Period 4: 1800 –1848

The Rise of the American Republic

Though the constitutional foundation of the nation had been set, the United States had a lot of growing to do in the first half of the nineteenth century. Above all, the country was struggling to define itself in a world where no other country could rightfully call itself a true republic. Furthermore, the country had its eyes on new territory to the West—land that would bring extraordinary economic opportunities, and also lead to significant turmoil amidst a population with diverse and deeply held, often regionalized beliefs.

**Key Concepts from the College Board**

4.1 The United States developed the world’s first modern mass democracy and celebrated a new national culture, while Americans sought to define the nation’s democratic ideals and to reform its institutions to match them.

4.2 Developments in technology, agriculture, and commerce precipitated profound changes in U.S. settlement patterns, regional identities, gender and family relations, political power, and distribution of consumer goods.

4.3 U.S. interest in increasing foreign trade, expanding its national borders, and isolating itself from European conflicts shaped the nation’s foreign policy and spurred government and private initiatives.
In March 1789 the first Congress to serve under the new Constitution assembled in what was then the nation's capital, New York City. They immediately set to work counting the presidential electors' ballots and declared that George Washington and John Adams had been unanimously elected. One month later, Washington and Adams were sworn in as the nation's first president and vice president. Thomas Jefferson, Alexander Hamilton, and Henry Knox were appointed to newly created departments in the executive branch: secretary of state, secretary of the treasury, and secretary of war. These appointments gave birth to the cabinet system, whereby the president appoints individuals to head the different departments of the executive branch of government. For its part, the Congress made good on its promise to incorporate a Bill of Rights into the Constitution. Also, believing it had a mandate to address the nation's pressing economic needs and, in the process, facilitate capital accumulation, the Congress also passed a protective tariff to raise revenue and protect the nation's infant manufacturing. In order to give greater definition to the judicial branch, they passed the Judiciary Act of 1789, which set up the Constitutionally established Supreme Court, with John Jay as chief justice, and a lower federal court system. Obviously, Congress was taking steps to make certain that the federal government would be, if anything, more active than the previous one. But the political disputes that shaped the constitutional ratification debate would soon spill over into the federal government and ultimately lead to the rise of political parties.
KEY CONCEPTS

- Hamilton’s economic plan promoted manufacturing and enlarged the role of government.
- The Bank of the United States and the tariff were opposed in rural areas and southern states.
- There were both differences and similarities between the Hamiltonian and Jeffersonian movements.
- The election of Jefferson is referred to as the “Revolution of 1800.”
- Relations with France and Britain were strained under Adams.

These topics are discussed in depth in The American Pageant, 15th and 16th eds., Chapter 10.

THE HAMILTONIAN VISION VERSUS THE JEFFERSONIAN VISION

Alexander Hamilton was one of the most influential members of the new government. As a strong supporter of ratification and as an author of the Federalist Papers, he had advocated a commercial and manufacturing vision for the nation that was at odds with the vision of those, such as Jefferson, who saw an agrarian future for the nation. Under Secretary Hamilton’s guidance, the federal government became increasingly involved in the promotion of capital accumulation and economic growth and expansion. In a strong attempt to address the impediments to commerce and trade inherent in the AOC, Hamilton created a mercantilist plan that would facilitate economic expansion by, in part, protecting and nurturing the nation’s manufacturing sector. Rather than being an obstacle to capital growth, the new government would become a catalyst to an ever-expanding economy and a midwife for economic development. Hamilton’s program had four major features:

- **The Tariff of 1789** Designed to provide the government with much-needed revenue, it nonetheless served to protect domestic manufacturing by discouraging competition from abroad and compelling foreign competitors to raise prices on their commodities.

- **Report on Public Credit** At the time, the United States owed an enormous amount of money to creditors: $20 million to individual states, $11 million to foreigners, and $40 million to private individuals. Hamilton used this report to suggest that the United States pay off its domestic and foreign debts. Paying off its debts would improve the credit rating of the nation; then additional loans could be obtained, and the economy could be expanded by offering credit (loans) to start new businesses and expand others. Southern states were opposed to having the central government pay off the debts at face value because most of it had been incurred by the northern states. The latter’s rejoinder was that all states must share the burden of debt because all would enjoy the fruits of an improved economy; further, the North had sustained considerably more damage in the American Revolution. Yet other critics saw this aspect of Hamilton’s plan as an opportunity to
transfer money to self-centered speculators. In the end, an agreement was worked out, the Assumption Bill: Southerners agreed to support Hamilton's proposal if the capitol of the United States was relocated to the South.

The Elastic Clause: Loose Versus Strict Interpretations of the Constitution

The creation of a Bank of the United States raised a serious constitutional question. Because the Constitution did not explicitly state that the federal government had in its enumerated powers the authority to create such an institution, was the Bank constitutional? Although the defenders of the Bank cited the elastic clause as their "loose" constitutional justification ("necessary and proper") for creating this financial institution, opponents, such as Jefferson, claimed in their "strict" interpretation of the Constitution that there was nothing "necessary" about the creation of the Bank. To which Hamilton responded that the enumerated powers of the federal government gave to it the authority to coin and borrow money. The Bank, he argued, was certainly necessary for maintaining the nation's financial stability and so was indeed constitutional. To this day, political leaders and jurists are divided over how best to interpret the Constitution: strictly ("original intent" of the Framers) or loosely (necessary and proper).

- **Report on Manufactures** Hamilton envisioned a government program that had as its precise objective the growth and development of manufacturing. This would be accomplished through
  - tariffs, loans, and grants for businesses.
  - excise taxes (taxes on certain manufactured goods) to raise revenue to finance the government and to aid businesses and manufacturing.
  - infrastructural development—aid in the construction of those facilities that are necessary for economic development, such as transportation and communication networks. Public taxes would help finance many of these programs.

- **Creation of a national bank (the Bank of the United States)** A national bank, reasoned Hamilton, would aid the capitalist class by extending credit to them. This credit would allow for expanded employment opportunities, which in turn would further stimulate economic growth. The government could also address economic problems, such as reckless speculation, by controlling the amount of credit available at any one time and by issuing sound currency. This would contribute to a steady and balanced growth of the economy. The Bank of the United States, though chartered by the United States, would be controlled by the following:
  - U.S. government: 20 percent
  - Private U.S. citizens: 60 percent
  - Private foreign citizens: 20 percent (although many Americans were opposed to any foreign control of the bank)
After considerable squabbling, and vocal opposition by Secretary of State Thomas Jefferson, Congress adopted Hamilton’s economic program.

FOREIGN AND DOMESTIC AFFAIRS

In his two terms as president, Washington’s administration faced international and domestic tribulations. In his first term, revolution broke out in France and Washington was faced with a crucial decision whether to provide assistance to the French monarchy or to the revolutionaries who were attempting to overthrow King Louis XVI. After all, the revolutionaries were attempting to establish what the Americans in their revolution had recently achieved: a republic. Many Americans, including Thomas Jefferson, therefore sympathized with the revolutionaries, especially because France was at war with Britain, which had been interfering with American merchant ships sailing to French ports. To put the matter to rest, President Washington issued the Neutrality Proclamation, claiming that the new American republic was in no position to confront European powers such as Great Britain. In protest, Jefferson resigned as secretary of state. But the issue did not end there. The French minister to the United States, Edmond Genêt, broke all diplomatic protocol by appealing directly to the American public to persuade their government to intervene on France’s behalf in its war against Britain. Washington demanded that the minister be recalled, but the incident hurt the pro-French faction in the American government. In other aspects of foreign affairs, the United States agreed to two major treaties during Washington’s second term:

- **The Jay Treaty (1794)** Chief Justice John Jay was sent by Washington to negotiate with the British an end to their practice of seizing American ships and impressing American sailors into the British navy. The British did agree to remove their forts on America’s western frontier but made no guarantees that seizures and impressments would end. The U.S. Senate narrowly ratified the treaty, but the American public was so incensed by Britain’s disdain for American neutral rights that support for the French cause in the United States swelled. Nevertheless, the United States was able to maintain its neutrality in the Anglo-French war.

- **The Pinckney Treaty (1795)** Concerned that the animosity between Britain and the United States was thawing, Spain made a series of concessions in negotiations with the U.S. ambassador to Spain, Thomas Pinckney. The treaty opened up the lower Mississippi and the important port city of New Orleans to American trade and shipping. It also granted Americans the right of deposit—a transfer of goods—in New Orleans without having to pay a tax to the Spanish. Spain further agreed to accept the 31st parallel as Florida’s northern border and to stop inciting Native American tribes.

In 1794 farmers in western Pennsylvania tested the new powers of the federal government under the Constitution. As you will recall, one of the weaknesses of the central government under the AOC was its inability to confront domestic challenges. When the farmers refused to
pay a federal excise tax, part of Hamilton’s economic program, on whiskey and even attacked federal tax collectors, Washington called on the states to assist the government in putting down the uprising, the Whiskey Rebellion. With the collapse of the revolt, the federal government had demonstrated its newfound strength in dealing with domestic challenges to its authority. As for the farmers, who were generally destitute and saw little value in Hamilton’s programs, the suppression of the uprising drove them further into the Antifederalist camp.

When his second term expired, Washington chose not to seek reelection, a precedent that would stand for over a century until Franklin D. Roosevelt was elected to four terms. (The Twenty-second Amendment, adopted in 1951, limits the president to two terms.) Prior to leaving office, Washington provided the nation with advice in the form of a Farewell Address. In it the first president counseled the American people about

- Maintaining national unity despite the discord that prevailed between divergent regions, groups, and classes
- Obeying and supporting the principles and authority of the Constitution
- The dangers inherent in creating political parties
- Avoiding the creation of permanent alliances with foreign nations and not becoming embroiled in European affairs

The division between the Federalists and Antifederalists and between Jefferson and Hamilton had made Washington wary of intense political allegiances. But by the time he left office, Washington had become identified with Hamilton’s Federalist faction. He was not alone in his political party affiliations. By 1796, despite his warnings about creating political parties, his vice president and successor to the presidency, John Adams, and his former secretary of state, Thomas Jefferson, had rapidly identified themselves as either members of the Federalist Party (led by Hamilton and Vice President John Adams) or of the Democratic-Republican Party (led by Jefferson).

**The Presidency of John Adams**

The presidential election of 1796 was particularly vitriolic. Adams emerged with a very narrow Electoral College victory, and peculiarly enough Jefferson, the second-place winner, became his vice president. (This unlikely and awkward situation was rectified in 1804 with the passage of the Twelfth Amendment, which changes the procedures followed by the Electoral College so that presidential candidates are chosen along with their vice-presidential running mates.) Upon assuming the office of president, Adams faced foreign and domestic problems and even discord in his own party ranks, as many Federalists looked to Hamilton, not Adams, for their ideological inspiration. Shortly into Adams’s only term as president, U.S.-French relations began unraveling as it became abundantly clear to the French, from a reading of the Jay Treaty, that the Federalists were pro-British. Disregarding American neutrality, the French attacked American shipping—a conflict known as the Quasi-War. In an attempt to reduce tensions, Adams sent a special mission to France in 1794.
Upon arriving in France the three U.S. commissioners, John Marshall, Elbridge Gerry, and Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, were asked by the French Minister Talleyrand (through his agents, who became known as X, Y, and Z) for a bribe of $250,000 and millions in loans even before negotiations could begin. Pinckney purportedly declared: "No, no, not a sixpence." Later, the outraged American public and government memorialized the U.S. response with the slogan "Millions for defense, but not a cent for tribute." Again, the nation geared up for war. Hamilton, never far from the center of the action, pressed Adams to arm American merchant ships and raise an army. His rationale was that the further the United States moved away from France the closer it moved to a more lucrative commercial relationship with Britain. But Adams refused to declare war on France, a move which likely cost him his second term as president.

Two years later, Adams sent another mission to France, despite being admonished by members of his own party. This time an agreement was worked out, mainly because Emperor Napoleon wanted to focus on European domination. In the Convention of 1800, the 1778 treaty between the two nations was canceled and relations between the two nations improved.

The Federalists, in the meantime, had sought to silence opposition to their policies from the Democratic-Republicans. Inspired by the ideas of Hamilton, the Federalists drafted a series of acts, the Alien and Sedition Acts, designed to neutralize any challenges to their dominance.

- **The Naturalization Act** An attempt to curb criticism emanating from immigrants—especially the French and Irish—whom Federalists assumed were identified more closely with the Democratic-Republicans, the act raised the residency requirement for citizenship from five to fourteen years. As expected, the act limited the growth of Democratic-Republican voters because of the residency requirement.

- **The Alien (Friends) Act** This gave the president the authority to deport individuals whom he considered a threat to the United States.

- **The Alien Enemies Act** This provided for the deportation or imprisonment of any individuals in a time of declared war.

- **The Sedition Act** Probably the most insidious of the acts, this legislation stated that speaking, writing, or publishing criticisms of the government were at the very least misdemeanors and possibly treasonous.

Without question, the four acts violated the First Amendment and established a precedent more consistent with authoritarian governments than with a democratic republic. Unfortunately, President Adams signed the Alien and Sedition Acts into law. Though they temporarily silenced political opposition, the acts backfired on the Federalists as disgusted Americans gravitated to the Democratic-Republicans. This crisis in constitutional rights, however, would not end until the Federalists lost the White House in the election of 1800. Judicial review would ultimately decide the fate of controversial laws, but that would have to wait for the Marshall Court. Nevertheless, the Alien and Sedition Acts did not go unchallenged. The same year the
acts were passed, 1798, the Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions were passed by their respective states. In Kentucky, the state legislature adopted a resolution by Thomas Jefferson questioning the federal government’s authority to pass such legislation. The Virginia legislature, guided by James Madison, went even further and articulated what has become known as the “compact” theory of government (or states’ rights). The logic of the argument tends to negate the Constitution’s supremacy clause and is as follows:

The federal government was created by the states.

There are instances when conflicts arise between the rights and laws of the states and the authority of the federal government.

When such conflicts arise, the interests of the states take precedence over the laws and actions of the federal government.

Therefore, a state has the right to declare national laws null and void.

After the 1800 election, the new Democratic-Republican congressional majority repealed the laws or allowed them to expire. Despite the stain on their reputation that came with the Alien and Sedition Acts, the Federalists had

- Strengthened the federal government
- Established a sound fiscal system
- Formulated policies and programs that stimulated capital accumulation and therefore diversification of the economy

As for John Adams, his presidency was limited to one term. The 1800 election ended the supremacy of the Federalists and led to the nation’s first peaceful transition from one political party to its adversary, which is one reason why some historians refer to the election of Jefferson as a political revolution.
A free-response question that relates to the Jeffersonian movement, presidency, or the "Revolution of 1800" may in part ask you to relate the meaning of these terms in relation to the alternative perspective, the Hamiltonian movement. Historians have debated the two perspectives for decades, and their observations will help you make a thorough analysis. The contrasts between the Jeffersonian and Hamiltonian movements that follow represent one way of looking at the issue. Historians who see these distinctions go on to contend that the Jeffersonian movement was one that advanced democracy in the United States. Further, it was the first example of political liberalism—reforming the political and economic system—in the nineteenth century: under Jefferson, the government was viewed as the guardian of the people against the abuses of the upper classes. Conversely, Hamilton is often seen as wanting to further the privileges and objectives of the northern commercial/capitalist interests. Consequently, Hamilton and Jefferson inhabit opposite ends of the political spectrum.

