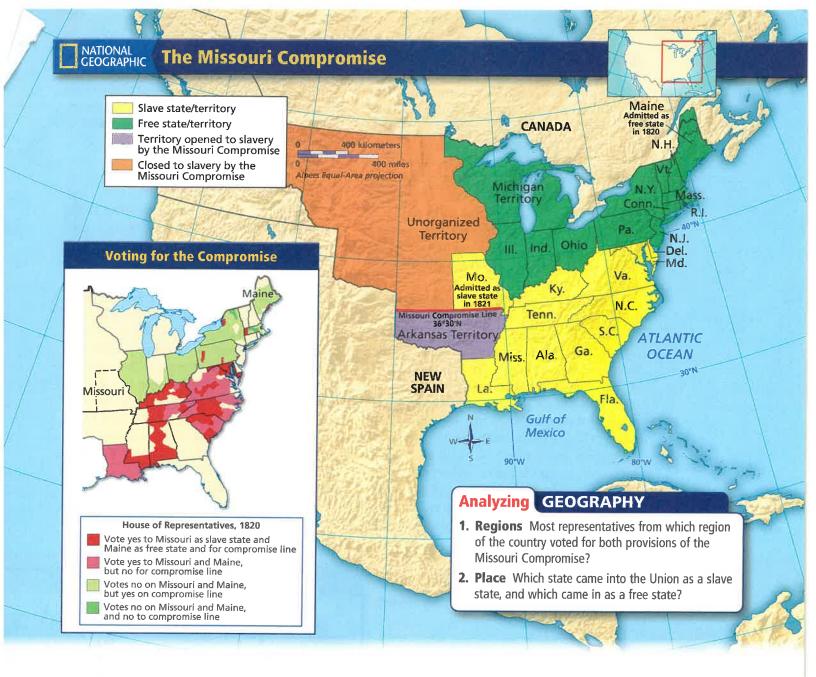
The Louisiana Purchase and improved transportation spurred new settlement in the West. Soon some of the territories grew large enough to apply for statehood. The matter of statehood for Missouri stirred up passionate disagreements. Increasingly, sectional disputes came to divide Americans.

# **The Missouri Compromise**

The Monroe administration's Era of Good Feelings could not ward off the nation's growing sectional disputes and the passionately differing opinions over slavery. Tensions rose to the boiling point in 1819, when Missouri's application for statehood stirred up the country's most divisive issue: whether slavery should expand westward.

In 1819 the Union consisted of 11 free and 11 slave states. While the House of Representatives already had a majority of Northerners, admitting any new state, either slave or free, would upset the balance of political power in the Senate and touch off a bitter struggle over political power. Many Northerners opposed extending slavery into the western territories because they believed that human bondage was morally wrong. The South feared that if slavery could not expand, new free states would eventually give the North enough votes in the Senate to outlaw slaveholding.

Missouri's territorial government requested admission into the Union as a slave state in 1819. The House of Representatives then passed a resolution banning slaveholders from bringing enslaved people into Missouri as a condition of statehood. Southern Senators angrily blocked the proposal. The next year, Maine, then a part of Massachusetts, sought statehood. The Senate decided to combine Maine's request with Missouri's, and it voted to admit Maine as a free state and Missouri as a slave state. The Senate added an



amendment to prohibit slavery in the rest of the Louisiana Territory north of Missouri's southern boundary. This would allow slavery to expand into Arkansas territory south of Missouri, but it would keep it out of the rest of the Louisiana Purchase. Southerners agreed, viewing this Northern region as unsuitable for farming anyway.

Henry Clay carefully steered the Missouri Compromise through the House of Representatives, which passed it by a close vote in March 1820. The next year, Missouri became the twenty-fourth state, and the Missouri Compromise temporarily settled the dispute over the westward expansion of slavery. Like Jefferson, however, many leaders feared more trouble ahead.

Once the issue was settled, a new problem developed. Pro-slavery members of the Missouri constitutional convention added a clause to the proposed state constitution prohibiting free African Americans from entering the state. This new controversy threatened final approval of Missouri's admission to the Union. Clay again engineered a solution by getting the Missouri legislature to state that they would not honor the spirit of the clause's wording.

Despite Clay's efforts, many leaders feared that the Missouri Compromise was only a temporary solution. "I take it for granted," John Quincy Adams wrote, "that the present question is a mere preamble—a title page to a great tragic volume." The Compromise merely postponed a debate over the future of slavery.

# **A Disputed Election**

Although the Republicans remained the only official political party, sectional tensions were strong in the election campaign of 1824. On Election Day, four Republicans ran for president. Andrew Jackson of Tennessee led in the popular vote and in the Electoral College, but he did not win the necessary majority of electoral votes. In accordance with constitutional procedure, the decision went to the House of Representatives, whose members would select the president from the top three with the most votes.

Henry Clay of Kentucky, who had placed fourth, was eliminated. As the Speaker of the House, Clay enjoyed tremendous influence, and he threw his support to John Quincy Adams of Massachusetts. On February 9, 1825, Adams won the House election easily, with 13 votes to Jackson's 7 and William Crawford's 4.

Upon taking office, the new president named Clay as his secretary of state. Jackson's supporters immediately accused the pair of striking a "corrupt bargain," whereby Clay had secured votes for Adams in return for a cabinet post. Adams and Clay denied any wrongdoing, and no evidence of a deal ever emerged. Still,

Jackson's outraged supporters decided to break with the faction of the party allied with Adams. The Jacksonians called themselves Democratic Republicans, later shortened to Democrats. Adams and his followers became known as National Republicans.

# A New Era in Politics

Throughout the first decades of the 1800s, hundreds of thousands of white males gained the right to vote. This was largely because many states lowered or eliminated property ownership as a voting qualification. They did so partly to reflect the ideals of the Declaration of Independence and the social equality of frontier life. In addition, as cities and towns grew, the percentage of working people who did not own property increased. These people paid taxes and had an interest in the political affairs of their communities, so they wanted a say in electing those who represented them. The expansion of voting rights was very much in evidence by 1828. That year, more than 1.13 million citizens voted for president, compared with about 355,000 in 1824.

The campaign that year pitted John Quincy Adams against Andrew Jackson, who believed

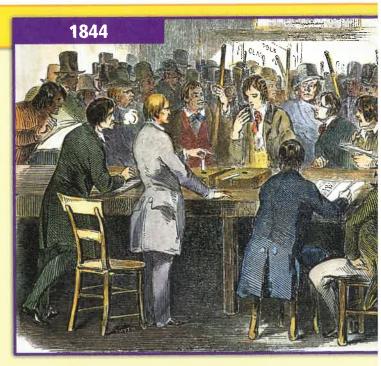
# PAST & PRESENT

# **Choosing a President**

Today, nearly all American citizens age 18 and older are eligible to vote. This was not the case in the early 1800s. Under the state constitutions adopted at the time of the American Revolution, the right to vote was usually limited to white males who owned property. Over the next few decades, however, states began lowering or eliminating property requirements for voters. Women could not vote, nor could the overwhelming majority of African American men, even those living in the North who met other requirements for voting. Still, changes in the Jacksonian era meant many more Americans could participate in presidential elections.

The rise of national nominating conventions also changed the process of choosing a president. Rather than congressional party leaders deciding on the party's candidate, delegates from the states could participate in the decision at a nominating convention.

Today, parties still hold national conventions in presidential election years, but voting to choose the party's nominee for president has become largely symbolic. The party's nominee has generally been decided in advance, through state primaries and state caucuses.



▲ Men crowd around the ballot boxes at a New York City polling station, waiting for their chance to vote in the presidential election of 1844.

that the presidency had been unjustly denied him four years earlier. The candidates resorted to mudslinging, attacking each other's personalities and morals. When the results came in, Jackson had 56 percent of the popular vote and 178 of the 261 electoral votes, a clear victory. Much of his support came from the West and South, where rural and small-town residents, many voting for the first time, saw Jackson as the candidate most likely to represent their interests.

As president, Jackson actively tried to make the government more inclusive. In an effort to strengthen democracy, he vigorously utilized the **spoils system**, the practice of appointing people to government jobs based on party loyalty and support. In his view, he was getting rid of a permanent office-holding class and opening up the government to more ordinary citizens.

Jackson's supporters also moved to make the political system—specifically, the way in which presidential candidates were chosen more democratic. At that time, political parties used the caucus system to select presidential candidates. The members of the party who served in Congress would hold a closed meeting, or caucus, to choose the party's nominee. Jackson's supporters believed that such a method restricted access to office to mainly the elite and well connected. The Jacksonians replaced the caucus with the national nominating convention, where delegates from the states gathered to decide on the party's presidential nominee.

## **The Nullification Crisis**

Jackson had not been in office long before he had to focus on a national crisis. It centered on South Carolina, but it also highlighted the growing rift between the nation's Northern and Southern regions.

In the early 1800s, South Carolina's economy began to decline. Many of the state's residents blamed this situation on the nation's tariffs—the taxes the United States charged other countries to bring their goods into the country. Because it had few industries, South Carolina purchased many of its manufactured goods from England, but tariffs made them extremely expensive. When Congress levied yet another new tariff in 1828—which critics called the **Tariff of Abominations**—many South Carolinians threatened to **secede**, or withdraw, from the Union.

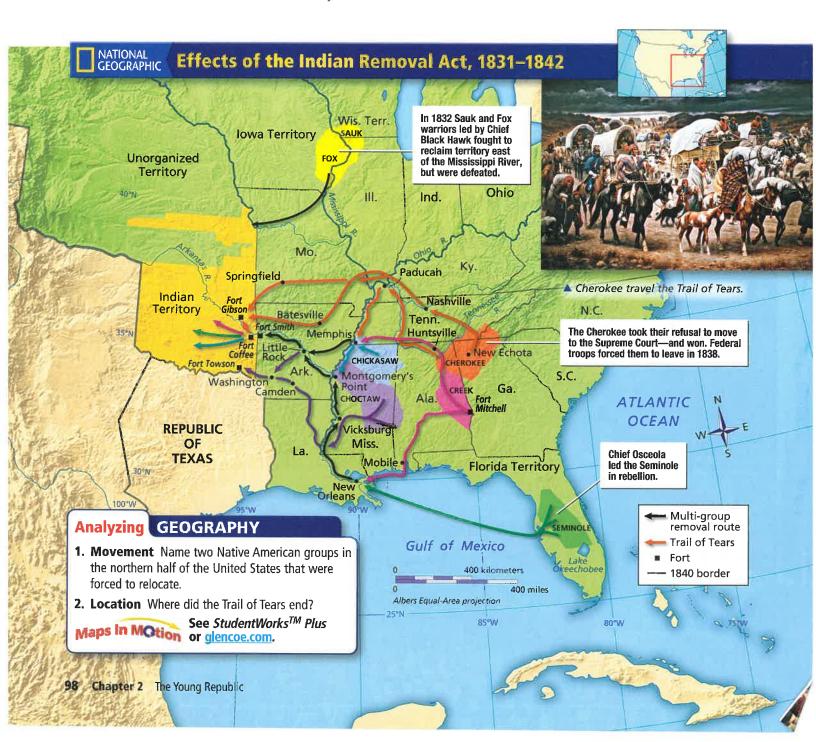


The growing turmoil particularly troubled Vice President John C. Calhoun, who was from South Carolina. Calhoun felt torn between upholding the country's policies and helping his fellow Carolinians. Rather than support secession, Calhoun put forth the idea of nullification. He argued that because the states had created the federal union, they had the right to declare a federal law null, or not valid.

The issue of nullification intensified in January 1830, when Senators Robert Hayne of South Carolina and Daniel Webster of Massachusetts confronted each other on the Senate floor. Hayne, asserting that the Union was no more than a voluntary association of states, advocated "liberty first and Union

afterward." Webster countered that neither liberty nor the Union could survive without binding federal laws. He ended his speech with a stirring call: "Liberty and Union, now and for ever, one and inseparable!"

The war of words intensified in 1832 when Congress passed yet another tariff law. Enraged, a special session of South Carolina's legislature voted to nullify the law. President Jackson considered nullification an act of treason and sent a warship to Charleston. As tensions rose, Senator Henry Clay managed to defuse the crisis. At Clay's insistence, Congress passed a bill that would lower tariffs gradually until 1842. South Carolina then repealed its nullification of the tariff law.



## **Native American Removal**

Although slavery remained a divisive question, President Jackson decided to focus on other matters, including Native Americans. While Jackson wanted to ensure the survival of Native American peoples, he accelerated the effort of moving them out of the way of white settlers. In 1830 Jackson signed the Indian Removal Act, which helped the states relocate Native Americans to largely uninhabited regions west of the Mississippi River.

The Cherokee in Georgia fought back by appealing to the Supreme Court, hoping to gain legal recognition of their territorial rights. Chief Justice Marshall supported this right in two decisions, Cherokee Nation v. Georgia (1831) and Worcester v. Georgia (1832). Jackson refused to carry out the decision. "Marshall has made his opinion," the president reportedly said, "now let him enforce it."

In 1838 Martin Van Buren, Jackson's successor, sent in the army to forcibly move the Cherokee. Roughly 2,000 Cherokee died in camps while waiting for the westward march. On the journey, known to the Cherokee as the Trail of Tears, about 2,000 others died of starvation, disease, and exposure.

Missionary-minded religious groups and a few members of Congress, like Henry Clay, declared that Jackson's policies toward Native Americans stained the nation's honor. Most citizens, however, supported them. By 1838 the majority of Native Americans still living east of the Mississippi had been forced onto government reservations.

# A New Party Emerges

President Jackson also decided to dismantle the Second Bank of the United States. He resented the power of its wealthy stockholders. Jackson vetoed a bill that would have extended the Bank's charter for 20 years. Then, by withdrawing the federal government's deposits, he forced the Bank to end.

**Opposition to Jackson** By the mid-1830s, those who criticized Jackson's decision had formed a new political party, the Whigs. Led by former National Republicans like Henry Clay, John Quincy Adams, and Daniel Webster, the Whigs wanted to expand the federal government, encourage industrial and commercial

development, and create a centralized economy. Such policies differed from those of the Democrats, who favored a limited federal government. The Whigs ran three candidates for president in the election of 1836. Jackson's continuing popularity, however, helped assure victory for his handpicked successor, Democrat Martin Van Buren.

**Economic Crisis** Shortly after Van Buren took office, a crippling economic crisis hit the nation. The roots of the crisis stretched back to the end of Jackson's term, a period in which investment in roads, canals, and railroads boomed, prompting a wave of land speculation and bank lending. This heavy spending pushed up inflation, which Jackson feared eventually would render the nation's paper currency worthless. Just before leaving office, therefore, Jackson issued the Specie Circular, which ordered that all payments for public lands must be made in the form of silver or gold.

Jackson's directive set off the Panic of 1837. With easy paper credit no longer available, land sales plummeted and economic growth slowed. In addition, the National Bank, which could have helped stabilize the economy, no longer existed. As a result, many banks and businesses failed, and thousands of farmers lost their land through foreclosures. Van Buren, a firm believer in his party's philosophy of limited federal government, did little to ease the crisis.

**The Whigs and Tyler** With Van Buren clearly vulnerable, the Whigs easily won the 1840 election by nominating General William Henry Harrison, a hero of the battle against Native Americans at Tippecanoe in 1811. Harrison, who spoke at his inauguration for two hours in bitter cold without coat or hat, died one month later of pneumonia. Vice President John Tyler, a Southerner and former Democrat who had left his party in protest over the nullification issue, then took over.

Tyler's ascension to the presidency dismayed Whig leaders. Tyler sided with the Democrats on numerous key issues, refusing to support a higher tariff or a new national bank. The new president did win praise, however, for the 1842 Webster-Ashburton Treaty, which established a firm boundary between the United States and Canada.

Reading Check Summarizing What caused the nullification crisis?

# The Reform Spirit

MAIN Idea The Second Great Awakening brought an era of reform.

HISTORY AND YOU Identify an issue you believe citizens and lawmakers need to address. Read on to learn about reformers during the mid-1800s.

During the mid-1800s, many citizens worked to reform various aspects of American society. The reform movement stemmed in large part from a revival of religion.

# The Second Great Awakening

Many church leaders sensed that the growth of scientific knowledge and rationalism were challenging the doctrine of faith. In the early 1800s, religious leaders organized to revive Americans' commitment to religion. The resulting movement came to be called the **Second Great Awakening.** Various Protestant denominations—most often the Methodists, Baptists, and Presbyterians—held camp meetings where thousands of followers sang, prayed, and participated in emotional outpourings of faith. One of the most successful ministers was Charles G. Finney, who pioneered many methods of revivalism evangelists still use today.

**Growth of Churches** As membership in many Protestant churches swelled, other religious groups also flourished. Among them were Unitarianism, Universalism, and the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, whose followers are commonly known as Mormons. Joseph Smith began preaching the Mormon faith in New York in the 1820s. After enduring much harassment in New York, Ohio, Missouri, and elsewhere, Mormons across the Midwest moved to the settlement of Nauvoo in Illinois. However, persecution continued, and following the murder of Joseph Smith, the Mormons headed west, and settled in the Utah Territory.

Revivalists preached that individuals could improve themselves and the world. Lyman Beecher, one of the nation's most prominent Presbyterian ministers, insisted that the nation's citizenry, more than its government, was responsible for building a better society.

**Benevolent Societies** Associations known as benevolent societies sprang up everywhere. At first, they focused on spreading the

word of God and attempting to convert nonbelievers. Soon, they sought to combat a number of social problems. One of the most striking features of the reform effort was the overwhelming presence of women. Young women in particular had joined the revivalist movement in much larger numbers than men. One reason was that many unmarried women with uncertain futures discovered in religion a foundation on which to build their lives. As more women turned to the church, many also joined religious-based reform groups.