Other historians do not see it this way. To them, there are basically no substantial differences between Hamilton and Jefferson or between the Federalists and Democratic-Republicans, because both represented the interests of the upper classes, whether northern capitalists or southern planters. What is more, Jefferson was a pragmatist who was not tied to any particular philosophical approach to government but adjusted to what was expedient, as expressed in his first inaugural address: "We are all Republicans, we are all Federalists." Some would argue that he was attempting to provide a smooth transition from one political party to another. Other historians point to two important examples that show Jefferson was not consistent with the ideals he preached. The first was an abandonment of his strict interpretation of the Constitution when he purchased the Louisiana Territory from France. No clause in the Constitution gave him the authority to do so; he did what was "necessary and proper," the argument of those holding a loose interpretation. The second example is that despite his opposition to the Bank of the United States, upon becoming president he did not seek to eliminate it but simply allowed its charter to expire. Taking into account these conflicting opinions will make for a more compelling free-response essay.

"THE REVOLUTION OF 1800"

In the election of 1800, Democratic-Republicans Thomas Jefferson and Aaron Burr tied. The election eventually went to the House of Representatives, where, oddly enough, Hamilton’s support for Jefferson made the Virginian president. Hamilton apparently considered Jefferson less objectionable than Burr. Yet the divisions between the philosophies of Hamilton and Jefferson remained. Many historians see the following distinctions inherent in the outlook of their respective movements:

- The Jeffersonian Movement
  - The spirit of the movement was embodied in the Democratic-Republican Party, which represented the interests of the common man, the farmer, and was
therefore a movement that further democratized the United States.
- It was anti-capitalistic (favoring the subsistence farmer).
- It favored limitations on the power of the federal government and a strict interpretation of the Constitution.
- It maintained that the future of the nation was dependent on maintaining an agrarian society.
- Following Jefferson, a Francophile, the party favored support of France.

The Hamiltonian Movement
- The spirit of the movement was embodied in the Federalist Party, which represented the interests of the capitalist class.
- It favored the expansion of the federal government’s power and a loose interpretation of the Constitution.
- It maintained that the future of the nation was dependent on developing manufacturing and industry.
- Following Hamilton, an Anglophile, the party favored Great Britain.

The term “Revolution of 1800” is appropriate in many respects. The fact that, in a fledgling democracy pioneering the very idea of republicanism, our country’s government (and citizenry) allowed for the peaceful transfer of power between two parties with polar views on the nature of government and authority is no small feat. Jefferson’s assumption of power came without bloodshed and he proclaimed to the nation, “We are all Federalists; we are all Republicans.”

**Content Review Questions**

1. Of the following, who did NOT serve in George Washington’s administration?
   (A) Thomas Jefferson
   (B) Alexander Hamilton
   (C) John Adams
   (D) John Marshall

2. In the Report on Manufactures,
   (A) Hamilton sought to promote the agrarian sector of the economy.
   (B) Hamilton and Jefferson promoted an excise tax.
   (C) Jefferson argued that the nation should develop its infrastructure.
   (D) Hamilton supported policies that would protect American industry from foreign competition.

3. The first chief justice of the U.S. Supreme Court was
   (B) John Jay.
   (C) Thomas Paine.
   (D) Edmond Genet.
4. The compromise that led to the Assumption Bill involved southerners accepting Hamilton's economic program in return for
(A) an end to the protective tariff.
(B) legalizing the slave trade.
(C) relocating the nation's capitol to the South.
(D) purchasing the Louisiana Territory.

5. The Twelfth Amendment to the Constitution
(A) abolished slavery.
(B) led to the creation of the judicial branch.
(C) gave to the federal government the authority to create a national bank.
(D) changed the method used by the Electoral College to choose the president and vice president.

6. Which one of the following represents an improvement in French-American relations?
(A) The Milan Decree
(B) The Orders in Council
(C) The XYZ affair
(D) The Convention of 1800

7. Which of the following would have been opposed by a believer in the strict interpretation of the Constitution?
(A) The raising of taxes by the national government
(B) The use of military force to put down the Whiskey Rebellion
(C) The opening of trade with the British
(D) The creation of the national bank

8. Why did Alexander Hamilton and other Federalists refuse to support the French Revolution?
(A) Because of the radicalism and mob-rule of the French Revolution
(B) Because King Louis XVI of France had given the Americans favorable trade terms
(C) Because the United States was too busy at war with the British
(D) Because the French officials "X, Y, and Z" had requested bribes before meeting with American envoys

9. The Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions of 1798 focused on the widely debated question of
(A) whether the Constitution was created licitly.
(B) whether the legislature represented the states or the people.
(C) whether the federal government is supreme over the state governments in all cases.
(D) whether immigrants are valuable parts of the political society.

10. Pinckney's Treaty resulted in all of the following EXCEPT
(A) it improved Spanish-American relations.
(B) it gave the Americans the right of deposit in New Orleans.
(C) it gave to the United States Spain's Caribbean islands in return for American aid.
(D) it settled the Florida boundary dispute.
11. The Bill of Rights addresses all of the following EXCEPT
   (A) freedom of speech.
   (B) trial by jury.
   (C) right to privacy.
   (D) prohibition against cruel and unusual punishment.

12. Which of the following cabinet positions was NOT established in
    Washington’s first term in 1789?
   (A) Secretary of labor
   (B) Secretary of state
   (C) Secretary of the treasury
   (D) Attorney general

13. The Judiciary Act of 1789 was significant in the creation of
    (A) the Justice Department.
    (B) habeas corpus rights.
    (C) the impeachment powers of the legislative branch.
    (D) the U.S. Supreme Court.

14. In his Farewell Address, Washington advised the nation to avoid
    entangling foreign alliances and to
    (A) avoid excise taxes.
    (B) limit the powers of the states in relation to the authority of the
       federal government.
    (C) limit westward expansion in order to prevent hostilities with
       Indian tribes.
    (D) avoid political party factionalism.

15. Which of the following was a feature of the Federalist Party’s
    political ideology?
    (A) Rule by a well-informed electorate of the common people
    (B) A loose interpretation of the Constitution
    (C) Opposition to a national bank
    (D) No special treatment for manufacturing

**Short-Answer Questions**

1. The United States faced considerable difficulties in establishing
   itself after the ratification of the Constitution.
   (a) Give ONE example of a challenge faced by the new United
       States government in the period between 1789–1800.
   (b) Describe the response of the United States government to the
       challenge you explained in Part A.
   (c) Did the United States respond to the challenge effectively?
       Provide at least ONE piece of evidence to support your
       position.

Question 2 is based on the following passage.

“As avenues to foreign influence in innumerable ways, such
attachments are particularly alarming to the truly enlightened
and independent patriot. How many opportunities do they
afford to tamper with domestic factions, to practice the arts of
seduction, to mislead public opinion, to influence or awe the
public councils. Such an attachment of a small or weak towards
a great and powerful nation dooms the former to be the satellite of the latter...Excessive partiality for one foreign nation and excessive dislike of another cause those whom they actuate to see danger only on one side, and serve to veil and even second the arts of influence on the other... Why quit our own to stand upon foreign ground? Why, by interweaving our destiny with that of any part of Europe, entangle our peace and prosperity in the toils of European ambition, rivalship, interest, humor or caprice?"

George Washington, Farewell Address (1796)

2. Based on the message delivered by George Washington, complete the following tasks:
   (a) Briefly explain the main point made by President Washington.
   (b) Provide ONE piece of evidence from American history that supports his argument.
   (c) Provide ONE piece of evidence from American history that refutes his assertions.

**Long Essay Questions**

1. Evaluate the presidency of John Adams. Include in your answer discussion of
   - Adams's foreign affairs policies and actions
   - Adams's domestic policies and actions

2. Compare and contrast the Hamiltonian and Jeffersonian movements in regard to TWO of the following.
   - political philosophy
   - long-term social and economic outlook
   - interpretations of the Constitution
   - federal versus state power

**Answers**

**CONTENT REVIEW QUESTIONS**

1. (D) Jefferson was secretary of state, Hamilton, secretary of the treasury, Knox, secretary of war, and Adams was vice president. Marshall was first appointed to the Supreme Court by Adams (The American Pageant, 15th ed., p. 181/16th ed., p. 183; Learning Objective POL-2).


3. (B) Jay was the first, but it was only under John Marshall, who became chief justice in 1801, that the role and powers of the
judicial branch were defined (The American Pageant, 15th ed., p. 182/16th ed., p. 184; Learning Objective POL-2).

4. (C) The location of the capitol in the South was considered quite prestigious to that section (The American Pageant, 15th ed., p. 183/16th ed., p. 185; Learning Objective ID-5).

5. (D) After the election of 1796 in which the Federalist John Adams was elected president and the Democratic-Republican Jefferson was elected vice president, the Twelfth Amendment was drafted. It was ratified in 1804 (The American Pageant, 15th ed., p. 194/16th ed., pp. 195–196; Learning Objective POL-2).


7. (D) Believers in a strict interpretation of the Constitution, like Jefferson, were wary of claims that the “necessary and proper” (or elastic) clause allowed Congress the power to create a national bank because it had the power to coin money and pay debts (The American Pageant, 15th ed., p. 185/16th ed., pp. 186–187; Learning Objective POL-5).


9. (C) Advanced most clearly in the Virginia Resolution, the “compact” or states’ rights theory of government challenged the idea that the national government could impose a law contrary to the interests of a particular state (The American Pageant, 15th ed., pp. 197–198/16th ed., pp. 199–200; Learning Objective POL-5).

10. (C) This was never an issue between the United States and Spain, which maintained its important colonial possessions in the Caribbean (The American Pageant, 15th ed., p. 193/16th ed., pp. 194–195; Learning Objective WOR-5).

11. (C) The right to privacy is not specified in the Bill of Rights, though over time Americans have acquired rights protecting privacy (The American Pageant, 15th ed., p. 182/16th ed., p. 184; Learning Objective POL-5).

12. (A) The position of secretary of labor was not established until 1913, during the Wilson administration. The position of secretary of war was established in 1789 but was redefined and renamed in 1947 as secretary of defense (The American Pageant, 15th ed., p. 181/16th ed., p. 183; Learning Objective ID-1).
13. (D) The Judiciary Act of 1789 (later ruled unconstitutional by the Marshall Court) established the federal judiciary (allowing for the creation of lower courts under the Supreme Court) as well as the cabinet office of attorney general (The American Pageant, 15th ed., p. 182/16th ed., p. 184; Learning Objective POL-5).

14. (D) Many historians claim that Washington feared the nation would dissolve into political party bickering and therefore warned against such factionalism. Some believe he was being critical of the Democratic-Republicans and was hoping Americans would align themselves with the Federalists (The American Pageant, 15th ed., p. 193/16th ed., pp. 194–195; Learning Objective POL-2).

15. (B) The Federalists favored a loose construction of the Constitution and therefore viewed the elastic clause as necessary to create, for example, the Bank of the United States (The American Pageant, 15th ed., pp. 198–199/16th ed., pp. 200–201; Learning Objective POL-2).

Short-Answer Questions

1. In identifying a challenge, consider the new nation’s divisions along varying interpretations of the Constitution, its weakness in the face of British refusals to abide by the Treaty of Paris, or the enormous economic difficulties facing the infant country. As you explain the government’s response, consider its effectiveness. Was it able to present a unified face before the nations of the world? Was it able to govern effectively and force naysayers into accepting the rule of law? Was it able to establish economic security to allow for future growth?

2. This section of the Farewell Address warns the nation against foreign entanglements. Considering that the Federalists wanted to cast their lot with the industrial British, and that the Jeffersonians wanted to stand by the revolutionary French, this advice was not taken to heart well. In which case(s) has our involvement with other nations hurt our own national interests? Though this will likely require you to go beyond the scope of the chapter, there are also examples of times when America’s best interest required us to establish lasting relationships with other countries (think about the imperial age or the Cold War).

Long Essay Questions

1. You should incorporate in your essay Adams’s struggles with maintaining relations with the French, including his attempts to avoid war despite domestic pressure from his fellow Federalists. Also important is his handling of anti-government sentiments at home, most notably the Alien and Sedition Acts. (Historical Thinking Skill IV-8: Interpretation)

2. Your essay should compare Hamilton’s support for an extensive role for the federal government and his loose-
constructionist view—for example, the Bank of the United States—with Jefferson's strict-constructionist view. Also include a description of Hamilton's economic program and compare it to Jefferson's support for the yeoman farmer. (Historical Thinking Skill II-4: Comparison)
THE GROWTH OF THE NATION
FROM 1800 TO THE 1850s

After the successful transfer of power in the "Revolution of 1800," the United States continued to experience growing pains, literally and figuratively. While domestically, the early nineteenth century was fairly quiet, the Supreme Court—led by John Marshall—was busy solidifying the powers and responsibilities of the federal government. Meanwhile, Congress, the presidents, and, indeed, the nation had expansion fever. In fact, the United States has been consistent in its foreign policy in that it has always had expansionist tendencies, or, as one historian has phrased it, "Empire as a way of life."

KEY CONCEPTS

- The Marshall Court defined the role and powers of the judicial branch.
- Territorial expansion was an objective of the U.S. government from its inception, as witnessed by the Louisiana Purchase, the removal of Native Americans and by the Mexican-American War.
- Various groups and ideologies supported territorial expansion for economic, political, and cultural reasons.
- Controversial British actions and American policies aggravated relations between the two nations, leading to the War of 1812.
- New England and the Federalists strongly opposed the war and floated the idea of secession.
- Under the Monroe Doctrine, the United States established a policy of hegemony—dominance—in the Western Hemisphere.

Early nineteenth-century nation building is discussed in depth in The American Pageant, 15th and 16th eds., Chapters 11-14, 17.
THE MARSHALL COURT

When Federalist John Marshall—a distant cousin of President Jefferson—was appointed to the Supreme Court in 1801, his party was already in decline. Nevertheless, his position as chief justice would ensure that as the nation grew in territory, the powers of the central government would grow as well. Though a political chasm opened between Marshall and Jefferson, as Marshall forged a role for the judicial branch that expanded the powers of the federal government, Marshall’s vision of a government strong enough to rule over its ever-expanding borders in many ways made possible the survival of the United States.

When he assumed his duties, the Supreme Court lacked both power and prestige. The Court met only six weeks each year—the first Supreme Court justice, John Jay, resigned due to inactivity! Although he was not a legal scholar, in his thirty-five years on the bench, Marshall wrote nearly half of its decisions and in the process transformed the Court. The Marshall Court became strongly identified with

- vested rights in contract clauses
- expanding the Court’s jurisdiction
- judicial nationalism over states’ rights
- blocking state regulations that limited property rights
- freeing American commerce from restraints placed on it by the states

The most significant decisions made by the Marshall Court include the following:

- **Marbury v. Madison** (1803) This decision established the concept of judicial review—that is, the implied power of the judicial branch to determine the constitutionality of state and federal legislation.
- **Fletcher v. Peck** (1810) The Court ruled that a state could not pass laws that invalidated a contract.
- **Martin v. Hunter’s Lessee** (1816) Established the supremacy of federal courts over state courts.
- **Dartmouth College v. Woodward** (1819) Reaffirming the Fletcher decision, the Court ruled that a state cannot alter or invalidate a contract.
- **McCulloch v. Maryland** (1819) The Court ruled that the government possessed the implied power to create a national bank; that the bank could not be taxed by a state because this would give the “power to destroy” to the bank; and that federal law is absolute over state law.
- **Gibbons v. Ogden** (1821) The Court recognized the federal government’s authority over interstate trade.
- **Cohens v. Virginia** (1821) Much to the dismay of states’ rightists, the Court asserted the right of the Supreme Court to review the decisions of state supreme courts in issues dealing with the authority of the federal government.
KEY EVENTS IN JEFFERSON’S PRESIDENCY

In his first term, Jefferson generally carried out the domestic and foreign policies of his predecessors. He maintained the Bank of the United States and continued Hamilton’s debt repayment plan. Following Washington’s advice, he sought to steer clear of international alliances and maintain the nation’s neutrality. The latter allowed him to reaffirm his party’s philosophy by reducing the size of the government. In this case, the military saw its funding reduced. Also, the hated excise tax was eliminated while the government’s budget was simultaneously cut. However, for all of his conservatism, the Louisiana Purchase (1803) was the most notable achievement of Jefferson’s first term—one that set the country on the path of Manifest Destiny long before anyone had coined that phrase.