# Social Reform

The optimism and emphasis on the individual in religion gave rise to dozens of utopian communities in which people wanted to find a better life. While only a few chose that path, many more attempted to reform society instead. A number of these reformers, many of them women, argued that no social vice caused more crime, poverty, or family damage than the excessive use of alcohol.

Although advocates of **temperance**, or moderation in the consumption of alcohol, had been active since the late 1700s, the new reformers energized the campaign. Temperance groups formed across the country, preaching the evils of alcohol and urging heavy drinkers to give up liquor. In 1833 a number of groups formed a national organization, the American Temperance Union, to strengthen the movement.

While persuading people not to drink, temperance societies pushed to halt the sale of liquor. In 1851 Maine passed the first state prohibition law, an example a dozen other states followed by 1855. Other states passed "local option" laws, which allowed towns and villages to prohibit liquor sales within their boundaries.

Other reformers focused on prisons and education. Around 1816 many states began replacing overcrowded prisons with new penitentiaries where prisoners were to be rehabilitated rather than simply locked up. States also began to establish a system of public education—government-funded schools open to all citizens. Reformers focused on creating elementary schools to teach all children the basics of reading, writing, and arithmetic, and to instill a work ethic. The schools were open to all and supported by local and state taxes and tuition fees.

## The Seneca Falls Declaration

#### PRIMARY SOURCE

#### **Declaration of Sentiments**

".... We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men and women are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights. . . .

The history of mankind is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations on the part of man toward woman, having in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over her. . . .

#### Resolutions

Resolved, That all laws which prevent woman from occupying such a station in society as her conscience shall dictate, or which place her in a position inferior to that of man, are contrary to the great precept of nature, and therefore of no force or authority.

Resolved, That woman is man's equal—was intended to be so by the Creator, and the highest good of the race demands that she should be recognized as such.

. . . Resolved, That it is the duty of women of this country to secure to themselves their sacred right to the elective franchise.

... Resolved, therefore, That, being invested by the Creator with the same capabilities, and the same consciousness of responsibility for their exercise, it is demonstrably the right and duty of woman, equally with man, to promote every righteous cause by every righteous means . . . both in private and in public, by writing and by speaking, by any instrumentalities proper to be used, and in any assemblies proper to be held. . . . "

—from The Seneca Falls Declaration



▲ Susan B. Anthony (left) and Elizabeth Cady Stanton (right) were two of the most prominent women's suffrage advocates. Stanton attended the Seneca Falls Convention that issued the Declaration of Sentiments.

#### **Document-Based Questions**

- 1. Identifying According to the third resolution, what is the duty of American women?
- 2. Paraphrasing What does the Declaration ask all women to do?

# **The Women's Movement**

Women did not have the right to vote in the 1800s. Most people believed the home was the proper place for women, partly because the outside world was seen as dangerous and partly because of the era's ideas about the family. Many parents treated raising children as a solemn responsibility because it prepared young people for a proper Christian life. Women were viewed as better able to serve as models of piety and virtue for their families. The ideas of the era implied that wives were partners with their husbands and, in some ways, morally superior.

As the reform movements of the 1830s got underway, some women set out to create more educational opportunities for girls and women. The early 1800s saw the funding of schools for girls that taught academic subjects. In 1837 the first higher education institution for women, Mount Holyoke Female Seminary in Massachusetts, opened.

The idea that women had an important role in building a virtuous home was soon expanded to society. As women became involved in reform movements, some argued for the right to promote their ideas. In 1848 activists Lucretia Mott and Elizabeth Cady Stanton organized the Seneca Falls Convention in New York. This gathering of women reformers marked the beginning of an organized woman's movement. The convention issued the Declaration of Sentiments and Resolutions, better known as the Seneca Falls Declaration. It began with words expanding the Declaration of Independence: "We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men and women are created equal...."

Although Stanton shocked the women present when she proposed a focus on suffrage, or the right to vote, the convention narrowly passed her proposal. Throughout the 1850s, women organized conventions to promote greater rights for themselves.

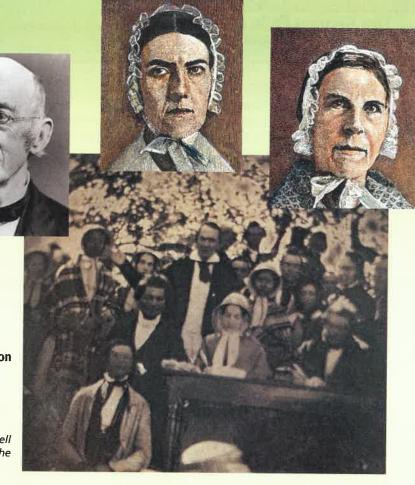
# The Abolitionist **Movement Begins**

Since colonial times many Americans had believed slavery was immoral. The Second Great Awakening and the general spirit of reform in the period of the 1830s, however, created an environment in which abolition began to gain widespread support. William Lloyd Garrison sparked the movement by publishing The Liberator, through which

he spread his ideas, and by founding the American Anti-Slavery Society. Garrison's energy, moral certitude, and strong rhetoric attracted fellow activists, as well as new converts, and gave the movement momentum on a national scale.

**ANALYZING HISTORY** How did William Lloyd Garrison start the abolitionist movement of the 1830s?

> ▶ Major leaders of the early abolitionist movement included William Lloyd Garrison (above left), sisters Angelina Grimké (above center) and Sarah Grimké (above right), as well as Frederick Douglass (shown seated left of the table) and Theodore Weld (seated in front).



# The Abolitionist Movement

Of all the reform movements that began in the early 1800s, the movement calling for abolition, or the immediate end to slavery, was the most divisive. It polarized the nation and helped bring about the Civil War.

Early Opposition Many of the country's founders knew that the nation would have difficulty remaining true to its ideals of liberty and equality if it continued to enslave human beings. Quakers and Baptists in both North and South argued that slavery was a sin. After the Revolution, Baptists in Virginia called for "every legal measure to [wipe out] this horrid evil from the land."

Early antislavery societies advocated gradualism, the idea that slavery should be ended gradually. First they would stop slave traders. Then they would end slavery in phases, first in the North, then in the upper South, and finally in the lower South. They believed this strategy would give the South time to adjust.

One example of antislavery efforts in the early 1800s was the formation of the American Colonization Society (ACS) in 1816. This group, supported by such prominent figures as President James Monroe and Chief Justice John Marshall, encouraged African Americans to resettle in Africa. The privately funded ACS chartered ships and helped relocate between 12,000 and 20,000 African Americans along the west coast of Africa in what became the nation of Liberia. Still, there were more than 1.5 million enslaved persons in the United States in 1820. Many of them, already two or three generations removed from Africa, strongly objected to the idea of resettlement.

New Abolitionists The antislavery movement gained new momentum in the 1830s, thanks largely to William Lloyd Garrison. In his newspaper, the Liberator, Garrison called for the immediate emancipation, or freeing, of enslaved persons. Garrison went on to found the New England Antislavery Society in 1832 and the American Antislavery Society in 1833.

Many women supported abolitionism. Lucretia Mott, a strong advocate of women's rights, spoke out in favor of abolition. Some Southern women, such as the South Carolina sisters Sarah and Angelina Grimké, also joined the crusade.

**African American Abolitionists** Not surprisingly, free African Americans took a prominent role in the abolitionist movement. The most famous was **Frederick Douglass**, who had escaped from slavery in Maryland. He published his own antislavery newspaper, the *North Star*, and an autobiography. Another important African American abolitionist was Sojourner Truth. She gained freedom in 1827 when New York freed all remaining enslaved persons in the state. Although she lacked a formal education, her eloquent and deeply religious antislavery speeches attracted huge crowds.

**Northern Opposition** Some Northerners objected to abolitionism because they considered it a dangerous threat to the existing social system. Some whites, including many prominent businesspeople, warned that it would produce a destructive war between the North and the South. Others feared it might bring a great influx of freed African Americans to the North, overwhelming the labor and housing markets. Many Northerners also had no desire to see the South's economy crumble. If that happened, they might lose the huge sums Southern planters owed to Northern banks as well as the Southern cotton that fed Northern textile mills.

**Southern Reaction** To most Southerners, slavery was a "peculiar institution," one that was distinctive and vital to the Southern way of life. The South had remained mostly agricultural, becoming increasingly tied to cotton and the enslaved people who planted and picked it. Southerners responded to the growing attacks against slavery by vehemently defending the institution. South Carolina's governor called it a "national benefit," while Thomas Dew, a leading academic of the South, claimed that most enslaved persons had no desire for freedom, as they enjoyed a close and beneficial relationship with their slaveholders. "We have no hesitation in affirming," he declared, "that . . . the slaves of good [slaveholders] are his warmest, most constant, and most devoted friends."

In 1831, when a slave rebellion left more than 50 white Virginians dead, Southerners were outraged. They cracked down on enslaved persons throughout the region and railed against the North. Further, they demanded the suppression of abolitionist material as a condition for remaining in the Union. Southern postal workers refused to deliver abolitionist newspapers. In 1836, under Southern pressure, the House of Representatives passed a "gag rule" providing that all abolitionist petitions be shelved without debate. Such measures did not deter abolitionists. While their movement was still relatively small, it continued to cause an uproar.

Reading Check Comparing How did Northerners' views on abolition differ from those of Southerners?

# **Section 3** REVIEW

#### **Vocabulary**

 Explain the significance of: Missouri Compromise, spoils system, Tariff of Abominations, secede, Trail of Tears, Whigs, Second Great Awakening, benevolent societies, temperance, emancipation, Frederick Douglass.

#### **Main Ideas**

- 2. Describing How was the nullification crisis resolved?
- 3. Explaining On what document did the Seneca Falls Convention base the "Declaration of Sentiments"?

#### **Critical Thinking**

- 4. Big Ideas In what ways did the United States become more democratic during Jackson's administration?
- Categorizing Use a graphic organizer similar to the one below to list the major areas of reform in the mid-1800s.



**6. Analyzing Visuals** Study the map of the effects of Indian removal on page 98. Which groups tried to keep their lands through armed resistance?

#### **Writing About History**

7. Persuasive Writing Think of one social reform you think is needed in the United States today. Write a letter to a legislator expressing reasons why the reform is needed and how it might be achieved. Give examples of specific problems in your community or state to support your argument.



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# **Manifest Destiny and Crisis**

# **Guide to Reading**

#### **Big Ideas**

War, Trade, and Migration War with Mexico brought new territories under the control of the United States and increasing discord about slavery.

#### **Content Vocabulary**

- popular sovereignty (p. 107)
- secession (p. 108)

#### **Academic Vocabulary**

- resolution (p. 106)
- civil (p. 109)

#### **People and Events to Identify**

- Manifest Destiny (p. 104)
- James K. Polk (p. 105)
- Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo (p. 107)
- Compromise of 1850 (p. 109)
- Underground Railroad (p. 110)
- Harriet Tubman (p. 110)
- Kansas-Nebraska Act (p. 111)
- Dred Scott (p. 112)

#### **Reading Strategy**

Taking Notes Use the major headings in this section to record main ideas about the United States' westward expansion and its results.

> Manifest Destiny and Crisis I. Manifest Destiny A. Pushing West B. Texas and Oregon C. War with Mexico a. Onset of War

C ectionalism and disagreements over slavery in the Onew territories intensified as the United States continued to expand west. The friction led to the breakdown and formation of political parties.

# **Manifest Destiny**

MAIN Idea In the 1840s, the nation expanded as settlers moved west.

HISTORY AND YOU To which country did California and Texas belong before they became part of the United States? Read on to learn how the two states entered the Union.

With the Louisiana Purchase opening up the West, thousands of people began pushing west, journeying all the way to California and the Oregon Territory. Between the late 1830s and early 1860s, more than 250,000 Americans braved great obstacles on overland trails.

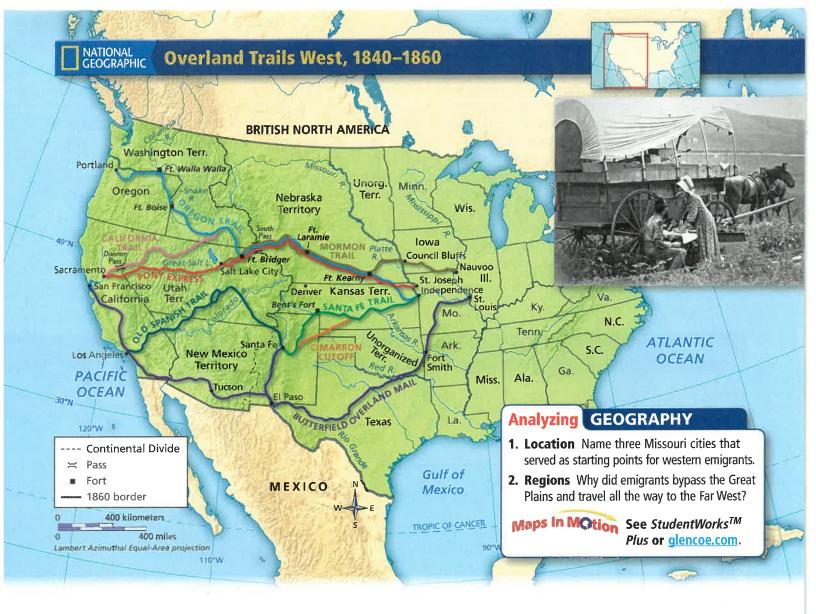
# **Pushing West**

The opportunity to farm fertile soil, enter the fur trade, or trade with foreign nations across the Pacific lured farmers, adventurers, and merchants alike. Most emigrants, like the majority of Americans, believed in **Manifest Destiny.** Manifest Destiny was the idea that the nation was meant to spread to the Pacific.

Latecomers to the Midwest set their sights on California and Oregon, although other nations had already claimed parts of these lands. The United States and Great Britain had agreed in 1818 to occupy the Oregon land jointly. The British dominated the region until about 1840, when the enthusiastic reports of American missionaries began to attract large numbers of settlers.

California was a frontier province of Mexico. Because few Mexicans wanted to live in California, the local government welcomed foreign settlers. By 1845 more than 700 Americans lived in California. Although the Mexican government relied on these American settlers, it was suspicious about their national loyalties.

By the 1840s, several east-to-west routes had been carved, including the Oregon Trail, the California Trail, and the Santa Fe Trail. As the overland traffic increased, the Plains Indians came to resent the threat it posed to their way of life. They feared that the buffalo herds, on which they relied for food, shelter, clothing, and tools, would die off or migrate elsewhere. In 1851, the federal government negotiated the Treaty of Fort Laramie to ensure peace. Eight Plains Indian groups agreed to specific geographic boundaries, while the United States promised that the defined territories would belong to the Native Americans forever.



White settlers still streamed across the plains, however, provoking Native American hostility.

# **Texas and Oregon**

At first, Mexico had encouraged Americans to settle the Mexican region of Texas, which at the time was part of the state of Coahuila. Tensions developed, however, when the American settlers refused to follow Mexico's conditions for settling the region. When Mexico closed its borders in 1830 to further immigration, the settlers, under the leadership of Stephen Austin and Sam Houston, tried to negotiate policy changes. When repeated attempts failed, they decided to separate from Texas and create their own government. Devastating losses at the Alamo and Goliad galvanized the Americans, who were able to defeat Mexican forces at the Battle of San Jacinto on April 21, 1836.

Five months later, the citizens of Texas voted in favor of joining the United States. However, Texas wished to enter the Union as a slave state, which antislavery leaders in Congress opposed. In addition, Mexico continued to claim ownership of Texas. To avoid conflict, President Andrew Jackson made no move toward annexation.

Texas statehood became a key issue in the presidential race of 1844. The Democratic nominee, James K. Polk of Tennessee, promised to annex not only Texas but also the contested Oregon Territory in the Northwest. He also vowed to buy California from Mexico. This platform promised to further Manifest Destiny while maintaining the delicate balance between free and slave states. Henry Clay, the Whig nominee, originally opposed annexing Texas but later announced his support if it would not cause a war with Mexico.

Many Whigs opposed to slavery felt so betrayed by Clay's actions that they voted for James G. Birney of the pro-abolition Liberty Party. With the Whig vote split, Polk won the election. In February 1845, Congress passed a joint **resolution** to annex Texas, and in December 1845 Texas became a state. Six months later, Britain and the United States agreed to divide Oregon along the 49th parallel. Britain took the Canadian province of British Columbia, and the Americans received the land that later became the states of Oregon, Washington, and Idaho.

#### **War With Mexico**

Texas's entry into the Union outraged the Mexican government, which promptly broke diplomatic relations with the United States. Matters worsened when the two countries disputed Texas's southwestern border.

President Polk's designs on California added to the conflict. In November 1845, he sent John Slidell as an envoy to Mexico City to try to purchase California and resolve other differences. Mexico's new president, José Joaquín Herrera, refused to meet with Slidell.



**Onset of War** With no realistic chance of a diplomatic solution, in January 1846 Polk ordered General Zachary Taylor to lead troops across the Nueces River into territory claimed by both the United States and Mexico. He wanted Mexican troops to fire the first shot, because then he could more easily win support for a war. On May 9, news arrived that a Mexican force had attacked Taylor's men. Four days later, the Senate and House both overwhelmingly voted in favor of the war.

California Even before war with Mexico was officially declared, settlers in northern California, led by American general John C. Frémont, had begun an uprising. The settlers had little trouble overcoming the weak official Mexican presence in the territory. On June 14, 1846, they declared California independent and renamed the region the Bear Flag Republic. Within a month, American naval forces arrived to occupy the ports of San Francisco and San Diego and to claim the republic for the United States.

Despite the loss of California and defeat in several battles, Mexico refused to surrender. Then Polk sent General Winfield Scott to seize Mexico City. After a 6-month campaign beginning in the Gulf Coast city of Veracruz, Scott's forces captured Mexico's capital in September 1847.