The French emperor, Napoleon, strapped for cash, needed more money to fight Britain. His decision to sell France’s last major territorial possession in North America was made more palatable by a successful slave revolt against the French on the Caribbean island of Santo Domingo. Napoleon reasoned that if he could not hold on to a small island in the Caribbean, there was little chance he would be able to control an enormous swath of land west of the Mississippi River. France’s quandary was America’s gain. In return for the enormous Louisiana Territory, which included New Orleans (which France had reacquired from Spain at the turn of the century), the United States paid only $15 million. Despite reservations about the constitutionality of the president’s treaty, the purchase of this land was too good to reject. Almost overnight, the territory of the United States doubled in size.

Having purchased the land from France, Jefferson decided it was time to find out more about the vast territory. Jefferson organized an expedition led by Meriwether Lewis and William Clark, instructing the men to find out as much as possible about the territory’s topographical features and resources as well as to gain scientific evidence about the climate and flora and fauna of this western land. Two years after departing, Lewis and Clark reached the Pacific Ocean. Upon returning east their journals were published. Extremely helpful to the U.S. government, their work also caught the imagination of the American public and consequently paved the way for future westward exploration and development.

If Jefferson’s first term had been comparatively smooth, the second was anything but. Far away in North Africa, coastal nations collectively known as the Barbary States were seizing international ships and holding their crews for ransom. Because the United States had no navy to speak of, its merchant ships were vulnerable. The U.S. government decided to pay tribute to protect its ships, but the deprivations did not cease until the United States defeated the Barbary pirates in 1815.

Tensions with France and Britain also worsened. Near the end of Jefferson’s first term, the two European powers had intensified their conflict, which in turn again threatened to interrupt American shipping. By 1805 Napoleon’s forces had gained control of much of the European continent, though the British navy continued to dominate the seas. Supplying both sides of the conflict was initially beneficial for
American merchants and shippers. But when Britain sought to stop the lucrative trade between the United States and France, the situation quickly spiraled out of control, as is obvious from the following sequence of events:

- **Essex decision (1805)** The British ruled that trade closed during peacetime could not be opened during wartime. For U.S. shippers, this meant that they would be prohibited from trading with the French West Indies.

- **Leopard-Chesapeake Incident (1807)** Although it was powerful, the British navy was short on sailors. To remedy this problem it began the highly questionable tactic of stopping American ships on the high seas and impressing—forcing—its sailors, whether they were British or not, into their navy. In one egregious case, the British warship **Leopard** fired on an American warship, the **Chesapeake**, and removed several sailors, a few of whom were deserters from the British navy.

- **Orders in Council (1806 and 1807)** Britain blockaded the ports of France and its allies, thereby preventing neutral nations from trading with these nations.

- **Berlin Decree (1806)** France responded in kind to the Orders in Council.

- **Milan Decree (1807)** France announced it would seize any ships that had obeyed Britain’s Orders in Council.

As a result of these decrees, Britain and France frequently seized American ships. Rather than go to war with one or both powerful European nations, Jefferson—and his successor, James Madison—sought to punish British and French commercial interests through a series of trade acts:

- **Nonintercourse Act (1806)** This halted the importation of many British commodities but failed to influence the British.

- **Embargo Act (1807)** This prohibited all foreign trade in hopes of protecting American shipping interests. It had a devastating effect on the New England economy and ultimately hurt more than helped the United States. Many New Englanders (traditionally Federalist territory anyhow) denounced Jefferson and Madison and gave their support to Charles Pinckney, the Federalist candidate in the 1808 election. The Embargo Act severely tarnished Jefferson’s reputation among the people, many of whom resorted to smuggling.

- **Nonintercourse Act (1809)** Trade was opened with all nations except the belligerents, Britain and France. Jefferson agreed to trade with either nation as soon as it repealed its trade restrictions against American shipping.

- **Macon’s Bill No. 2 (1810)** Madison replaced the Nonintercourse Act with his own plan to open trade with both Britain and France. He promised to suspend trade with the enemy of the nation that first agreed to cease its violations of American shipping rights. Napoleon deceived the American president by claiming to revoke the Berlin and Milan decrees so long as Britain repealed its Orders in Council. Madison accepted France’s terms and agreed to a policy of nonintercourse with Britain. In the meantime, pressured by its own merchants and traders, the British had every intention of
ending their trade dispute with the United States. Unfortunately, by the time Britain's concession had reached the United States, it had declared war on Great Britain.

**The War of 1812**

As the United States entered the second decade of the nineteenth century, tensions with Britain were exacerbated by the Napoleonic Wars in Europe. Both Britain and France had violated America's neutral shipping and commercial rights. The British were no more or less at fault than the French, but Americans were already blaming them and British Canadians for inciting Native American uprisings in the West. (In truth, Americans, in their hunger for more land, incited the unrest.) A famous example of conflict between white Americans and Native Americans that was blamed on the British was Shawnee Chief Tecumseh's raids on settlements in the Indiana Territory. Tecumseh's attempt to unite all the tribes in the Mississippi Valley ended when future president William Henry Harrison's force defeated him at the Battle of Tippecanoe in 1811.

**The War Hawks**

The defeat of Tecumseh coincided with the convening of Congress. Many of those who came to Washington for the 1811–1812 session were newly elected, mostly western and southern Democratic-Republican congressmen who also happened to be highly nationalistic. They were soon labeled "war hawks," and their hostility to Britain was a large reason why they were given this moniker. Led by Henry Clay of Kentucky and John C. Calhoun of South Carolina, the war hawks favored punishing Britain militarily for seizing merchant ships and impressing American sailors, violations of American neutrality. But they also wanted to seize land from the Native Americans in the West, drive the British from Canada, and even annex Spanish Florida. Opposition to such endeavors came from the Federalists and their region of influence, New England; they tended to be Anglophiles, and they also believed—correctly—that war with Britain would damage their commercial interests. Nevertheless, an unprepared United States declared war on Britain on June 18, 1812.

**The War: Military Operations**

Unfortunately for the United States, it declared war with an army numbering fewer than ten thousand soldiers and a navy numbering fewer than twenty ships—this when it was challenging the mightiest fleet in the world and a formidable British army as well. But fortunately for the Americans, Great Britain was yet again involved in another phase of its ongoing conflict with France and so could not apply the full weight of its military might against the United States. This did little to alter the results on the battlefield, however, as three separate American invasions of Canada failed. Surprisingly the Americans experienced considerably more success against the British navy in the Great Lakes and as far south as Bolivian waters. Two of the most famous and successful naval engagements in U.S. history took place between the American warship *Constitution* and HMS *Guerriere*.
in 1812 and at the Battle of Lake Erie in 1813. Although the United States experienced initial success using privateers to attack British shipping and sustain American commerce, by the second year of the war the British had effectively paralyzed American trade and commerce. The region most affected was, of course, New England.

The Federalists, New England, and the War: The Hartford Convention

The Federalists and those they represented, mainly in the New England states, deeply opposed the war against Britain for personal as well as commercial reasons. From their perspective, the Jefferson and Madison administrations (both Democratic-Republicans) were to blame for unwisely forcing a war against the British. Rest assured, New England Federalists were vocal in their opposition. However, some of their actions were highly questionable, and others were clearly treasonous. For example, while many New Englanders refused to buy war bonds, others actually sold provisions to enemy forces in Canada. Some states even refused to send their militias to fight in Canada. Federalist hostility to the war peaked in 1814 when New England delegates were sent by their states to a convention in Hartford, Connecticut, to organize resistance to what they perceived were highly questionable measures by the Democratic-Republicans. Using the compact theory of government as their guide, they proceeded to draft resolutions that would reduce the influence of the South and of the Democratic-Republicans. Their proposals included

- eliminating the three-fifths clause because it inflated the South’s representation in the House
- requiring a two-thirds vote in Congress to admit new states, impose embargoes, and declare war
- limiting a president to one term so as to prevent two consecutive terms from the same state (four of the first five presidents were referred to as the “Virginia Dynasty”)
- holding a future conference to discuss the possibility of secession (not convened because the war ended first)

On land U.S. forces fared better against the Native Americans than they did against the British. William Henry Harrison’s troops were victorious against Tecumseh’s force at the Battle of the Thames, killing the tribal leader in the process. To the south, another future president, Andrew Jackson, and his militia troops defeated the Creeks at the Battle of Horseshoe Bend (then proceeded to slaughter Creek women and children as retribution for Native American attacks). The two defeats, for all intents and purposes, neutralized the Native Americans as British allies. The British, however, continued on with their own military strategy. Utilizing a three-pronged attack, they invaded the United States, marched on Washington, D.C., in the summer of 1814, and burned the White House and other public buildings. They then turned north and marched on Baltimore, but they were unable to capture the strategically placed Fort McHenry—this was the battle that inspired Francis Scott Key to write “The Star Spangled Banner.” At the same time, the British were decisively defeated in upstate New York.
By winter 1814 both sides had had enough. In December they signed a peace treaty in Ghent, Belgium, ending all hostilities, except one. Because of the slowness of travel in the early nineteenth century, the peace terms had not reached the United States before the most famous engagement of the war had taken place, the Battle of New Orleans. Although the war had already ended, the lopsided U.S. victory added luster to the military reputation of the Americans and their commanding general, Andrew Jackson.

EFFECTS OF THE WAR

The Treaty of Ghent brought about no significant concessions. For the most part, relations and conditions between the two warring nations returned to their prewar status. In fact, none of the issues that caused the war were resolved, though both sides returned conquered territory to its original owner. The consequences of the war for the United States were mixed:

- The U.S. economy was devastated.
- Large areas of the nation’s capitol were destroyed.
- American nationalism intensified.
- The nation won foreign respect for its military capabilities, which allowed the United States to hold its own against the mighty British Empire.
- The Federalists and New England were discredited by their antipathy to the war and the actions they took to impede the war effort. This temporarily reduced the importance of sectionalism as the nation prepared to enter the “Era of Good Feelings,” a newspaper term used to describe the two terms of President James Monroe. During this period, there was only one major political party, the Democratic-Republicans; it was therefore assumed that political discord had evaporated.
- Military careers were launched or enhanced by the war, most noticeably those of Jackson and Harrison, who would use their new-won popularity to propel them into the Oval Office.

Two years after the treaty was signed, the United States and Britain agreed to demilitarize the Great Lakes in the Rush-Bagot Treaty. As for the attempt to annex Florida, Secretary of State John Quincy Adams and Spanish Minister Luis de Onís concluded an agreement, the Adams-Onís Treaty (1819), which revealed the weakened state of Spain in the early nineteenth century; for $5 million the United States received Florida. The southwestern boundary now extended as far as the Mexican territory of Tejas (Texas). Seizing on Spain’s obvious weakness, all of Spain’s South American colonies gained their independence by the early 1820s. It was not long, however, before the United States would become the hegemonic power in both North America and South America.

THE IMPULSE FOR EXPANSION

In the two centuries since the ratification of the Constitution, the size of the United States had more than quadrupled. As historian Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., has pointed out, “The drive across the continent does not call for complicated analysis. An energetic, acquisitive people were
propelled by their traits and technologies to push restlessly into contiguous spaces sparsely inhabited by wandering aborigines." But there may be more to it than that. Even before independence was won, Americans lusted after the lands west of the Appalachian Mountains—so much so that the British imposed the Proclamation of 1763 to keep the colonists closer to the Eastern Seaboard. Our first four presidents gave voice to this expansionist impulse:

- Washington called the new nation a “rising empire.”
- John Adams remarked that the United States was “destined to occupy all of the northern part of this quarter of the globe and that when accomplished, would be a significant achievement for mankind.”
- Jefferson referred to a “vast territory that would provide room enough for the descendants to the thousandth and ten thousandth generation.”
- Madison urged that the United States “extend the sphere, extend the republic as one great respectable and flourishing empire.”

The purchase of the Louisiana Territory, in 1803 and the War of 1812 both reflect the driving force—territorial expansion—behind U.S. foreign policy in this period. As in the previous century, Americans continued their drive westward, acquiring new territories and conquering indigenous Native American tribes. By the 1840s the United States would again be at war, this time with Mexico, ultimately taking by conquest that nation’s northern territory. By the eve of the Civil War, the United States had expanded well beyond the Mississippi River. As the nation continued to enlarge, Americans would cite a number of economic, political, cultural, and historical arguments to justify U.S. territorial expansion. Politicians, literary figures, educators, newspapermen, and religious leaders, all contributed to a set of ideas that collectively became known as Manifest Destiny. The term was coined by a newspaper editor, John O’Sullivan, in the 1840s as Americans began rapidly crossing the Mississippi River and beyond the Rocky Mountains to reach California and Oregon. Manifest Destiny implied that it was a God-given right and inevitability for the United States to spread its Protestant religion, capitalist economy, and democratic-republican political system across the continental United States. Religious leaders claimed that God wanted Americans—“God’s chosen people”—to expand and dominate other peoples in order to convert these “heathens” to the Christian religion. More sophisticated proponents of empire provided a more comprehensive argument by integrating the economic, political, and cultural rationalizations. The ideology of Manifest Destiny was useful in its own right, serving

- to rationalize U.S. foreign policy—it was often cited to ease what may have been guilty consciences at taking someone else’s land
- to create national unity and to inspire citizens to rally around the government
- to counter criticisms raised by other nations

Interest in territorial expansion and the quest for empire cut across many segments of the American population:

- farmers and those wishing to become landowners
manufacturers seeking a source of abundant and inexpensive natural resources
- investors and industrialists seeking profitable investment opportunities in the areas of mining, agriculture, land speculation, and the like
- those who believed that American civilization was biologically and culturally superior
- politicians and military men searching for ways to enhance the nation's political and geographic situation relative to other nations

**AP Tip**

Take note that internal political factors sometimes inhibited territorial aggrandizement—for example, the internal debate that ensued over Cuba and the Ostend Manifesto.