**Peace Terms** Defeated, on February 2, 1848, Mexico's leaders signed the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. Mexico gave the United States more than 500,000 square miles (1,295,000 sq. km) of territory—what are now the states of California, Nevada, and Utah, as well as most of Arizona and New Mexico and parts of Colorado and Wyoming. Mexico accepted the Rio Grande as the southern border of Texas. In return, the United States paid Mexico \$15 million and took over \$3.25 million in debts the Mexican government owed to American citizens.

With Oregon and the former Mexican territories under the American flag, the dream of Manifest Destiny had been realized. The question of whether the new lands should allow slavery, however, would soon lead the country into another bloody conflict.

Reading Check Explaining What is the idea of Manifest Destiny?

# Slavery and Western **Expansion**

MAIN Idea Continuing disagreements over the westward expansion of slavery increased sectional tensions between the North and South.

HISTORY AND YOU Under what circumstances, if any, do you believe that citizens are justified in disobeying a law? Read on to learn how some Northerners responded to the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850, which required them to aid in the capture of runaway slaves.

When California applied for statehood, attempts by Congress to find a compromise further heightened opposing viewpoints on slavery.

# The Impact of the War With Mexico

In mid-1846, Representative David Wilmot, a Democrat from Pennsylvania, proposed that in any territory the United States had gained from Mexico, "neither slavery nor involuntary servitude shall ever exist."

Wilmot's proposal outraged Southerners. They believed that any antislavery policy about the territories endangered slavery everywhere. Despite fierce Southern opposition, a coalition of Northern Democrats and Whigs passed the Wilmot Proviso in the House of Representatives. The Senate, however, refused to vote on it. During the debate, Senator John C. Calhoun of South Carolina argued that Americans settling in the territories had the right to bring along their property, including enslaved laborers, and that Congress had no power to ban slavery in the territories.

Senator Lewis Cass of Michigan suggested that the citizens of each new territory should be allowed to decide for themselves if they wanted to permit slavery. This idea, which came to be called **popular sovereignty**, appealed strongly to many members of Congress because it removed the slavery issue from national politics. It also appeared democratic, since the settlers themselves would make the decision. Abolitionists, however, argued that it still denied African Americans their right to be free.

As the 1848 presidential election approached, both major candidates—Democrat Lewis Cass and General Zachary Taylor, the Whig nomineesidestepped the slavery issue. Many Northern opponents of slavery decided to join with members of the abolitionist Liberty Party to form the Free-Soil Party, which opposed the spread of slavery onto the "free soil" of the western territories. Adopting the slogan "Free soil, free speech, free labor, and free men," they chose former president Martin Van Buren as their candidate. On Election Day, support for the Free-Soilers pulled votes away from the Democrats. When the ballots were counted, the Whig candidate, Zachary Taylor, had won a narrow victory.

# Struggle for a Compromise

Within a year of President Taylor's inauguration, the issue of slavery took center stage. A year earlier, in January 1848, a carpenter named James Marshall found traces of gold in a stream near a sawmill in Sacramento, California. Word of the find leaked out, and San Franciscans abandoned their homes and businesses to pile into wagons and head to the mountains in search of gold. During the summer, news of the find swept all the way to the East Coast and beyond, and the California Gold Rush was on.

By the end of 1849, over 80,000 "Forty-Niners" had arrived in California hoping to make their fortunes. Mining towns sprang up overnight, and the frenzy for gold led to chaos and violence. In need of a strong government to maintain order, Californians decided to seek statehood. With the encouragement of President Taylor, California applied to enter the Union as a free state in December 1849.

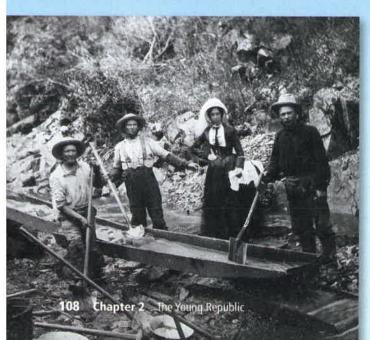
At the time, the union consisted of 15 free states and 15 slave states. If California tipped the balance, the slaveholding states would become a minority in the Senate. Southerners dreaded losing power in national politics, fearful that this would lead to limits on slavery. A few Southern politicians began to talk of **secession**—taking their states out of the Union.

In early 1850, one of the most senior and influential leaders in the Senate, Henry Clay of Kentucky, tried to find a compromise that would enable California to join the Union and resolve other sectional disputes. Among other resolutions, Clay proposed allowing California to come in as a free state and organizing the rest of the Mexican cession without any restric-

## **PRIMARY SOURCE**

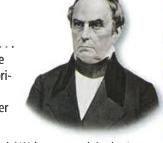
# The Compromise of 1850

Leaders in the California Territory submitted their request to become a state in 1849. Debate in Congress over California's entry into the Union as a free state ended in the Compromise of 1850. California joined the Union in September 1850 as part of the Compromise.



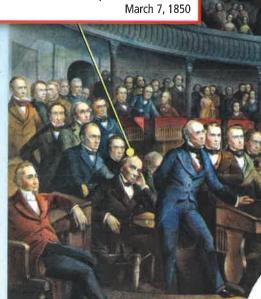
#### PRIMARY SOURCE

".... [I]t is this circumstance, Sir, the prohibition of slavery .... which has contributed to raise ... the dispute as to the propriety of the admission of California into the Union under this constitution."



—Daniel Webster, speech in the Senate, March 7, 1850

- Daniel Webster, Henry Clay, and John Calhoun were the main participants in the 1850 debate over the slavery issue and California's entry into the Union.
- As word of the discovery of gold in California spread through the nation, Americans rushed to the mountains in search of gold.



tions on slavery. Clay further proposed that Congress would be prohibited from interfering with the domestic slave trade and would pass a stronger law to help Southerners recover African American runaways. These measures were intended to assure the South that the North would not try to abolish slavery after California joined the Union.

Clay's proposal triggered a massive debate in Congress. When President Taylor, who opposed the compromise, died unexpectedly of cholera in July 1850, Vice President Millard Fillmore succeeded him and quickly threw his support behind the measure. By September, Congress had passed all parts of the Compromise of 1850, which had been divided into several smaller bills.

# **The Fugitive Slave Act**

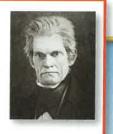
As part of the Compromise of 1850, Henry Clay had convinced Congress to pass the Fugitive Slave Act as a benefit to slaveholders. However, the law actually hurt the southern cause by creating active hostility toward slavery among many Northerners. Under this law, a slaveholder or slave catcher had only to point out alleged run-

aways to have them taken into custody. The accused would then be brought before a federal commissioner. With no right to testify on their own behalf, even those who had earned their freedom years earlier had no way to prove their case. An affidavit asserting that the captive had escaped from a slaveholder, or testimony by white witnesses, was all a court needed to order the person sent South. Furthermore, federal commissioners had a financial incentive to rule in favor of slaveholders: such judgments earned them a \$10 fee, while judgments in favor of the accused paid only \$5.

**Defiance** In addition, the act required federal marshals to assist slave catchers. Marshals could even deputize citizens to help them. It was this requirement that drove many Northerners into active defiance. The abolitionist Frederick Douglass, himself an escapee from slavery, would work crowds into a furor over this part of the law. Northerners justified their defiance of the Fugitive Slave Act on moral grounds. In his 1849 essay "Civil Disobedience," Henry David Thoreau wrote that if the law "requires you to be the agent of injustice to another, then I say, break the law."

#### PRIMARY SOURCE

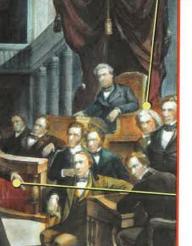
"[T]he equilibrium between [the North and the South] ... has been destroyed. . . . [o]ne section has the exclusive power of controlling the government, which leaves the other without any adequate means of protecting itself against its encroachment and oppression."



—John C. Calhoun, speech in the Senate, March 4, 1850

## The Compromise of 1850

- California admitted to the Union as a free state
- Popular sovereignty to determine slavery issue in Utah and New Mexico territories
- Texas border dispute with New Mexico resolved
- Texas receives \$10 million
- · Slave trade, but not slavery itself, abolished in the District of Columbia
- New, stringent Fugitive Slave Law adopted



#### PRIMARY SOURCE

"California, with suitable boundaries. ought, upon her application, to be admitted as



one of the States of this Union, without the imposition by Congress of any restriction in respect to the exclusion or introduction of slavery within those boundaries."

> -Henry Clay's resolution, January 29, 1850

#### **Document-Based Questions**

- 1. Summarizing How does Clay think slavery should be treated in California?
- 2. Finding Main Ideas What is Calhoun's concern about adding California to the Union?
- 3. Generalizing Do you think the North or the South achieved more of its goals in the Compromise of 1850? Why?

# People IN HISTORY

#### **Harriet Tubman** 1820-1913

Known as "Moses" for her courage in leading enslaved people to freedom as Moses had led the Hebrews out of slavery in Egypt, Harriet Tubman was a heroine of the antislavery movement. Tubman was born into slavery in Maryland and struggled early against the system's brutality. At age

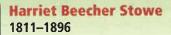
13, she tried to save another enslaved person from punishment, and an overseer fractured her skull. Miraculously, she recovered, but she suffered from occasional blackouts for the rest of her life.

Tubman escaped to freedom in 1849. About crossing into Pennsylvania, she later wrote, "I looked at my hands to see if I was the same person. There was such a glory over everything. The sun came up like gold through the trees, and I felt like I was in Heaven."

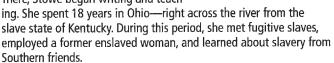
Her joy inspired others. After Congress passed the Fugitive Slave Act, Tubman returned to the South 19 times to guide enslaved people along the Underground Railroad to freedom.

Tubman became notorious in the eyes of slaveholders, but despite a large reward offered for her capture, no one ever betrayed her whereabouts. Furthermore, in all her rescues, she never lost a "passenger." Tubman's bravery and determination made her one of the most important figures in the antislavery movement.

What do you think Tubman meant when she wrote, "I looked at my hands to see if I was the same person?"



Daughter of reformer-minister Lyman Beecher, Harriet Beecher Stowe was born into a family of high achievers. Unlike many young women of the time, Stowe received a good education, including teacher training in Hartford, Connecticut. In 1832 Stowe moved to Cincinnati, Ohio. There, Stowe began writing and teach-



In 1850 Stowe moved with her husband to Maine. There, in reaction to the Fugitive Slave Law, she began writing *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, based on what she had learned while in Ohio and antislavery materials she had read. The novel, which humanized the plight of the enslaved, was an instant sensation and further hardened the positions of both abolitionists and slaveholders. When President Lincoln met Stowe, so the story goes, he exclaimed, "So you're the little woman who wrote the book that started this Great War!"

Stowe went on to write many more novels, stories, and articles but is today best known for the novel that so fanned the sectional flames over slavery that it contributed to the start of the Civil War. What was the effect of Uncle Tom's Cabin on the slavery debate?

The Underground Railroad One reason why so many African Americans could escape from the South was the Underground Railroad. This informal but well-organized network of abolitionists helped thousands of enslaved persons flee north. "Conductors" transported runaways in secret, gave them shelter and food along the way, and saw them to freedom in the Northern states or Canada. The most famous conductor was Harriet Tubman, herself a runaway. Again and again, she journeyed into the slave states to bring out men, women, and children.

Another important conductor was Levi Coffin, who allowed runaways to stay at his homes in Indiana and Ohio where several Underground Railroad routes converged. Some 3,300 African Americans stayed with Coffin while traveling north to freedom.

**Uncle Tom's Cabin** A major stop on the railroad was Cincinnati, Ohio, where author Harriett Beecher Stowe resided. Her exposure

to runaway slaves and the tragic reports she heard later about victims of the Fugitive Slave Law inspired her to "write something that would make this whole nation feel what an accursed thing slavery is."

Stowe's book, Uncle Tom's Cabin, was first published in 1852. Stowe's depiction of the enslaved hero, Tom, and the villainous overseer, Simon Legree, aroused passionate antislavery sentiment in the North. Despite Southern outrage, the book eventually sold millions of copies. It had such a dramatic impact on public opinion that many historians consider it a cause of the Civil War.

# **New Territorial Troubles**

The opening of the Oregon country and the admission of California to the Union brought further problems as the nation expanded.

Many people became convinced of the need for a transcontinental railroad to promote growth in the territories along the route. The



choice of the railroad's eastern starting point was contentious. Many Southerners favored the southern route, from New Orleans to San Diego. Since part of that route would lead through northern Mexico, the United States purchased the necessary land for \$10 million.

Democratic Senator Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois wanted the eastern starting point to be in Chicago. He knew that any route from the north would run through the unsettled lands west of Missouri and Iowa and prepared a bill to organize the region into a new territory to be called Nebraska. Key Southern committee leaders prevented this bill from coming to a vote in the Senate. They made it clear that before Nebraska could be organized, Congress had to repeal part of the Missouri Compromise and allow slavery in the new territory.

Kansas-Nebraska Act At first, Douglas tried to gain Southern support for his bill by saying that any states organized in the new Nebraska territory would be allowed to exercise popular sovereignty with regard to slavery. When this failed, Douglas agreed to repeal the antislavery provision of the Missouri Compromise and to divide the region into two territories. Nebraska, adjacent to the free state of Iowa, appeared to become a free state, while Kansas, located west of the slave state of Missouri, would become a slave state. Warned that the South might secede without such concessions, President Pierce eventually gave his support to the bill. Despite opposition, Congress passed the Kansas-Nebraska Act in May 1854.

"Bleeding Kansas" Hordes of Northerners hurried into Kansas to create an antislavery majority. Before the March elections of 1855, however, thousands of armed Missourianscalled "border ruffians" in the press-crossed the border to vote illegally, helping to elect a pro-slavery legislature. Furious antislavery settlers countered by drafting their own constitution that prohibited slavery. By March 1856, Kansas had two governments, one opposed to slavery and the other supporting it. As more Northern settlers arrived, border ruffians began attacks. "Bleeding Kansas," as newspapers dubbed the territory, had become the scene of a territorial civil war.

Reading Check Analyzing Why did the Compromise of 1850 fail to end sectional division?

# **The Crisis Deepens**

MAIN Idea The slavery controversy shook up political parties and accelerated the crisis between North and South.

**HISTORY AND YOU** Do you know of Supreme Court cases that have sparked major debates? Read to learn how the Dred Scott case divided the nation.

The Kansas-Nebraska Act enraged many opponents of slavery because it reopened the territories to slavery and made obsolete the delicate balance previously maintained by the Missouri Compromise. While a few people struck back with violence, others worked for change through the political system.

# Changes in Political Parties

The repeal of the Missouri Compromise had a dramatic effect on the political system. Pro-slavery Southern Whigs and antislavery Northern Whigs had long battled for control of their party, but now the party began to fall apart.

During the congressional elections of 1854, many Northern Whigs joined forces with Free-Soilers and a few antislavery Democrats to organize the Republican Party. Their main goal was to stop Southern planters from becoming an aristocracy that controlled the government. Republicans did not agree on whether slavery should be abolished, but they did agree that it had to be kept out of the territories. A large majority of Northern voters shared this view, enabling the Republicans to make great strides in the elections.

At the same time, public anger against the Northern Democrats enabled the American Party—also known as the Know-Nothings to make gains. The American Party was an anti-Catholic and nativist party. It opposed immigration. Prejudice and fears that immigrants would take away jobs enabled the Know-Nothings to win many seats in Congress and the state legislatures in 1854. The party began to come apart when Know-Nothings from the Upper South split with Know-Nothings from the North over their support for the Kansas-Nebraska Act. Most Americans considered slavery a far more important issue than immigration. Eventually, the Republican Party absorbed the Northern Know-Nothings.

# POLITICAL CARTOONS PRIMARY SOURCE

# John Brown Becomes a Martyr

Issued in the North in 1863, in the middle of the Civil War, this print depicts John Brown being led to his execution. The symbols in the print show how John Brown had become a martyr to many Northerners.

A figure wearing a tri-cornered hat of the American Revolution with the number 76 emblazoned on it looks on with concern.

> shown with her arms and scales broken.

A statue of Justice is

# Analyzing VISUALS

- 1. Identifying Central Issues How is John Brown portrayed in this image?
- 2. Drawing Conclusions Why do you think that the statue of Justice is depicted as broken?

The flag says Sic Semper Tyrannis-Latin for "as always with tyrants" and refers to the idea that tyrants must be killed.

Brown is shown standing upright, unhurt, and uncowed as he is led to his death.

> Brown's jailers look malevolent, with angry snarls and hands on weapons.

According to tradition, Brown kissed an enslaved child as he was led to the scaffold. This enslaved child and its mother are portrayed in a way that would remind viewers of paintings of Jesus and his mother Mary.

The 1856 Election The presidential campaign pitted Republican John C. Frémont, Democrat James Buchanan, and former president Millard Fillmore, the Know-Nothing candidate, against each other. Buchanan had not taken a public stand on the Kansas-Nebraska Act and campaigned on the idea that only he could save the Union. When the votes were counted, Buchanan had won.

# Sectional Divisions Grow

Just two days after Buchanan's inauguration, the Supreme Court ruled in a landmark case involving slavery, Dred Scott v. Sandford. Dred Scott was a Missouri slave who had been taken north to work in free territory for several years. After he returned with his slaveholder to Missouri, Scott sued to end his slavery, arguing that living in free territory had made him a free man. His case went all the way to the Supreme Court. On March 6, 1857, Chief Justice Roger B. Taney delivered the majority opinion. Taney ruled against Scott because, he claimed, African Americans were not citizens and therefore

could not sue in the courts. Taney then addressed the Missouri Compromise's ban on slavery in territory north of Missouri's southern border:

#### PRIMARY SOURCE

"It is the opinion of the court that the Act of Congress which prohibited a citizen from holding and owning [enslaved persons] in the territory of the United States north of the line therein mentioned is not warranted by the Constitution and is therefore void."