### Major Territorial Acquisitions: 1783–1853

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Territory (Date Acquired)</th>
<th>Circumstances of Acquisition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Original Thirteen States (1783)</td>
<td>Treaty of Paris—all land east of the Mississippi River</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Louisiana Purchase (1803)</td>
<td>Purchased from France for $15 million—825,000 square miles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Florida (1819)</td>
<td>Adams-Onís Treaty; United States pays $5 million</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Texas (1845)</td>
<td>Initially declared itself independent from Mexico; eventually enters the Union as a slave state</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oregon Country (1846)</td>
<td>Forty-ninth parallel established by the United States and Britain as the boundary for Oregon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mexican Cession (1848)</td>
<td>Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo—Mexican defeat leads to the loss of its northern territory, for which United States pays $15 million</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gadsden Purchase (1853)</td>
<td>U.S. purchase of a strip of land from Mexico for $10 million to complete a southern transcontinental railroad</td>
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**THE MONROE DOCTRINE**

Following the end of the Napoleonic Wars in 1815, the victorious nations met in Vienna to discuss postwar goals. One of the decisions made by the European powers was to restore monarchies and governments that had collapsed or had been overthrown by Napoleon’s Grand Army. This concerned the United States because it
suspected that the reactionary powers would attempt to restore Spain’s control over South America. For their own reasons, the British were opposed to such a development, though they and the Russians sought to control the Pacific coast of North America. Secretary of State John Quincy Adams informed both nations not to interfere in territory that he claimed belonged naturally to the United States. Leery of Europeans’ intentions of acquiring territory in the Americas or even colonizing South America, the Monroe administration decided to act. At the behest of his cabinet, President Monroe issued a stern foreign policy statement that became known as the Monroe Doctrine. Monroe admonished the Europeans from colonizing the Western Hemisphere. To do so, warned the president, would be deemed a threat to U.S. national security. In short, Europe should stay out of the Western Hemisphere, and the United States would stay out of Europe.

Traditionally, historians have viewed the Monroe Doctrine as a defensive strategic policy. It has often been cited as an example of American altruism and anti-imperialist tradition. Recently, historians have questioned this perspective. They argue that the Monroe Doctrine was an expression of Manifest Destiny: in order for the United States to dominate the Western Hemisphere, it would have to prevent European nations from doing so. Subsequent presidents have added to the Monroe Doctrine, and it even played a role in U.S. foreign policy following World War II.

THE TRAIL OF TEARS: THE PLAGUE OF THE CHEROKEE

As the nation kept a wary eye on Europe, it focused the other eye on the one major Native American tribe in the area southeast of the Mississippi, the Cherokees. Having earlier pacified the Cherokees, the next objective was to move them to the West. The Cherokees inhabited several states—Alabama, Tennessee, Georgia, and Mississippi. In 1827 a tribal council established a constitutional representative government, not unlike the U.S. political system, and proceeded to declare independence. The Georgia legislature maintained that to declare a separate government and nation within its borders was unconstitutional. Georgia then requested assistance from the federal government in removing the Cherokees from its borders. The discovery of gold in the Cherokees’ land certainly played a role in the state legislature’s wish to relocate them. Later, the Cherokees, insulted by President Andrew Jackson’s lack of sympathy for Native Americans and by the passage in 1830 of the Indian Removal Act, sued to stop their resettlement. The Marshall Supreme Court, while sympathetic to their plight, ruled in Cherokee Nation v. Georgia (1831) that because they were not a foreign nation, the Cherokees could not bring suit in federal court. The following year, however, the Court ruled in Worcester v. Georgia that state law had no authority within Cherokee territory. An advocate of states’ rights when it was expedient and an opponent of Native American rights, Jackson exclaimed, “John Marshall has made his decision, now let him enforce it.” The chief executive would not use his constitutional authority to enforce federal law when it came to Native Americans. Before the decade was out, most of the Cherokees were driven west in a grueling trek known as the “Trail of Tears.”
Texan Independence

In 1821 Mexico had gained its independence from Spain. Hoping to draw settlers to its sparsely inhabited northern province, the Mexican government enticed large numbers of immigrants by introducing a system of landownership that was considerably more favorable than what was available in the United States. Before long, southerners by the thousands began streaming into Texas in northern Mexico. Stephen Austin, for example, brought hundreds of families to settle in the area, starting a migration that soon found the Mexican inhabitants far outnumbered by the American settlers and their slaves. Americans continued to resettle in northern Mexico despite the Mexican government’s new stipulations: in 1829 it required all settlers to convert to Catholicism, and it abolished slavery. Most settlers were not willing to obey these laws, so the Mexican government halted immigration. Unfazed, the Americans ignored Mexican law and poured in, many from the South. In 1834 the dispute came to a head when General Antonio de Santa Anna proclaimed himself dictator of Mexico. Santa Anna was determined to enforce the laws of his nation as it applied to the American settlers in the northern province. In response, the settlers declared their independence from Mexico in 1836, created a government, and selected Sam Houston as commander of the Texas military. Santa Anna moved in to stop the Texans. Initial conflicts between the two sides favored the Mexican army, despite money, supplies, and volunteers from American citizens. The most famous Texan defeat occurred in 1836 at the Alamo, a fortified mission held by the Texans. Despite holding out against enormous odds, the Texas garrison was annihilated by Santa Anna’s forces. Shortly thereafter, another Texas army surrendered to Santa Anna. On orders from the Mexican general, they were massacred. But the Texans soon had their revenge. Sam Houston’s small army inflicted a mortal blow on the Mexicans at the Battle of San Jacinto, in the process capturing Santa Anna. This battle effectively ended hostilities and guaranteed Texas independence. Most Texans supported U.S. statehood, but they would have to wait; for more than a decade, Texas was to remain an independent republic.

President James K. Polk and Territorial Expansion

When James K. Polk was inaugurated president in March 1845, he had several foreign policy objectives in mind: the settlement of the Oregon boundary dispute with Britain, which had almost led to military hostilities in the 1839 Aroostook War; the acquisition of California; and the incorporation of Texas into the Union. He achieved all of these goals. John Tyler had already paved the way for Texas statehood, and despite strong opposition from antislavery forces, Texas was admitted on December 29, 1845. As for the Oregon question, it was resolved at the same time relations with Mexico were unraveling. In the Webster-Ashburton Treaty (1842), the United States and Britain had settled the boundary dispute between Maine and Canada and also agreed to suppress the slave trade. Soon, however, they were again bickering over the Oregon Territory’s northern border. Initially the Americans
offered the 49th parallel as the dividing line; that was rejected by the British. Despite bellicose outbursts by the Americans such as “Fifty-four forty or fight,” Britain was in no mood for another war with the United States. In the Oregon Treaty (1846), the nations agreed to settle the dispute peacefully by extending the Oregon Territory–Canadian border along the 49th parallel.

THE MEXICAN–AMERICAN WAR

The fragile relationship between the United States and Mexico deteriorated even further when the United States formally annexed Texas in 1845. Not satisfied with acquiring this enormous territory, Polk also wanted to acquire the California–New Mexico region as well. After the failure of the Slidell mission, an attempt to purchase the territory from Mexico, Polk resorted to a decidedly more aggressive and controversial posture; he sent troops into the disputed area near the Nueces River and the Rio Grande. Many Americans and their political representatives believed the area belonged to the Mexicans, but when hostilities erupted, the United States declared war on Mexico. Polk claimed that Mexican forces had crossed the border to attack Americans, but this was never verified. Regardless, Polk had his war. Although the U.S. Army was supported by poorly trained and ill-disciplined volunteer troops, some of whom committed atrocities in the course of the war, U.S. forces had taken control of the entire Southwest by 1847. Several other American military successes followed before General Zachary Taylor’s army defeated Santa Anna’s force near Buena Vista. Taylor then proceeded to take Monterrey, but President Polk replaced Taylor with another general for disobeying orders. (Taylor returned home a hero and later became president.) The new U.S. commander, General Winfield Scott, captured Vera Cruz followed a short time later with a victory in the Battle of Cerro Gordo. More victories followed before the Americans launched their final attack on Mexico City. After first taking the mountain fortress of Chapultepec, the Americans captured the Mexican capital. Santa Anna fled, and the war ended. The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo (1848) included the following provisions:

- Mexico recognized the American claims to the area north of the Rio Grande.
- Mexico ceded California and New Mexico to the United States in return for $15 million.
- The United States agreed to assume approximately $3 million in debts Mexico owed to American citizens.

President Polk was not satisfied with the terms of the treaty. He believed the United States should have received even more territory from the defeated Mexicans. But he would have to settle for the one-half million square miles of territory (one million if Texas is included in the tally) taken from the Mexicans. In his one term as president, Polk had given meaning to Washington’s reference to the United States as a “rising empire.”
Content Review Questions

1. In his more than thirty years as a Supreme Court justice, John Marshall
   (A) strengthened the powers of the states in relation to the federal government.
   (B) ruled time and again in support of the compact theory of government.
   (C) ruled that the Supreme Court could not overturn a decision handed down by a state supreme court.
   (D) blocked state regulations that limited property rights.

2. The concept of judicial review means that
   (A) the executive branch can veto legislation.
   (B) the president has the final say in all decisions of the judicial branch.
   (C) the courts have the power to determine the constitutionality of laws.
   (D) the Supreme Court is required to review all bills passed by Congress.

3. Which of the following is true of the Embargo Act (1807)?
   (A) It was designed to open trade with one of the belligerents (British or French) if it repealed its own trade restrictions.
   (B) It caused devastating shortages of food in France.
   (C) It nearly destroyed the New England economy.
   (D) The Supreme Court ruled that it was an unconstitutional overstretch of national authority.

4. All of the following are complaints of the United States against the British in the period before the War of 1812 EXCEPT
   (A) the British were conspiring with the French to cripple the infant American industry.
   (B) the Leopard-Chesapeake incident.
   (C) many believed the British were inciting Native Americans to attack American settlers in the West.
   (D) the practice of impressments and ship seizures violated American sovereignty.

5. Which of the following groups was NOT in favor of U.S. territorial expansion in the first half of the nineteenth century?
   (A) Farmers
   (B) Manufacturers
   (C) Investors
   (D) Abolitionists

6. The term Manifest Destiny implies
   (A) a desire to limit the territorial expansion of the United States.
   (B) that the cost of expansion is greater than its benefits.
   (C) that it was America's God-given right to expand.
   (D) that nations should share newly discovered resources rather than fight over them.
7. The Gadsden Purchase
   (A) allowed the United States to build a southern transcontinental railroad.
   (B) was territory in the West where the Cherokee were relocated.
   (C) allowed the United States to extend its northern border with Canada to the Pacific Ocean.
   (D) was vetoed by President Polk.

8. The war hawks
   (A) were opponents of territorial expansion.
   (B) were U.S. congressmen who represented the New England states.
   (C) supported going to war against Britain in the early nineteenth century.
   (D) was a Native American tribe who fought against U.S. territorial expansion.

9. The Hartford Convention
   (A) ended the War of 1812.
   (B) was organized by the Federalist opposition to the war with Britain.
   (C) included some of the most important leaders of the Democratic-Republican Party.
   (D) was organized to oppose territorial expansion.

10. “Fifty-four forty or fight” refers to
    (A) the Federalists’ opposition to the war with Britain.
    (B) the amount of money Mexico demanded from the United States in return for allowing it to annex Texas.
    (C) the boundary dispute between the United States and Mexico.
    (D) the dispute between Britain and the United States over the Oregon Territory.

11. Which of the following decisions by the Mexican government angered Americans who settled in Texas?
    (A) The Americans were required to pay enormous taxes to the Mexican government.
    (B) The Mexicans forbade the American settlers from trading with the United States.
    (C) The American settlers were prohibited from becoming citizens of Mexico.
    (D) The Mexicans abolished slavery.

12. The Supreme Court ruled in *Worcester v. Georgia* that
    (A) Native American tribal land could not be purchased by the state of Georgia.
    (B) Georgia must grant citizenship rights to the Cherokees living within its borders.
    (C) the Cherokees could not sue the state of Georgia in federal court.
    (D) Georgia’s state laws had no authority within Cherokee territory.
13. In the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo (1848),
   (A) Mexico did not lose territory to the United States but was
   compelled to grant independence to Texas.
   (B) Mexico lost approximately half its territory to the United
   States.
   (C) the United States was obliged to pay millions of dollars to
   convince the Mexicans to end the war.
   (D) California won its independence from Mexico.

14. “Conscience Whigs”
   (A) supported the Texas independence movement.
   (B) advocated the purchase of Mexican territory in order to avert
   war.
   (C) were antislavery congressmen who generally opposed the war
   with Mexico.
   (D) condemned the U.S. government’s treatment of Indians.

15. All of the following encouraged American expansion between 1800
    and 1848 EXCEPT
    (A) the growth of American industrial power, in search of new
        markets.
    (B) the rise of American nationalism.
    (C) notions of racial and cultural supremacy over the Native
        Americans and Mexicans.
    (D) an interest in competing with threats of the expansion of
        British, Mexican, or Spanish influence in North America.

Short-Answer Questions

Question 1 is based on the following image.

1. Use the image of President Monroe and his cabinet and your
   knowledge of United States history to answer Parts a and b.
   (a) Briefly describe the point of view reflected in the image about
       American expansion.
(b) Describe ONE specific action taken by the United States in line
with the viewpoint portrayed in this image.

2. United States historians generally agree that John Marshall
expanded the power of the federal government during his term as
Supreme Court chief justice.
(a) Describe Marshall’s philosophy as related to ONE of the issues
below.
   - The jurisdiction of the Supreme Court
   - The issue of states’ rights with respect to the national
government
   - The status of American commerce and business
(b) Explain and name ONE decision of the Marshall Court that
reflects the philosophy you described in Part a.

**Long Essay Questions**

1. To what extent did nationalism play a role in the formulation and
   application of U.S. foreign policy in the early nineteenth century?

2. Evaluate the decision of President James K. Polk to lead the United
   States into war with Mexico.

**Answers**

**CONTENT REVIEW QUESTIONS**

1. **(D) Marshall strengthened the federal judiciary, especially in
   relation to the states and the legislative branch (The American
   Learning Objective POL-5).**

2. **(C) This is an essential power of the federal court system in that
   it provides a check against unconstitutional legislation (The
   Objective POL-5).**

3. **(C) By eliminating all trade in hopes of protecting American
   ships and exerting pressure on the British and French, the
   Embargo Act—which was barely noticed economically by the
   warring nations—devastated New England, which relied on
   219; Learning Objective WOR-3).**

4. **(A) The British, in the midst of their own wars with France—
   again—had failed to abide by their promises in the Treaty of
   Paris and had repeatedly made affronts to American neutrality
   Learning Objective WOR-5).**

6. (C) Manifest Destiny implied that Americans were God’s “chosen people” and therefore had a right to expand (The American Pageant, 15th ed., p. 366/16th ed., p. 369; Learning Objective ID-2).


11. (D) The Mexican government established two laws in 1829: settlers must convert to Catholicism, and slavery was prohibited. Both angered the settlers, who were mostly southern Protestant supporters of slavery (The American Pageant, 15th ed., pp. 265–266/16th ed., pp. 268–269; Learning Objective ID-4).

12. (D) Though previously the Supreme Court ruled against the Cherokees, this decision provided them some autonomy (The American Pageant, 15th ed., p. 257/16th ed., p. 259; Learning Objective PEO-5).

13. (B) The treaty ending the war was indeed punitive as the Mexicans lost half of their territory in return for $15 million (The American Pageant, 15th ed., p. 372/16th ed., p. 375; Learning Objective WOR-5).

14. (C) The “conscience Whigs” were deeply concerned that a successful war with Mexico would expand slavery and therefore the power of the “slavocracy” (The American Pageant, 15th ed., p. 372/16th ed., p. 375; Learning Objective WOR-6).
15. (A) Though America had not yet industrialized to any significant extent by 1848, its desire for economic and territorial gain, as well as its hopes of being master of the continent led the country to expand time and again (The American Pageant, 15th and 16th eds., Chapters 11 and 17; Learning Objective WOR-6).