-from Dred Scott v. Sandford

While Democrats cheered the Dred Scott decision, Republicans called it a "willful perversion" of the Constitution. They argued that if Dred Scott could not legally bring suit, then the Supreme Court should have dismissed the case without considering the constitutionality of the Missouri Compromise.

After the Dred Scott decision, the conflict in "Bleeding Kansas" intensified. Hoping to end the troubles, Buchanan urged the territory to apply for statehood. The pro-slavery legislature

scheduled an election for delegates to a constitutional convention, but antislavery Kansans boycotted it. The resulting constitution, drafted in 1857 in the town of Lecompton, legalized slavery in the territory.

An antislavery majority then voted down the Lecompton constitution in a territory-wide referendum, or popular vote on an issue. Although the Senate approved the vote, Republicans and Northern Democrats in the House blocked the measure, arguing that it ignored the people's will. Finally, in 1858, President Buchanan and Southern leaders in Congress agreed to allow another referendum in Kansas. Again the voters in Kansas overwhelmingly rejected the Lecompton constitution. Not until 1861 did Kansas become a state—a free one.

# **John Brown's Raid**

About a year after the second rejection of the Lecompton constitution, national attention shifted to John Brown, a fervent abolitionist who opposed slavery not with words but with violence. After pro-slavery forces sacked the town of Lawrence in the Kansas Territory, Brown took revenge by abducting and murdering five pro-slavery settlers living near Pottawatomie Creek.

In 1859 Brown decided to seize the federal arsenal at Harpers Ferry, Virginia (today in West Virginia), free and arm the enslaved people of the area, and begin an insurrection, or rebellion, against slaveholders. On the night of October 16, 1859, Brown and 18 followers seized the arsenal. To the terrified night watchman, he announced, "I have possession now of the United States armory, and if the citizens interfere with me I must only burn the town and have blood." A contingent of U.S. Marines, commanded by Colonel Robert E. Lee, rushed from Washington, D.C., to Harpers Ferry. Outnumbered, Brown surrendered, and a Virginia court sentenced him to death. In his last words, Brown, repenting nothing, declared:

#### PRIMARY SOURCE

"I believe that to have interfered as I have done, as I have always freely admitted I have done in behalf of [God's] despised poor, I did no wrong, but right. Now if it is deemed necessary that I should forfeit my life for the furtherance of the ends of justice and mingle my blood . . . with the blood of millions in this slave country whose rights are disregarded by wicked, cruel and unjust enactments, I say, let it be done!"

-from The Life and Letters of Captain John Brown

Many Northerners saw Brown as a martyr in a noble cause. The execution, Henry David Thoreau predicted, would strengthen abolitionism in the North. "He is not old Brown any longer," Thoreau declared, "he is an angel of light." For most Southerners, however, Brown's raid proved that Northerners were actively plotting the murder of slaveholders. "Defend yourselves!" cried Georgia senator Robert Toombs. "The enemy is at your door!"

Reading Check **Evaluating** How did the issue of Kansas statehood reflect the growing division between North and South?

# **Section 4 REVIEW**

#### **Vocabulary**

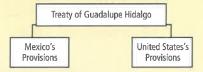
 Explain the significance of: Manifest Destiny, James K. Polk, Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, popular sovereignty, secession, Compromise of 1850, Underground Railroad, Harriet Tubman, Kansas-Nebraska Act, Dred Scott.

#### **Main Ideas**

- **2. Identifying** How did Britain and the United States divide the Oregon Territory?
- **3. Explaining** Why did Kansas become an area of civil war?
- **4. Synthesizing** How did the ruling in *Dred Scott v. Sandford* increase sectional division?

#### **Critical Thinking**

- 5. Big Ideas What new problem did the additional territories cause for the United States?
- Categorizing Use a graphic organizer similar to the one below to list the provisions of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo.



7. Analyzing Visuals Study the image of John Brown's martyrdom on page 112. What do you think is the significance of the figure in the tri-cornered hat?

#### **Writing About History**

**8. Expository Writing** Suppose that you are a reporter for a Southern or Northern newspaper in the 1850s. Write an article on the reaction to *Uncle Tom's Cabin*.



**Study Central™** To review this section, go to <u>glencoe.com</u> and click on Study Central.

# PRIMARY SOURCES

# Living Under Slavery

Enslaved persons were not free. That fundamental fact meant they could be sold and separated from their families. They could not legally marry or leave their slaveholder's property without permission. Slaveholders held such power that they controlled access to basic life necessities and could physically punish, even kill, the people they held in slavery without breaking the law.

Study these primary sources and answer the questions that follow.

# PRIMARY SOURCE 1

#### Autobiography, 1845

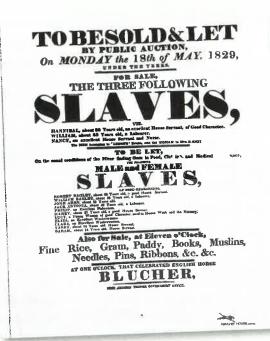
"The men and women slaves received, as their monthly allowance of food, eight pounds of pork, or its equivalent in fish, and one bushel of corn meal. Their yearly clothing consisted of two coarse linen shirts, one pair of linen trousers, like the shirts, one jacket, one pair of trousers for winter, made of coarse negro cloth, one pair of stockings, and one pair of shoes; the whole of which could not have cost more than seven dollars. The allowance of the slave children was given to their mothers, or the old women having the care of them. The children unable to work in the field had neither shoes, stockings, jackets, nor trousers, given to them; their clothing consisted of two coarse linen shirts per year. When these failed them, they went naked until the next allowance-day. Children from seven to ten years old, of both sexes, almost naked, might be seen at all seasons of the year.

There were no beds given the slaves, unless one coarse blanket be considered such, and none but the men and women had these. This, however, is not considered a very great privation. They find less difficulty from the want of beds, than from the want of time to sleep; for when their day's work in the field is done, the most of them having their washing, mending, and cooking to do, and having few or none of the ordinary facilities for doing either of these, very many of their sleeping hours are consumed in preparing for the field the coming day; and when this is done, old and young, male and female, married and single, drop down side by side, on one common bed,—the cold, damp floor,—each covering himself or herself with their miserable blankets; and here they sleep till they are summoned to the field by the driver's horn."

—from Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass, an American Slave

# PRIMARY Source 2

Advertisement, 1829



# PRIMARY SOURCE 3

#### Photograph, 1863

▼ Gordon escaped from his slaveholder in Mississippi during the Civil War. In this photograph, he shows the scars from a brutal whipping.



## PRIMARY SOURCE 4

#### Autobiography, 1861

"I once saw two beautiful children playing together. One was a fair white child; the other was her slave, and also her sister. When I saw them embracing each other, and heard their joyous laughter, I turned sadly away from the lovely sight. I foresaw the inevitable blight that would fall on the little slave's heart. I knew how soon her laughter would be changed to sighs. The fair child grew up to be a still fairer woman. From childhood to womanhood her pathway was blooming with flowers, and overarched by a sunny sky. Scarcely one day of her life had been clouded when the sun rose on her happy bridal morning.

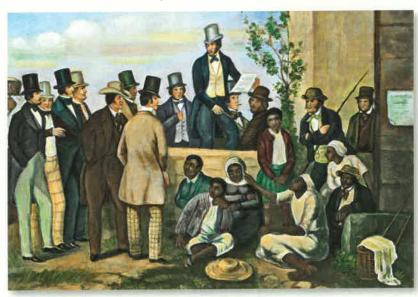
How had those years dealt with her slave sister, the little playmate of her childhood? She, also, was very beautiful; but the flowers and sunshine of love were not for her. She drank the cup of sin, and shame, and misery, whereof her persecuted race are compelled to drink."

—from Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl

## PRIMARY SOURCE 5

#### Painting, c. 1852

Slave Auction of African Family



# PRIMARY SOURCE 6

#### Photograph, 1858

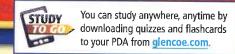
Louisa, an enslaved teenager from St. Louis, Missouri, is shown photographed with her slaveholders' son.



# **Document-Based Questions**

- 1. Analyzing What does Source 1 reveal about the daily lives of enslaved persons?
- 2. Interpreting Examine Sources 2 and 3. What do these images demonstrate about the status and treatment of enslaved persons?
- 3. Comparing and Contrasting Read Source 4. How were the lives of the two girls similar when they were young but different when they became young women?
- 4. Analyzing Visuals Look at Source 5 and examine the people in the painting. Write a paragraph describing what you see going on in this scene.
- 5. Speculating Study Source 6. How do you think Louisa felt about taking care of this young boy? How might slavery complicate personal relationships?

# Chapter 2 VISUAL SUMMARY



# **A Growing Nation**

#### **Political Developments**

- Washington creates the first cabinet; Supreme Court is established.
- The Bill of Rights is added to the Constitution.
- The first political parties develop; the convention system emerges.
- Voting rights are widely extended to free adult men.
- Women begin to seek voting rights.
- United States fights the War of 1812 against Britain.
- Supreme Court asserts power to overturn laws in Marbury v. Madison.
- The U.S. issues the Monroe Doctrine.