SHORT-ANSWER QUESTIONS

1. Overall, this image supports the idea of American expansionism and, one might say, Manifest Destiny. The map on the back wall offers several options for discussion, including the recent Louisiana Purchase, the territories of Mexico in North America, and the disputed Oregon Territory. Furthermore, Monroe’s stance next to the globe, and his protective hand over the Americas offer insight into the Monroe Doctrine.

2. Marshall certainly expanded the power of the national government, but always a true Federalist, he also sought to protect the interests of commerce and business. As such, consider his use of the elastic (or necessary and proper) clause to expand the national government’s responsibilities, but also his interpretation of the commerce clause to preclude state interference in contract law or business practice. Of course, where the Courts are concerned, Marbury v. Madison is the foremost example of his expansion of the Court’s duties.

LONG ESSAY QUESTIONS

1. You should address the ideologies that supported territorial expansion—for example, the Mexican-American War—the goals and attitudes of the war hawks on the War of 1812, the significance of the Monroe Doctrine in extending U.S. influence to the entire Western Hemisphere, and the relocation of Native Americans so that their land could be used by white Americans. (Historical Thinking Skill I-2: Patterns of Continuity and Change over Time)

2. To support this statement, you can point out that Polk was an advocate of territorial expansion, shown by his work to settle the Oregon border question and the acquisition of California. Bringing Texas into the Union was a key part of his territorial ambitions. All of these acquisitions would benefit the United States economically.

To oppose the statement, point out that by adding new southern territory, Polk had reopened the slave state/free state controversy. Would Texas’s admission set off heated exchanges between the regions and their politicians? Also point out that there was no justification for the U.S. invasion of Mexico and that many Americans, especially in the north, were morally opposed to the war. Others were opposed to an imperialist policy. (Historical Thinking Skill III-6: Historical Argumentation)
JACKSONIAN DEMOCRACY
AND THE AGE OF REFORM:
1820s–1850s

Paradoxically, at the same time the United States was acquiring land, often through conquest, it was engaged in democratizing its own institutions. This era, the 1820s to the 1850s, has been referred to as the Age of Reform. Some historians, however, choose to title the period after its most celebrated president, Andrew Jackson, and refer to it as Jacksonian democracy. It is important to note, however, that this designation is challenged by historians who maintain that Jackson was actually indifferent, opposed to, or unaware of some of the reforms. Those critical of the term see obvious contradictory impulses present during this period: slavery, expansion and imperialism, and the marginalization of blacks, women, Native Americans, and laborers. Yet over the years, the terms have come to mean the same thing—an unprecedented expansion of egalitarian ideas that transformed America socially, politically, and economically, if only for white men.

KEY CONCEPTS

- Social, economic, and political conditions and attitudes led to the reform spirit in the mid-nineteenth century.
- As the Federalist Party faded, an “Era of Good Feelings” set in.
- The second party system took shape as the National Republicans challenged the Democrats.
- Grassroots movements and government reforms attempted to address the social and economic problems confronting the nation.
- The intellectual roots of reform shaped perceptions of the individual’s role in society.
This period witnessed important economic and political reforms, but women, blacks, and Native Americans remained subordinated. Jacksonian democracy and the Age of Reform are discussed in depth in *The American Pageant*, 15th and 16th eds., Chapters 13-15.

**SETTING THE STAGE FOR REFORM**

There are two sources of reform: the first is the government, which can draw up policies and legislation that further democratize society; the second is grassroots movements. In the case of the latter, individual citizens and private groups, classes, organizations, and movements take it upon themselves to address the maladies that plague their society. In the period following the end of the War of 1812 until the eve of the American Civil War, both the government and grassroots movements had a role in reforming American society, although, more often than not, grassroots movements have influenced the government to initiate programs and policies needed to address society's problems.

There are various origins of the Age of Reform:

- Democratic impulses were the basis of the American Revolution, which sought to address the inequalities inherent in colonial American society and to free Americans from their subordinate relationship with Britain.
- The Antifederalists of the 1780s and 1790s were determined not to sacrifice civil and democratic liberties in creating a new constitutional government.
- The Jeffersonian Democratic-Republicans professed to represent the ideals and aspirations of the common farmer.
- Profound social and economic changes occurred in the early nineteenth century—for example, the influence of what many historians refer to as the market revolution on the U.S. economy along with the social and cultural changes of the Second Great Awakening.

The Northeast and Old Northwest experienced rapid improvements in transportation (railroads; canals, such as the Erie Canal; and the National, or Cumberland, Road). Furthermore, the growth in industrial technologies like the steam engine and interchangeable parts (though America was far from an industrialized nation in the 1840s) set the nation on course for what is known as a Market Revolution. Concurrently, the nation was experiencing an immense wave of immigration. These factors hastened the collapse of the older yeoman and artisan economy and stimulated the further development of a cash-crop agrarian system and capitalist manufacturing. For instance, in the South, a cotton boom revived a flagging plantation slave economy, which then continued to expand.

Additional tensions developed as the economy expanded. Some farmers could not keep up with the changing economy and experienced farm foreclosures. In the Northeast, an emerging laboring class was dogged by abject working conditions and subsistence-level wages. In the South, strained relations existed between non-slaveholders and the planter class. In the West, tensions between
would-be yeoman farmers and land speculators and banks prevailed. Farmers and laborers had every reason to believe that the free-market system would bring them not boundless opportunities but new forms of dependence. Jacksonianism grew directly from the tensions that these changes generated within white society. Even expectant capitalists (those with surplus capital searching for investment opportunities in this growing market economy) suspected that entrenched capitalists would block their way and shape the nation’s economic development to suit only themselves.

Henry Clay’s American System (a tariff to protect industry and manufacturing, a national bank to facilitate credit and provide sound currency, and federally funded infrastructural development), which became the center of his 1824 presidential campaign, confirmed the suspicions of the opponents of an ever-expanding central government that the powerful and wealthy would be best served by this design. Clay’s program became the core of the National Republicans’ platform, which explains why some Americans saw the Jacksonian Democrats as representing the masses, whereas the National Republicans represented the elites.

THE ERA OF GOOD FEELINGS, THE SECOND PARTY SYSTEM, AND EMERGENCE OF JACKSON

Following the War of 1812, the Federalist Party for all intents and purposes imploded. Its unpopular position on the war as well as a number of questionable actions by the Federalists, not least of which was the Hartford Convention, destroyed the party. Since ostensibly only one party, the Democratic-Republicans, was left standing, the decade or so following the war is often referred to as the “Era of Good Feelings”; the assumption being that because there was no political party strife, most Americans tended to have a common outlook. In other words, the term suggests that social relations in the United States were characterized by consensus and relative social harmony. True or not, sectionalism and the slavery issue were always under the surface, ready to disturb the tranquility. It was not long before these differences manifested themselves in opposing political parties—the second American political party system. For the time being, however, the nation had only one party.

In 1824 all four candidates—John Quincy Adams, Andrew Jackson, Henry Clay, and William Crawford—ran as Democratic-Republicans. In the election Adams defeated his fellow party member in what Jackson’s supporters claimed was the result of a “corrupt bargain” between Adams and Clay, who was also the Speaker of the House. Jackson had received more popular votes as well as more electoral votes, but he had not won a majority, and it was not enough to give him the presidency. The Twelfth Amendment required that the issue be resolved in the House of Representatives, with each state having one vote. When the vote was tallied, Adams had won. Jackson’s backers accused Clay of manipulating the voting to benefit Adams. Although this was obviously denied by Clay, eyebrows were raised when President Adams made Clay his secretary of state, a position viewed at the time as heir to the presidency. In the next election, 1828,
Jackson, running as the Democratic candidate (the Republican suffix was dropped) had his revenge, defeating Adams (who ran on the new National Republican ticket) handily in both the popular and electoral votes. In a sense, the National Republicans, who were strong in the Northeast, rose out of the ashes of the old Federalist Party in that they advocated for the Bank of the United States and the tariff (especially after the Panic of 1819 damaged the Northeast’s economy). The National Republicans ran Clay for the presidency in 1832, but Jackson defeated him, too. (The National Republicans would, over the next couple of decades, become the Whig Party, and eventually the Republican Party.) For our purposes, the man at the center of this reform period, Jackson, would be elected to two terms. His eight years in office and those of his successor, Martin Van Buren, are considered the heart of the Age of Reform.

**Dorr’s Rebellion**

In Rhode Island, voting was restricted to those who held property worth at least $150. Consequently, unequal representation prevailed within the state. For example, although Providence had a larger population than Newport, the latter had more representatives in the state legislature because it had more landowners. In the 1842 gubernatorial election, the reform candidate, Thomas Dorr, was elected; however, the opposition refused to recognize his victory. The two sides then armed themselves and prepared to settle the dispute violently, if necessary. Dorr’s arrest defused the situation, but several years later his reform party was reelected. Sentiments outside the state were mixed. Some Americans viewed it as a threat to law and order, while others viewed Dorr’s rebellion as an effort to correct an undemocratic system.

In analyzing American society in the antebellum period, it is important to identify those problems—political, economic, and social—that reformers sought to address:

- **Unfavorable Political Conditions**
  - In general, many American citizens were excluded from the political process. They had little impact, if any, on how and what decisions were made.
  - Women were disenfranchised (denied the right to vote and participate in the political process).
  - Free black Americans were disenfranchised as well. Of course, slaves had no citizenship rights.
  - In some states, property ownership was a requirement for voting.
  - The process associated with how political parties chose their presidential candidates, called “King Caucus,” was exclusive and closed to most. There was no primary system to provide rank-and-file party members the opportunity to select candidates. Instead, political party leaders selected candidates.
  - Disproportionate representation still existed.

- **Unfavorable Economic Conditions**
  - There were no stay laws (which prevented a person from going to prison for indebtedness).
Oppressed urban workers were attempting to protect themselves by forming unions.

The existence of unfair tax laws discriminated against small farmers and members of the urban working class, many of whom were mired in debt.

Land was not attainable for many inhabitants of the United States.

Many farmers could not afford to own their own farm. Instead, they hired themselves out or rented land.

The market economy was susceptible to the fluctuations and problems inherent in the business cycle (recession, depression, inflation, and deflation).

There were limited opportunities for small and expectant capitalists because of monopolies and the political and economic power and influence of the entrenched capitalists.

Unfavorable Social Conditions

Because of discrimination, women were second-class citizens.

Racial discrimination was pervasive.

Slavery was becoming intolerable. There were a number of slave revolts during this period, such as Denmark Vesey’s plot for rebellion in 1822 and Nat Turner’s rebellion in 1831.

Treatment of the mentally ill was inhumane, as were the conditions prevalent in prisons.

Urban decay and problems such as poor housing and sanitation, crime, and disease were rampant.

Working conditions were both unsafe and unhealthy.

Because there was no public education system, learning was available only to those who could afford it.

The Native American population was being systematically decimated by the Indian Removal Act and other actions and policies of the states and the federal government.

The Anti-Renters Movement

In upstate New York, property ownership resembled that of a feudal society. Wealthy and powerful landowners held old leases to enormous tracts of land. Their tenants were often compelled to provide feudal obligations, such as working on the landlord’s manor for a set number of days per year. Following the American Revolution, many tenants were convinced that the terms of the leases had long since expired, that the leases were highly exploitative, and that, at the very least, feudal relationships had been swept away by the American Revolution. By 1839 a grassroots organization of tenant farmers was organized to prevent the collection of rents. Sure enough, when authorities attempted to collect the rents, violence erupted. It was not until the early 1850s that new legislation was passed to limit leases of farmland to twelve years. Still the farmers refused to pay “back rents,” and they formed the Anti-Renters Association.
Cures for these maladies were proposed. The first, put simply, was to expand democratic rights, beginning with the abolition of property qualifications for voting in those states that retained this prerequisite. Also, the economy could be redirected to include the interests of the non-entrenched capitalist class. And by making available more and cheaper land in the West, those seeking relief from creditors, speculators, and bankers (especially the despised Second Bank of the United States) would be helped.

Why then did disenchanted, alienated, and exploited white males coalesce behind Jackson, a one-time land speculator and opponent of debtor relief, and the Democrats? Born into poverty, Jackson entered business at a relatively young age. By the 1820s, his own ill-fated business experiences soured him on speculation and paper money and left him permanently suspicious of the credit system in particular and banks in general. To many, then, Jackson represented a healthy contempt for the old hierarchical, preferential system. His position on a number of key issues reflects this perspective:

- **The spoils system** For decades, individuals holding positions in the federal government were not replaced when their presidential appointee left office. Jackson changed this tradition. For him and the Democratic Party, the expression “To the victor belong the spoils” described the way federal jobs were distributed. Jackson replaced those loyal to the previous administration with supporters of his own party. Critics referred to this method as the spoils system. (Defenders had a more democratic-sounding term: rotation in office.) Like Jackson, they detested experts and deemed the common man more than capable to fill any government post.

- **The Indian Removal Act** Discussed in the previous chapter, Jackson’s attitudes regarding Native Americans often reflected those of the average citizen. When he spoke of the common man, Jackson was simply not referring to Native Americans.

- **Veto power** Claiming he was the representative of the people, protecting them against governmental abuses and policies that enhanced the standing of the politically and economically entrenched, Jackson vetoed more bills than all of his predecessors combined.

- **Unofficial advisers** Rather than limit himself to the views of professional politicians, such as cabinet members—who, with the exception of Martin Van Buren, were mediocre men selected to appease sectional interests and the Democratic Party—Jackson came to rely on a group of informal advisers (mostly newspaper editors) known as the “kitchen cabinet.”

- **The bank war** Although it was successful in regulating interest rates and adopting policies conducive to economic stability and growth, the Bank of the United States was not rechartered by Congress in 1811 because of the resentment of smaller state chartered banks. Five years later Congress chose to recharter the (Second) Bank of the United States despite continued opposition by state banks. And again, the bank was successful. It provided credit, which allowed for economic development in the East and West. Despite the Supreme Court’s ruling in *McCulloch v. Maryland*, in 1819, which made the bank paramount in relation to state banks, Jackson strongly opposed it. To him, the bank represented...
preference and monopoly: it violated states’ rights and was partially controlled by foreigners. Besides, he reasoned, as did Jefferson, that the bank was unconstitutional because the Constitution did not explicitly provide for such an institution. Jackson’s personality clash with the president of the bank, Nicholas Biddle, only increased his contempt for the institution. (At one point Jackson told Biddle, “I do not like your Bank any more than all banks.”) Jackson’s opponents, foremost among them Senator Henry Clay, were able to convince Congress to pass a bill to again recharter the bank in hopes of making the bank a major campaign issue in 1832. Jackson vetoed the bill. If the election of 1832 was any indication of the public’s position on the Bank of the United States, which the president made the central issue of his campaign, Jackson’s landslide defeat of Clay put any doubts to rest. During the campaign, Jackson had declared, “The Bank is trying to kill me, but I will kill it.” And he did. But the impact on the economy was devastating. His vetoing of the bank set off a chain of events that ultimately intensified the downward spiral the economy would experience. Unfortunately for Martin Van Buren, Jackson’s demolition of the bank would have dire consequences when Van Buren became president.

After vetoing the rechartering of the Second Bank, Jackson withdrew federal funds from the bank and distributed it to state banks, referred to as “pet banks.” This action had the long-range effect of contributing to wild speculation:

The additional money the pet banks possessed made it possible for them to expand and extend credit.