#### **Economic Change**

- Canals, railroads, and roads are built linking the nation together.
- Factories open in the North; cotton farming spreads across the South.

#### **Territorial Growth**

- The Louisiana Purchase doubles size of the nation.
- United States obtains Florida from Spain.
- The U.S. annexes Texas and divides Oregon with Britain.
- U.S. acquires the Southwest and California after the War with Mexico.

#### **An Emerging National Culture**

- Religious revivalism triggers movements to reform education, prisons, asylums, and reduce alcohol consumption.
- New American literature is written.



The U.S.
experienced rapid
economic growth
in the 1800s as
new industries
opened in the
North and cotton
farming spread
across the South.



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135,000 SETS, 276,000 VOLUMES SOLD.

The Dred Scott decision and the publication of Uncle Tom's Cabin fueled the bitter section struggle over slavery.

# **A Divided Nation**

#### **Economic Differences**

- North's economy is based on small family farms, trade, and smallscale industrial production.
- South's economy is based on enslaved labor on plantations and farms.

#### **Political Conflict**

- Missouri Compromise divides territories into areas where slavery is and is not permitted.
- Jackson threatens to use force to ensure federal authority over South Carolina in the Nullification Crisis.
- Abolitionism emerges in the North; Southern anxiety grows.
- Underground Railway develops to help enslaved people escape North.
- Uncle Tom's Cabin builds support for abolition but enrages the South.
- Compromise of 1850 angers both North and South.
- Northerners openly defy the Fugitive Slave Law.
- Kansas-Nebraska Act leads to fighting between proslavery and antislavery settlers.
- Dred Scott ruling allows slavery in territories, angering Northerners.
- John Brown's Raid terrifies and angers Southerners.

# Chapter 2 ASSESSMENT

# **Reviewing Vocabulary**

Directions: Choose the word or words that best complete the sentence.

- 1. Washington set a precedent when he met regularly with his \_\_\_\_\_\_ to review issues within the executive departments.
  - A secretary
  - **B** speculators
  - C cabinet
  - **D** generals
- **2.** The Constitution's "necessary and proper" clause created \_\_\_\_\_\_. These powers expanded the potential power of the federal government.
  - A implied powers
  - **B** speculator powers
  - C enumerated powers
  - **D** creditor powers
- 3. The Tariff of 1816 was a \_\_\_\_\_\_, unlike earlier measures.
  - A promotional tariff
  - B protective tariff
  - C revenue tariff
  - D state tariff
- **4.** Under the guidance of religious leaders, associations known as \_\_\_\_\_\_ began to address social problems.
  - A benevolent societies
  - **B** penitentiaries
  - **C** asylums
  - **D** seminaries
- To spare Congress from continued fighting over slavery, Senator Lewis Cass proposed the idea of \_\_\_\_\_\_, which would allow each territory to decide if it wanted to allow slavery or not.
  - A martial law
  - **B** popular sovereignty
  - C abolition
  - **D** insurrection

# **Reviewing Main Ideas**

Directions: Choose the best answer for each of the following questions.

#### Section 1 (pp. 78-83)

- **6.** One of the most important acts of the first U.S. Congress under the Constitution was to
  - A elect George Washington as the first president.
  - **B** establish a federal banking system.
  - C pass the Tariff of 1789.
  - **D** add a Bill of Rights to the Constitution.
- 7. The Supreme Court decision in *Marbury v. Madison* established the principle of
  - A judicial review.
  - B democratic republicanism.
  - C nullification.
  - **D** constitutionality.

#### Section 2 (pp. 86-93)

- **8.** Which of the following cases established the Supreme Court as the final court of appeal?
  - A Commonwealth v. Hunt
  - B Martin v. Hunter's Lessee
  - C McCulloch v. Maryland
  - D Gibbons v. Ogden
- **9.** What began the United States's long-term policy of opposing European intervention in Latin America?
  - A Monroe Doctrine
  - **B** Adams-Onis Treaty
  - C The Missouri Compromise
  - **D** The "corrupt bargain"

# TEST-TAKING



When a question stem contains a negative, try to reword the sentence or phrase to make it positive.

#### Need Extra Help?

If You Missed Questions	11	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	q
Go to Page	78	79	87	100	107	78	83	88	88



# Chapter 2 ASSESSMENT

#### Section 3 (pp. 94-103)

- **10.** In 1828, passage of which piece of legislation caused South Carolinians to threaten to secede from the Union?
  - A the charter for the Second Bank of the United States
  - **B** the Tariff of Abominations
  - C the Force Bill
  - D the Indian Removal Act
- **11.** At the Seneca Falls Convention in 1848, attendees were shocked when Elizabeth Cady Stanton
  - A wore pants to all the meetings.
  - **B** proposed that women seek the right to vote.
  - c insisted that African Americans be admitted.
  - **D** announced that she would run for Congress.

#### Section 4 (pp. 104-113)

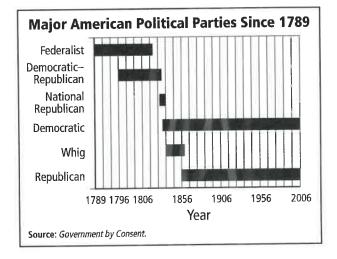
- 12. The term "Manifest Destiny" describes the idea that
  - A European nations have no right to establish new colonies in the Western Hemisphere.
  - **B** Protestantism should be the official religion of the United States.
  - **C** the United States should control all of North America.
  - Native Americans should be allowed to retain all their original lands.
- **13.** Which of the following best describes the party called the Know-Nothings?
  - A proslavery and antigovernment
  - B antislavery and pro-immigration
  - **C** pro-Catholic and pro-immigration
  - **D** anti-immigration and anti-Catholic
- **14.** In the *Dred Scott* decision, the Supreme Court determined that it was unconstitutional to
  - A allow slavery in the territories.
  - **B** prohibit slavery in the territories.
  - C free slaves in the United States.
  - **D** bring enslaved people from one state to another.

# **Critical Thinking**

Directions: Choose the best answers to the following questions.

- **15.** Which of the following was a characteristic of the Era of Good Feelings?
  - A a decrease in national pride
  - B a one-party political system
  - C a decrease in urban populations
  - **D** an increase in state power

Base your answers to questions 16 and 17 on the graph below and your knowledge of Chapter 2.



- 16. What party shown had the shortest life span?
  - **A** Federalist
  - **B** Democratic-Republican
  - **C** Whig
  - D National Republican
- **17.** Which party emerged to oppose Andrew Jackson and his policies?
  - **A** Democratic
  - **B** Federalist
  - C Whig
  - **D** Republican

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If You Missed Questions	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
Go to Page	97	101-102	104	111	112	86	R16	R16
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Carlotte Carlos Halas

# Chapter 2 ASSESSMENT

- **18.** Which of the following was an element of the Compromise of 1850?
  - A The Fugitive Slave Act was passed.
  - **B** California was admitted as a slave state.
  - C Slavery was banned in Washington, D.C.
  - D Slavery was permitted in Oregon.

Analyze the cartoon and answer the question that follows. Base your answer on the cartoon and on your knowledge of Chapter 2.



- 19. What does Jackson appear to be trampling underfoot?
  - A Presidential veto orders
  - **B** Declaration of Independence
  - C Articles of Confederation
  - D United States Constitution

## **Document-Based Questions**

Directions: Analyze the document and answer the short-answer questions that follow the document.

In her 1861 memoir, Harriet Ann Jacobs recounted what life was like under enslavement. In the excerpt below, she describes circumstances experienced by her enslaved maternal grandmother:

"She was the daughter of a planter . . . who, at his death, left her mother and his three children free, with money to go to St. Augustine. . . . It was during the Revolutionary War; and they were captured. . . . She was a little girl when she was captured and sold to the keeper of a large hotel.... But as she grew older she evinced so much intelligence, and was so faithful, that her master and mistress could not help seeing it was for their interest to take care of such a valuable piece of property. She became an indispensable personage in the household, officiating in all capacities, from cook and wet nurse to seamstress. She was much praised for her cooking; . . . In consequence of numerous requests . . . she asked permission of her mistress to bake crackers at night, after all the household work was done; and she obtained leave to do it, provided she would clothe herself and her children from the profits."

—from Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl

- **20.** In what ways was Jacobs's grandmother treated like property and not a person?
- **21.** Why does the grandmother's mistress give her permission to bake crackers at night?

# **Extended Response**

22. Even at the time, many Americans questioned the motives and goals of the war with Mexico, while others felt it was necessary to fulfill America's Manifest Destiny and the needs of the developing nation. Do you think that the war was justified or not? Choose to support or oppose the war with Mexico. Write a persuasive essay that includes an introduction and at least three paragraphs that support your position.



For additional test practice, use Self-Check Quizzes— Chapter 2 at glencoe.com.

#### **Need Extra Help?**

If You Missed Questions	18	19	20	21	22
Go to Page	108–109	R18	119	119	R10