This had the effect of increasing demand for land. Prices for land skyrocketed.

Many banks found that they were overextended.

Because the one force that could have controlled wild speculation and overextension—the Bank of the United States—had been destroyed by Jackson, he was thus forced to issue the Specie Circular:

Banks and all types of lenders were forced to call in their loans and specie.

This resulted in panic selling.

Consequently, prices plummeted, and many borrowers defaulted on their debts.

As a result, many banks went bankrupt.

From 1837 to 1843 the economy spiraled downward. The Specie Circular served only to aggravate the economic decline the nation was soon to experience when a depression hit during Van Buren’s term. The following are causes of that depression:
the domestic and international decline in the demand for cotton
uncontrolled land and financial speculation
the withdrawal of capital by British investors
the normal workings of the business cycle—expansions and contractions common in the capitalist system

**JACKSON’S POSITION ON FEDERAL VERSUS STATES’ RIGHTS**

There has been considerable debate among historians as to whether Jackson was an advocate of states’ rights or a firm believer in the supremacy of the federal government.

Others maintain that constitutional questions had little to do with his support or opposition to specific issues. Following are a number of events in Jackson’s presidency that correlate to this debate:

- **The Maysville Road veto** In 1830 Congress passed a bill that would authorize the government to invest in the construction of a road from Maysville, Kentucky, to Lexington, the hometown of Henry Clay. Jackson’s veto of the bill provided him the opportunity to weigh in on federal funding for internal improvements and strike a blow at Clay, his political enemy. Jackson argued that because the road lay within one state (regardless that the road was to become a section of the National Road), the bill was unconstitutional. His veto of the Maysville Road Bill established a precedent that would go unchanged until the twentieth century. Until then, individual states and private capital, not the federal government, would be responsible for the construction of roads.

- **Cherokee Nation** Jackson refused to intervene on behalf of the Cherokees after John Marshall’s favorable ruling toward them in the *Worcester v. Georgia* Supreme Court case. As chief executive it was his constitutional responsibility to uphold federal laws.

- **Nullification** In 1828 Congress passed what became known in the South as the “Tariff of Abominations,” a very protective tax that was very high on some imports and lower on others. The bill was actually a political ploy by Jackson supporters to embroil President Adams in a political controversy. Never one to tolerate legislation that he believed violated states’ rights (especially those of his home state, South Carolina), Senator John C. Calhoun cited the argument (known as *interposition*) that if a state believed the federal government had exceeded its authority, it could object to the government’s acts and actions. Although at one time Jackson’s vice president, Calhoun and Jackson were soon at odds over the tariff and other issues relating to states’ rights. At an 1832 dinner celebrating the anniversary of the birth of President Jefferson and attended by leaders of the Democratic Party, including Jackson and Calhoun, President Jackson toasted, “Our Federal Union—it must be preserved.” To which Calhoun responded, “The Union—next to our liberty the most dear. . . .” One of Calhoun’s more radical solutions to the prevailing political animosities between the North and South was the antiquated notion of a *concurrent majority* to secure and maintain a balance between the political rights of the less populated (and therefore minority) South with those of the more populated North, even going so far as to consider a dual...
presidency. As if this was not enough, Calhoun declared in his *South Carolina Exposition* (1828) that state legislatures had the right to rule federal laws unconstitutional and to nullify those laws, which is exactly how the South Carolina legislature responded to the Tariff of 1828 and the only slightly lower tariff of 1832. In the eyes of Calhoun—and many others in the South—the Tariff gave too much preference to the budding northern industries and discriminated against the export-reliant South. Calhoun further reasoned that, if necessary, a state had the right to secede from a government that did not protect its interests. When Jackson became president, the tariff and nullification were still hot issues. Faced with South Carolina’s refusal to abide by federal law and threatened secession, Jackson warned that he would use the U.S. Army to invade the state. Not until Henry Clay worked out a compromise tariff, in 1833, did South Carolina rescind its nullification, thus preventing a showdown between Calhoun and the federal government. Jackson had shown that he would use all means at his disposal to enforce national law.

While President Jackson was redefining the role of the presidency, individuals in the North and West took it upon themselves to address the ills of the nation and reconstruct society according to their principles and ideas. Because of the rigid nature of southern society in the antebellum period, most of the reform movements that sprung up between the 1820s and 1850s did not find fertile ground in the South.

**GRASSROOTS MOVEMENTS IN THE AGE OF REFORM**

One of the ideological inspirations behind this desire to reform was the religious revivals that became popular at the turn of the century. Often women were at the center of these revivals, which were among the few opportunities they had to operate outside their clearly defined roles as wives and mothers. This was not the first time religious fervor of this magnitude erupted on the national scene. In the 1730s and 1740s, a New England reverend named Jonathan Edwards had preached that personal repentance and faith in Christ could lead to salvation. George Whitefield, an English preacher, traveled extensively throughout the colonies advocating personal repentance. In powerful and dramatic religious meetings throughout the colonies, “sinners” confessed their guilty ways and then repented in emotional outpourings of devotion. The impact of this, called the First Great Awakening, was a reduction in the influence of church leaders, for the individual could find salvation on his own, and it led to a schism within the Protestant Church. Newer sects such as Baptists and Methodists (the “New Lights”) emerged, only to be challenged by the older, more established (“Old Light”) churches such as the Anglicans.

The Second Great Awakening represented an individualistic and emotional reaction to the Enlightenment’s reliance on reason over faith, a decline in church attendance, and what many perceived as a decline in piety. Unlike its predecessor in the eighteenth century, religious camp meetings did not take firm hold in the South because the revivals included many women, and even some blacks, and because individualism was being promoted in a section of the country.
that had no tolerance for such ideas. Beginning around the turn of the century and peaking in the 1830s and 1840s, ministers preached “hellfire and brimstone” sermons (in areas that became known as “burned over districts”). Participants were swept into powerful and emotional states in which they hoped to find repentance and salvation. Leading the way in this religious revival was Charles Grandison Finney. An abolitionist, Finney preached that through good works and deeds, individuals could find salvation, not only for themselves, but also for the nation. In this way then there is a connection between the influence of the Second Great Awakening and the fervency of reform in the antebellum period.

The secular intellectual foundation of the reform spirit had its origins in large part in the ideas of Immanuel Kant. In his *Critique of Pure Reason* (1781), the German scholar raised doubts about the power of reason. Those who accepted this view, the romanticists, believed that while science can test hypotheses, individuals know their own reality through faith. The most significant expression of romanticism was the transcendentalist movement of New England. Advocates believed that one could “transcend” the limits of the intellect and strive for emotional understanding and unity with God without the assistance of organized religion. The transcendentalist movement provided intellectuals with a secular ideology that compelled individuals to scrutinize their own views and then to follow one’s conscience.

**AP Tip**

In constructing an essay, how does one make connections between events, movements, and effects and the intellectual origins that shaped them? Often students will write about the philosophical or ideological influences of a period separate from what was actually happening at that time. A more effective and analytical approach is to use the ideas to explain motivations and causation. For example, in making a connection between the Second Great Awakening, transcendentalism, and romanticism, and the reform spirit of the antebellum period, you might assert that these movements asked individuals to get in touch with their own emotions rather than their sense of reason. Thus, while an individual in the antebellum era might present a reasonable economic and social justification for the existence of slavery, one responding to emotional visions of enslavement and degradation might very well come to the conclusion that the institution of slavery was simply barbaric.

Around the same time, American artists who were popularizing landscape painting, known as the Hudson River School, sought to evoke emotional responses to the beauty of the United States as a “chosen nation.” Literary figures also spread the transcendentalist message across the nation in such important works as Henry David Thoreau’s *Walden* and Ralph Waldo Emerson’s *Nature*. Speaking for those attempting to better their society, Emerson asked: “What is man born for but to be a reformer, a remaker of what man has made?”
The following were major reform movements:

- **Women's rights** The women's rights movement emerged as a result of shared discontent by those who no longer tolerated subjugation—their own and that of the slave. Led by Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Lucretia Mott, among others, women's rights advocates met at Seneca Falls, New York, in 1848. There they expressed in the “Declaration of Rights Sentiments” their demand to be enfranchised. Later their agenda included attaining women's property rights. Throughout the antebellum period women's rights activists were also intimately involved in the abolitionist movement. Unfortunately, women would have to wait until 1919 to vote in federal elections. Even the Fourteenth Amendment provided only for universal male suffrage.

- **Abolitionist movement** Though the international slave trade had been abolished in 1808—the earliest possible date allowed by the Constitution—the institution of slavery had only become more entrenched in the economic, political, and social make-up of the South. Hoping to bring an end to the horrors of enslavement, major abolitionist leaders included Theodore Weld, Frederick Douglass, Harriet Tubman, John Brown, and William Lloyd Garrison. The latter's newspaper, The Liberator, was influential in abolitionist circles. The movement itself was divided in many ways, however, weakening its effectiveness. Some cried for the transport of freed slaves back to Africa, others opposed slavery but embraced the racist idea that blacks should not be leaders, even in the abolitionist movement itself. As this movement gained steam, albeit slowly, in the North, southerners reacted strongly, calling for the federal government to strengthen its support of the institution that, they claimed, the Constitution protected.

- **Education reform** One of the most outspoken advocates of education reform was Horace Mann. His Massachusetts model was the basis of a tax-supported public school system.

- **Mental health** Outraged at the barbaric treatment of patients in mental health facilities, Dorothea Dix led the way to better treatment of those afflicted with mental illnesses.

- **Prison reform** Humiliation, physical abuse, and neglect were common practices used to maintain order and discipline in prisons (as they were in mental health institutions). Reformers sought more humane measures through discipline and the moral improvement of inmates, a sort of nineteenth-century attempt at rehabilitation.

- **Social welfare** These reformers attempted to confront the adverse effects of urbanization and industrialization on the working class.

- **Trade unionism** Supporters attempted to organize workers in order to combat exploitative conditions and wages.

- **Reform of the U.S. policy toward Native Americans** Some favored assimilation, others supported autonomy for Native American tribes, most notably former president John Quincy Adams.

- **Utopian societies** By establishing experimental societies, supporters of utopianism believed they could further their own moral and spiritual development through cooperative communities. Some utopian societies were religious and economic in nature (The Harmonists, Amana Colony, and Brook Farm). Others followed a
particular leader (Robert Owens’s New Harmony). A third type was based purely on a religious model (Shakers, Oneda Community).

- **The temperance movement** This movement was led by those who believed that alcohol was interfering with the political and social development of the nation.

- **Anti-immigration movements** While reformers were finding ways to expand democracy for the citizens of the United States, the nativist movement was organized to keep foreigners out. Nativists believed that the customs, traditions, and values of American society were being compromised by the arrival in large numbers of Irish and German immigrants. The nativists reached their political zenith in the 1850s when they formed the Know-Nothing, or American, Party. It was able to gain control in several states but died out by the late 1850s. Nativist sentiment toward immigrants, however, would continue to be an ongoing feature of U.S. history.

**Political and Economic Accomplishments in the Age of Reform**

The political accomplishments in this period were significant. In many states, especially in the new western states, property qualifications for voting and holding office were abolished. The method of selecting presidential candidates was democratized in various states; the people were given the power to select the candidates, effectively doing away with “King Caucus,” which was a major issue in the 1828 campaign. Many more public offices were elective rather than appointive, making public officials more accountable to the electorate. The spoils system and rotation in office were adopted.

There were economic accomplishments, too. One of the primary economic objectives was to break the bonds between entrenched capitalists and certain members of the political hierarchy, thereby putting an end to privilege and monopoly. In other words, there was an effort to create a competitive economy based on equal opportunity. These ideas especially represented the wishes of expectant and small capitalists. One way to accomplish this was to enact incorporation laws. In the past, a corporation charter had to be granted before one could start a business. If the business posed a threat to entrenched capitalists, the charter application was often refused. With incorporation laws, a person needed only to fulfill the criteria for a charter to be granted. One case in particular expresses the change in governmental attitude in this period. The Charles River Bridge case shows the change in governmental attitude in this period. In the late eighteenth century, Massachusetts chartered the Charles River Bridge Company to construct a bridge connecting Boston and Charlestown. The state gave permission to the bridge company to collect tolls for seventy years. In 1828 the state legislature chartered a second company to build a bridge adjacent to the original one. The use of this second bridge was free. The Charles River Bridge Company sued on the grounds that the construction of the new bridge was a contract violation the company had with the state. Earlier, in the Dartmouth College case, the Marshall Court had ruled in favor of the sanctity of contracts. In the Charles River Bridge case, Chief Justice Taney ruled...
against the Charles River Bridge Company for two reasons: the old charter stunted future infrastructural development, and it represented a monopoly. Yet another accomplishment was the enactment in many states of stay laws.

In some areas, accomplishments were more limited. For example, low-priced federal land was not always available. A national bankruptcy law was not enacted; it would be realized at a later date. And while trade unions were formed, raising the consciousness of laborers to their plight, real gains would not occur until much later in the nation’s history.

**Reform Deepens Sectional Divisions**

As the Age of Reform shaped the West and North, the South remained for the most part traditional and unindustrialized. After visiting the United States, Alexis de Tocqueville contrasted the North and South in his major work, *Democracy in America*. One was vibrant with business and activity, the other, considerably less so. In some ways, the period of reform that shaped the nation in the antebellum years served to widen the chasm between the South and the rest of the nation. Cracks in the sense of nationalism that had pervaded the Era of Good Feelings emerged in 1820. When the slave-owning inhabitants of Missouri Territory petitioned for statehood, the North—increasingly sympathetic to abolitionist appeals— balked at the upset in the balance between the number of free and slave states. The Missouri Compromise, hammered out by Henry Clay and others in Congress, seemed to establish a truce that would last, but only forty years later the nation would become embroiled in conflict. Though few would have predicted it in the 1820s, the chasm that had developed between the North and South—owing to growing disparities in their cultural, political, and economic interests—would lead to the bloodiest war the nation has ever fought. Brought to a head by clashes over the role of the national government and the expansion of the United States (bringing with it questions about the expansion of slavery), armed conflict seems today to have been almost inevitable.

**Content Review Questions**

1. The spoils system  
   (A) was condemned by Jackson and his supporters for being undemocratic.  
   (B) prevented women, Native Americans, and blacks from voting.  
   (C) was a derisive term used by opponents of the Tariff of 1828.  
   (D) is a term that is synonymous with rotation in office.

2. The origins of the Age of Reform can be found in all of the following EXCEPT  
   (A) the defeat of the South and slavery in the Civil War.  
   (B) the democratic influences of the American Revolution.  
   (C) the Jeffersonian Democratic-Republicans.  
   (D) the Antifederalists of the 1780s and 1790s.
3. The “kitchen cabinet”
(A) was the name given to Jackson’s political opponents.
(B) was a derisive term for men who advocated for women’s rights.
(C) was a term used to attack critics of Jackson’s position on the Bank.
(D) was the nickname of Jackson’s unofficial advisers.

4. Jackson’s Maysville Road veto was an opportunity for him to
(A) express his disapproval of federal efforts related to infrastructural development.
(B) attack opponents of his policy to relocate Native Americans.
(C) disregard John Marshall’s ruling on contracts.
(D) advocate for the construction of a National Road.

5. The leader of South Carolina’s opposition to the “Tariff of Abominations” was
(A) Martin Van Buren.
(B) Henry Clay.
(C) William Lloyd Garrison.
(D) John C. Calhoun.

6. Jackson was embroiled in a controversy with Nicholas Biddle over the
(A) construction of the Maysville Road.
(B) construction of the Charles River Bridge.
(C) resettlement of Native Americans.
(D) Bank of the United States.

7. The specie circular
(A) sought to address the problems associated with the Panic of 1819.
(B) was a primary factor in the development of the New Market economy.
(C) was nullified by the South Carolina legislature.
(D) was an attempt by Jackson to remedy the problems associated with the destruction of the bank.

8. William Lloyd Garrison is most associated with which of the following reform movements?
(A) Prison reform
(B) Reforming mental health facilities
(C) Abolition of slavery
(D) Education reform

9. The Seneca Falls Convention is associated with which of the following reform movements?
(A) Women’s rights
(B) Abolition
(C) Education reform
(D) Opposition to Jackson’s policies toward Native Americans

10. Which of the following is FALSE regarding the Second Great Awakening?
(A) It promoted individualism.
(B) It was not experienced by southerners.
(C) It placed reason over faith.
(D) It challenged the Enlightenment’s reliance on reason.
11. The Anti-Masonic Party
   (A) strongly supported the protective tariff as essential in
       protecting the nation’s industries.
   (B) embraced those who sought to promote religious and moral
       reforms in government and society.
   (C) nominated Andrew Jackson because he was a strong opponent
       of the Masons.
   (D) was the only third party in U.S. history to win a presidential
       election.

12. A primary cause of the panic of 1837 was
   (A) considerable overseas competition.
   (B) a depression in Europe that soon spread to the United States.
   (C) rampant financial speculation.
   (D) the hard money policy adopted by the Bank of the United
       States.

13. The two major political parties in the 1840s, the Whigs and the
    Democrats, found common ground in their
   (A) support for a high protective tariff.
   (B) support for federally funded internal improvements.
   (C) support for a strong central government and limited powers to
       the states.
   (D) historical roots in Jeffersonian republicanism.

14. The so-called corrupt bargain of the 1824 presidential election was
    a factor in the election of
   (A) John Quincy Adams.
   (B) Andrew Jackson.
   (C) Henry Clay.
   (D) John C. Calhoun.

15. In response to the passage of the 1824 tariff, referred to by
    opponents as the Tariff of Abominations,
   (A) South Carolina seceded from the Union.
   (B) every southern state refused to abide by it; consequently, it was
       repealed.
   (C) New Englanders stated it was detrimental to their business
       interests.
   (D) John C. Calhoun wrote *The South Carolina Exposition* in order
       to articulate the right of nullification.
Short-Answer Questions

Question 1 is based on the following two images.

1. Use the images above and your knowledge of history to answer Parts a, b, and c.
   (a) Briefly explain the point of view of the cartoonist in the first image.
   (b) Briefly describe the efforts to remove Native Americans from their homelands during the first half of the nineteenth century.
(c) Give ONE piece of evidence justifying or condemning the actions of Andrew Jackson and others who supported Indian Removal in the first half of the nineteenth century.

**Question 2 is based on the following passage.**

"The decision on the system of policy embraced in this debate, involves the future destiny of this growing country. One way...it would lead to deep and general distress; general bankruptcy and national ruin; the other, the existing prosperity will be preserved and augmented, and the nation will continue rapidly to advance in wealth, power and greatness."

Henry Clay, Speech on the American System, 1832

2. Based on the passage above and your knowledge of U.S. history, complete the following tasks:
   (a) Briefly summarize the American System.
   (b) Explain Henry Clay's point of view in reference to the American System.
   (c) Describe how Americans reacted to the proposition of the American System in ONE of the following regions:
       The Northeast
       The West
       The South

**Long Essay Questions**

1. To what extent can the period from the 1820 to 1850 be characterized as an expansion of democratic ideals?

2. Were the grassroots movements in the Age of Reform successful in achieving their goals? Evaluate TWO of the following:
   - women's rights
   - abolition
   - public education
   - prison reform

**Answers**

**CONTENT REVIEW QUESTIONS**


3. (D) Jackson was suspicious of "experts" and professionals and relied on editors of pro-Democratic newspapers for political
advice (this material does not appear in the 15th ed./16th ed., p. 253; Learning Objective POL-2).

4. (A) Jackson claimed that since the Maysville Road lay entirely within one state, the federal government should not be responsible for the cost of its construction. This provided him an opportunity to challenge federally funded infrastructural development (The American Pageant, 15th ed., p. 260/16th ed., p. 261; Learning Objective POL-5).


6. (D) Biddle was the president of the bank, the institution that Jackson destroyed (The American Pageant, 15th ed., p. 259/16th ed., p. 261; Learning Objective WXT-2).

7. (D) Jackson’s Specie Circular attempted to address the economic problems caused by his destruction of the bank, but it only aggravated the situation (The American Pageant, 15th ed., p. 262/16th ed., p. 264; Learning objective WXT-2).

8. (C) Garrison was the publisher of The Liberator, an abolitionist newspaper and one of the leading proponents of the abolition of slavery (The American Pageant, 15th ed., pp. 350–353/16th ed., p. 353; Learning Objective CUL-5).


10. (C) The Second Great Awakening placed faith over reason, which was the cornerstone of Enlightenment ideas (The American Pageant, 15th ed., p. 308/16th ed., p. 310; Learning Objective CUL-5).

11. (B) Believing elitism in government (and secret societies such as the Masons) to be anti-American, the Anti-Masons also attracted evangelicals who viewed politics as a means to incorporate religious and moral principles into U.S. culture and government (The American Pageant, 15th ed., p. 261/16th ed., p. 262; Learning Objective POL-2).

12. (C) Stimulated by the infusion of money into the nation’s economy through “wildcat banks,” rampant speculation, especially in land, led to a downturn in the economy that in turn precipitated a financial panic (The American Pageant, 15th ed., p. 264/16th ed., p. 266; Learning Objective WXT-2).

13. (D) Though both parties identified with various aspects of Jeffersonian republicanism, they strongly differed on key political issues such as the Bank of the United States and the


15. (D) Claiming that a state had the authority to nullify a federal law, Calhoun wrote *The South Carolina Exposition* to articulate this principle of states’ rights (*The American Pageant*, 15th ed., p. 255/16th ed., p. 257; Learning Objective POL-5).

**SHORT-ANSWER QUESTIONS**

1. The cartoonist believes that Jackson’s claim to have compassion for the Native Americans is hypocritical, given his actions. You might reference the legal battles between the Cherokee Nation and the state of Georgia, or the eventual Trail of Tears (pictured in the second image). Key to a strong answer to Part c is an understanding of the interests of the South in the Cherokee’s land, and Jackson’s claim to represent the “people.” Who did Americans mean when they talked about “the people” in the 1830s? What might have happened to the Native Americans if they had not been removed from Georgia?

2. The three-pronged American System sought to strengthen and unify the nation’s economy through the creation of a stronger tariff, the use of the national bank, and the development of a national network of transportation infrastructure. Clay believed that without this system, the nation’s economy would ultimately fail because the three major regions of the nation could not stand alone economically. Each region of the nation, however, had its own interests. The South, in particular, would have benefited very little from the system Clay proposed.

**LONG ESSAY QUESTIONS**

1. You should address the nature of reform that emanated from both the federal government and grassroots movements. To support the claim that Jackson was the inspiration for this reform period, point out that he represented the common man, favored states’ rights over the power of the federal government, and freed up Native American land to be used by whites.

To refute the claim, you can point out that Jackson was a member of the planter-slaveholding class whose interests were not with the common man at all. He was not supportive of some reforms, such as the women’s rights movement; opposed others, such as abolition; or was unaware of a number of reforms. His spoils system/rotation in office approach to government had its supporters and detractors. (Historical Thinking Skill I-3: Periodization)
2. Your essay should first take up the objective conditions—how things were—that existed in the antebellum period, such as abolition and women's rights, then explain the accomplishments or failures of the three reform movements you have selected. For example, while women organized at the Seneca Falls Conference to create a list of demands and expectations, the Cult of Domesticity was merely replaced with Republican Motherhood in this period. Women were still relegated to second-class status. (Historical Thinking Skill IV-8: Interpretation)
Period 5: 1844–1877

Manifest Destiny, Civil War, and Reconstruction

Between 1844 and 1877 the United States experienced significant and formative changes that shaped the future of the nation. Beginning with the election of President Polk in 1844, the United States focused on completing its territorial and cultural expansion to the Pacific Ocean. Although this brought glory and enhanced status to the nation, the unintended consequences and deepening sectional tensions incurred by this expansion set the nation on the path toward civil war.

Some historians refer to the Civil War as the “Second Revolution” because this war brought meaningful political, economic, and social change to the United States. Understanding the impact of this conflict is crucial to comprehending the course of the nation both before and after the war.

Although the Civil War ultimately became a war about slavery, there were no easy solutions for the newly freed African Americans when the war ended. The African American freedom struggle is, in fact, as old as the nation. Beginning in the middle of the Civil War and ending in the late 1870s, the Reconstruction era remains a controversial topic in U.S. history with different schools of thought characterizing the era in radically different ways. Whatever one’s view, it is important to understand that Reconstruction was more than a civil rights movement. It also redefined and re-created the South, expanded capitalism, and temporarily led to the rise and division of one political party, the breakdown of another, and set in motion forces that would have long-term consequences for the nation. What is more, it helped determine the nature of the American nation-state.

**KEY CONCEPTS FROM THE COLLEGE BOARD**

5.1 The United States became more connected with the world as it pursued an expansionist foreign policy in the Western Hemisphere and emerged as the destination for many migrants from other countries.

5.2 Intensified by expansion and deepening regional divisions, debates over slavery and other economic, cultural, and political issues led the nation into civil war.

5.3 The Union victory in the Civil War and the contested Reconstruction of the South settled the issues of slavery and secession but left unresolved many questions about the power of the federal government and citizenship rights.
The American Civil War: 1860–1865

To understand this nation's history, you must understand the causes and effects of the American Civil War (1861–1865). History writer Shelby Foote even referred to the Civil War as the "crossroads of our being." The Civil War radically altered economic, political, and social life throughout the country, with no one, regardless of regional or political affiliation, untouched by the deadliest war the nation has ever seen.

**Key Concepts**

- As the nation expanded, sectional tensions and the slavery issue intensified.
- Various tensions within and between regions came together to cause the Civil War.
- A fundamental disagreement between Northerners and Southerners about the Constitution contributed to the Civil War.
- Slavery became a crisis in the context of western expansion.
- Compromise on slavery, dating from the writing of the Constitution, became harder and eventually impossible by 1860.

The Civil War is discussed in depth in *The American Pageant*, 15th and 16th eds., Chapters 16, 18–21.

Many social scientists view the Civil War as a watershed in American historical development, for it shaped the future of the nation in a number of ways:

- The war was a catalyst in the industrialization of the United States, and the industrial capitalist class became dominant.
- The federal government was deemed paramount in relation to the states.
- Race and class relations were profoundly affected by the war.
- The war further stimulated and accelerated industrialization.
The war forever ended the institution of slavery.

* Asked about the causes of the Civil War, everyone talks about slavery. Of course, slavery was the fundamental cause, but there were other causes too. A deeper understanding of the Civil War reveals other tensions in this nation prior to the war, though all were in one way or another affected by the slavery issue. Some of these tensions came from regional differences, some from political differences.

**AP Tip**

There are usually numerous causes that explain why an event happened. Some are more important than others, but an understanding of the many causes will allow you to write a fuller free-response or DBQ essay, in addition to scoring well on the multiple-choice section of the AP exam. If you are explaining why the Civil War occurred, a response such as “To free the slaves” would be seriously inadequate.

**MANIFEST DESTINY FULFILLED: PRESIDENT JAMES K. POLK AND TERRITORIAL EXPANSION**

When James K. Polk was inaugurated president in March 1845, he had several foreign policy objectives in mind: the settlement of the Oregon boundary dispute with Britain, which had almost led to military hostilities in the 1839 Aroostook War; the acquisition of California; and the incorporation of Texas into the Union. He achieved all of these goals. John Tyler had already paved the way for Texas statehood, and despite strong opposition from antislavery forces, Texas was admitted on December 29, 1845. As for the Oregon question, it was resolved at the same time relations with Mexico were unraveling. In the Webster-Ashburton Treaty (1842), the United States and Britain had settled the boundary dispute between Maine and Canada and also agreed to suppress the slave trade. Soon, however, they were again bickering over the Oregon Territory’s northern border. Initially the Americans offered the 49th parallel as the dividing line; that was rejected by the British. Despite bellicose outbursts by the Americans such as “Fifty-four forty or fight,” Britain was in no mood for another war with the United States. In the Oregon Treaty (1846), the nations agreed to settle the dispute peacefully by extending the Oregon Territory–Canadian border along the 49th parallel.

**THE MEXICAN-AMERICAN WAR**

The fragile relationship between the United States and Mexico deteriorated even further when the United States formally annexed Texas in 1845. Not satisfied with acquiring this enormous territory, Polk also wanted to acquire the California–New Mexico region as well. After the failure of the Slidell mission, an attempt to purchase the territory from Mexico, Polk resorted to a decidedly more aggressive
and controversial posture; he sent troops into the disputed area near the Nueces River and the Rio Grande. Many Americans and their political representatives believed the area belonged to the Mexicans, but when hostilities erupted, the United States declared war on Mexico. Polk claimed that Mexican forces had crossed the border to attack Americans, but this was never verified. Regardless, Polk had his war. Although the U.S. Army was supported by poorly trained and ill-disciplined volunteer troops, some of whom committed atrocities in the course of the war, U.S. forces had taken control of the entire Southwest by 1847. Several other American military successes followed before General Zachary Taylor’s army defeated Santa Anna’s force near Buena Vista. Taylor then proceeded to take Monterrey but was replaced by President Polk for disobeying orders. (Taylor returned home a hero and later became president.) The new U.S. commander, General Winfield Scott, captured Vera Cruz and followed a short time later with a victory in the Battle of Cerro Gordo. More victories followed before the Americans launched their final attack on Mexico City. After first taking the mountain fortress of Chapultepec, the Americans captured the Mexican capital. Santa Anna fled, and the war ended. The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo (1848) included the following provisions:

- Mexico recognized the American claims to the area north of the Rio Grande.
- Mexico ceded California and New Mexico to the United States in return for $15 million.
- The United States agreed to assume approximately $3 million in debts Mexico owed to American citizens.

President Polk was not satisfied with the terms of the treaty. He believed the United States should have received even more territory from the defeated Mexicans. But he would have to settle for the one-half million square miles of territory (one million if Texas is included in the tally) taken from the Mexicans. In his one term as president, Polk had given meaning to Washington’s reference to the United States as a “rising empire.”

**THE EFFECTS OF EXPANSION**

As the United States gained territory and expanded westward, debates over who would control the new land intensified in Congress and among the people. The debate over slavery in the new territory flared with the introduction of the Wilmot Proviso which, if passed, would have prohibited slavery in all territory acquired after 1846—though it was passed by the House of Representatives, it never got out of the more sectionally balanced Senate. The new land, though beneficial to the nation in many ways, exacerbated already existing tensions that leaders spent years attempting to eradicate through compromise.

**REGIONAL ECONOMIC DIFFERENCES**

The types of economies that developed in the three regions of the United States in the first half of the nineteenth century had a powerful
impact on political goals and decisions. The South grew important cash crops such as cotton, tobacco, sugar, and rice. The North was far more industrialized than the South or West, having shifted from mercantile capitalism. At the same time the West shifted from subsistence farming to commercial agriculture and produced more foodstuffs, such as corn and wheat, than the other two regions. The North came to rely more and more on western foodstuffs. In return, westerners became consumers of northern industrial and commercial products. By the 1850s the North and West were economically joined, and the North’s economy was rapidly evolving into a modern-day industrial and commercial system.

- **Characteristics of the North’s Economy**
  - Banking
  - Shipping
  - Insurance
  - Small and large business ownership—creating a middle, or bourgeois, class
  - Some agriculture—both commercial and subsistence farming
  - Availability of wage laborers

- **Political Objectives of the North**
  - A tariff, a tax on imports to protect the North’s growing industries
  - Federal aid in the development of infrastructure—those things necessary for business to flourish, such as roads, canals, bridges, and railroads
  - A loose immigration policy, which would provide cheap labor
  - Availability of free or cheap land in the West for settlement and investment opportunities, creating new markets for Northern manufactured goods
  - The containment of slavery

In the South, cash crops such as rice and tobacco were grown extensively. Yet no commodity was more important to the South than cotton. One southern political leader was so certain that the rest of the nation depended on the South’s cotton production that he declared, “Cotton is King!”

Cotton was one of the most important commodities in the world in the nineteenth century. Factories in the Northern states as well as European countries such as Britain and France needed cotton for their important textile industries. The most powerful producers of cotton in the South were the planter-slaveholders (owners of a hundred slaves or more, sometimes thousands). This class, a fraction of the entire Southern population, was politically, economically, and socially important. Some slaveholders owned only a few slaves. The majority of the Southern population was either subsistence farmers, who grew just enough food to sustain themselves, or yeoman farmers, who grew and sold surplus crops. As much as 25 percent of the South’s white population owned slaves on the eve of the Civil War.

Many of the whites who owned no slaves resented the planter-slaveholding class. However, their fear of economic loss if slavery was
abolished as well as their belief that whites are superior to blacks were powerful forces in maintaining the status quo. The planters made all of the political and economic decisions. Many nonslaveholders, with dreams of improving their lot and owning slaves, supported what many began calling the "peculiar institution." For most, however, preserving the planter-slaveholder’s dominance of the South was not a reason to wage war.

- Characteristics of the South’s Economy
  - Dependent on the plantation system, the center of economic, political, cultural, and social life in the South
  - Slave labor, the dominant labor force in the South producing the greatest value in the region
  - A majority of the white population engaged in subsistence farming
  - Yeoman farmers, who owned small- or medium-sized commercial farms, a small proportion of the white population
  - A small urban bourgeois (or middle) class

- Political Objectives of the South
  - Low tariffs because of the planter class’s dependence on trade with Britain—cotton in return for consumer goods
  - The expansion of slavery for political, economic, and ideological reasons
  - Opposition to a cheap public land policy, which would force the planter-slaveholder to compete politically, economically, and ideologically with the independent farmer in the West
  - Make it far less difficult for the planter-slaveholder class to exert control over new territories
  - Expose poor whites and even slaves to the capitalist and democratic views expressed by Northern emigrants to the new territories

**TENSIONS OVER POLITICAL THEORIES**

Northerners believed in the *contract theory* of government, whereas Southerners believed in the *compact theory*. This explains why Southerners believed they had the right to secede from the Union and why Northerners were willing to prevent them from doing so. Here are the basic features of each theory:

**THE COMPACT THEORY**

- The states, not the people, created the national government.
- The laws of the states are supreme when in conflict with the laws and actions of the federal government. For example, in the antebellum North, personal liberty laws were passed to counteract federal fugitive slave laws.
- The states can declare the laws of the federal government null and void if they deem it necessary and appropriate.
- The logical conclusion of this theory if taken to its extreme is secession.
Examples of the compact theory include

- The Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions (1798)
- The Hartford Convention (1815)
- The South Carolina Exposition and Protest (1828)
- The Ordinance of Nullification (1832)

**THE CONTRACT THEORY**

- The people, not the states, created the Union.
- The federal government is supreme.
- Thus, federal laws and actions take precedence over state laws and actions.

Examples of the contract theory include

- The various decisions made by the Marshall Court
- John Locke’s *Second Treatise on Government*
- *Texas v. White* (1869)

**ATTITUDES IN THE NORTH AND SOUTH**

In the first half of the nineteenth century, many Northerners were content to allow slavery to reside in the Southern states. Only when Southern leaders sought to expand slavery did many Northerners become concerned. Most Northerners, however, were not necessarily morally opposed to slavery. After all, the ancient Greeks and Romans owned slaves. Even the Bible seemed to justify its existence. Politically and economically, however, the expansion of slavery worried many Northern citizens and their political leaders. Did it matter if it spread to Kansas, Oregon, or California? Absolutely! Slavery was at the root of a social, economic, political, and cultural system that many Northerners disdained, partly because it was antithetical to the values of a vibrant, expanding capitalist system. Many Northerners tended to see the South as static. There was little social or economic mobility, little industry, and therefore few opportunities for wage laborers. For these reasons and because land was available out West, many immigrants avoided the South and settled in one of the other two regions.

Southern political leaders, on the other hand, ironically referred to Northern wage earners as “wage slaves.” To them, the North was a mess. Northern cities were congested, and workers earned poverty wages and worked and lived in dismal conditions. Southerners saw slavery as a paternalistic system that provided slaves with the basic needs of life. Furthermore, they argued, a slave was an investment; a Northern wage earner could be replaced. Although their owners often horribly mistreated slaves, Southern apologists claimed the opposite was true. Slaves, they maintained, were too valuable to mistreat. On the eve of the Civil War, a prime field slave could cost upward of $2,000, a substantial sum of money in the mid-nineteenth century.

Containing slavery became important to Northerners, who believed that as slavery expanded, Northern industrial capitalism would be limited. In fact, a new political party emerged in the 1850s, the Republicans, whose political goals were “free labor, free soil, free men.” The industrial capitalists, owners of the North’s factories and
workshops, had the most to gain by containing the spread of slavery and expanding capitalism. For example, as capitalism expanded, they hoped to expand the labor pool (by supporting a loose immigration policy), which in turn would drive down the wages they would have to pay to workers. Just as the planters dominated the South, the industrial capitalists profoundly influenced the North’s political, economic, and cultural system. What is more, their political and economic objectives often clashed with those of the South’s planter class. In the South, militant political leaders, referred to as fire-eaters, chafed at the notion of containing slavery, let alone abolishing it entirely.

Helping to shape the debate on the containment of slavery were the abolitionists, whose ranks were made up of whites and blacks. Unlike many who supported the containment of slavery—some of them racists—abolitionists sought to eliminate slavery. Some would simply free the slaves. Others, like Abraham Lincoln in the 1850s, sought to send freed slaves to Africa (the American Colonization Society). Whereas some abolitionists sought the gradual abolition of slavery, others (among them Frederick Douglass, William Lloyd Garrison, Harriet Tubman, John Brown, and Sojourner Truth) favored an immediate end—peaceful or violent—to the institution.

**AP Tip**

A good way to organize your understanding of the causes of the war is to consider if the war was reconcilable or irreconcilable. In other words, could it have been prevented? The fact that it did happen does not mean that it had to happen. For example, some historians claim that a generation of bumbling politicians in the 1850s could not match the compromises reached by Clay, Calhoun, and Webster prior to 1850. Other historians contend that fire-eaters in the South and radical abolitionists in the North exacerbated the relationship between more moderate politicians, making compromise impossible. Still others argue that a dual civilization—the South based on a culture of slavery, the North on a culture of wage labor—could no longer be sustained under the same government. Lincoln may have had something like this in mind when he declared, “A house divided against itself cannot stand. I believe this government cannot endure permanently half slave and half free. It will become all one thing or all the other.”

**THE BREAKDOWN OF COMPROMISE**

Throughout the first half of the nineteenth century, various differences between the North and South were resolved. But the relationship deteriorated over the issue of territorial expansion. By 1860 all attempts at compromise failed, and within a year the nation was in the midst of the bloody Civil War that would cost more than 600,000 Americans their lives. You need to understand the important decisions
that shaped the political debate over such issues as the tariff and the expansion and containment of slavery. These include the following:

- **The compromises at the Constitutional Convention** (See *The American Pageant*, 15th and 16th eds., Chapter 9.)

- **The Missouri Compromise (1820)** This compromise was an attempt to maintain the balance in the Senate between slave and free states. In a compromise worked out by Senator Henry Clay, Maine entered the Union as a free state while Missouri came in as a slave state. Slavery north of latitude 36°30’ was prohibited. War was averted for forty years and thus for a later generation to fight, but the damage to American nationalism helped to erode the so-called Era of Good Feelings.

- **The Nullification Crisis and the Compromise of 1833** In 1828 Congress passed a tariff that protected Northern industries but consequently drove up domestic prices. This new bill outraged Southerners, who began calling it the Tariff of Abominations. In particular, South Carolina, citing the doctrine of nullification, sought to challenge the new bill. The issue of nullification was eventually taken up in the Senate in the famous Webster–Hayne debate. When a new protective tariff was added in 1832, South Carolina, under the leadership of John C. Calhoun, its primary spokesperson and, at the time, vice president, voted to nullify the new tariff. President Jackson, though an advocate of states’ rights, threatened to invade South Carolina if its leaders refused to participate in the collection of tariff duties. He even threatened to “hang the first man of them I can get my hands on to the first tree I can find.” (Jackson just may have done it.) After Calhoun’s resignation, the crisis ended when Congress passed a bill that reduced the protective tariff the following year. No one was hanged, but South Carolina became the hotbed of southern dissent.

- **The Compromise of 1850** This crisis might never have occurred had, say, coal and not gold been discovered in California. By 1850 over 100,000 hoping-to-get-rich quick settlers had poured into California, and it was not long before they asked that California be admitted into the Union as a free state. Though he was a slaveholder, President Taylor supported California’s admission. Not surprisingly, southern fire-eaters threatened to pull their states out of the Union. Enter Henry Clay. His compromise, which was eventually signed into law by the new president, Millard Fillmore, included the following features:
  - California would enter the Union as a free state.
  - The more stringent Fugitive Slave Act of 1850 had guarantees that the law would be rigidly enforced.
  - The slave trade, but not the ownership of slaves, was banned in Washington, D.C.
  - The land taken from Mexico (Mexican Cession) would be divided into two new territories, New Mexico and Utah. Both territories would determine the status of slavery in their areas by popular sovereignty.

- **The Kansas-Nebraska Act (1854)** Senator Stephen A. Douglas (Illinois’s “Little Giant”) favored the passage of a bill that would route a major railroad line through Illinois (and consequently drive up the value of his own landholdings in the region). Even though
this would stimulate the further settlement of the West, not everyone was convinced that the plan had merit. In order to get the bill passed, Douglas sought out Southern allies in Congress, and a deal was struck. Little did they know that their compromise, the Kansas-Nebraska Act, would touch off intense sectional hostilities. The features of the bill included the following:

- The Nebraska Territory would be divided into the Kansas and Nebraska territories.
- Settlers in those areas would determine the status of slavery—popular sovereignty.

Although the bill sounded reasonable to Southerners, it was the North’s turn to be outraged. Both territories were located north of the 36°30’ line, which the Missouri Compromise had closed to slavery. Still, the bill passed both houses of Congress and was signed by President Pierce. So angered were Northerners and Westerners by the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act that they began forming a political party that they hoped would take a stronger stand against the South’s “slavocracy.” Before long the Republican Party was a major player in American politics.

- The Dred Scott decision (1857) The U.S. Supreme Court did not play a significant role in the conflict over slavery until Dred Scott compelled it to act. Scott was a slave who had been taken from Missouri, a slave state, to Wisconsin, a free territory, by his owner. He resided there for two years until he was returned to Missouri. Scott sued for his freedom, contending that his residence in a free state made him a free citizen. Unfortunately for Scott, the chief justice of the Supreme Court was Roger Taney, a pro-Southern Democrat. Under Taney, the Court’s ruling went well beyond the underlying principle of the case:

- Because Congress did not have the power to deny a citizen the right to his or her property without due process—and Scott, as a slave, was considered property—Congress could not prevent a slaveholder from taking his property to a free state. Thus the Missouri Compromise was invalid. There were now no limits to the potential expansion of slavery. Not satisfied with this decision, the Court went further.
- The Constitution had not provided citizenship rights for blacks. Therefore, Scott had no constitutional right to sue his master in federal court.

The South was overjoyed by the Supreme Court’s ruling. The North was outraged, again. Northern Democrats like Stephen Douglas found it increasingly difficult to reconcile their support of popular sovereignty with the Dred Scott decision. To more and more Northerners, the Republican Party seemed to represent their views best. The Republicans were a coalition of

- Free-Soilers, a political party formed in 1848 to represent western farmers by advocating a Homestead Law (cheap federal land for sale out West), internal improvements, and the containment of slavery
Northern capitalists, who favored a high protective tariff, internal improvements, liberal immigration laws, and a sound money and banking system
- Social reformers
- Abolitionists
- Northern Democrats who felt betrayed by their party’s support for the Kansas-Nebraska Act
- Members of the Whig Party who sought the containment of slavery
- Various labor groups in the North

Democrat James Buchanan defeated the first Republican presidential candidate, John C. Frémont, in the 1856 election. In the 1860 presidential race, the Republican candidate, a tall, lanky former Illinois congressman called Abe by his friends, would fare much better, though his election would convince the South to secede.

**THE ROAD TO WAR**

A series of events in the late-1850s seemed to propel the nation to war:
- **Ostend Manifesto** Southern-supported plan to take Cuba from Spain by force after Spain refused to sell the island to the United States due to fears of slave rebellion there. Northerners viewed the plan as an attempt to expand slavery beyond the U.S.’s borders.
- **“Bleeding Kansas”** This hostility in 1856 was a prelude to the full-scale war that would begin five years later. The conflict arose over whether Kansas would enter the Union as a free or slave state. (Keep in mind that the majority of antislavery forces in Kansas wanted to contain the spread of slavery, not end it.) Because popular sovereignty would decide the issue, it seemed that the majority of Kansas’s antislavery farmers would align Kansas with free states. Proslavery sympathizers in neighboring Missouri were not about to stand by while their neighbor cast its lot with the free states. Soon “border ruffians” crossed into Kansas with the intention of making it a slave state. In response, Northern opponents of slavery, like the New England Emigrant Society, began sending supporters to Kansas. Fighting soon erupted as advocates of slavery created a government in Lecompton, Kansas, and their opponents established an anti-slavery government in Topeka. Shortly thereafter, proslavery forces massacred citizens of the anti-slavery town of Lawrence. In retaliation, a violent abolitionist named John Brown organized his own massacre of proslavery advocates at Pottawatomie Creek. Democratic President Pierce’s decision to remain aloof from the events in Kansas further damaged what was left of his party’s cohesion. In the ensuing months it seemed as if Kansas would enter as a free state—that is, until the new president, James Buchanan, accepted the proslavery Lecompton Constitution, which would admit Kansas as a slave state. Some Democrats, Stephen Douglas among them, joined forces with Republicans in 1858 to oppose the Lecompton Constitution, and Kansas ultimately became a free state.
- **Lincoln-Douglas Debates (1858)** Having served only one term in the House, Lincoln challenged the nationally recognized Illinois senator Stephen Douglas in his campaign for reelection. Despite the
fact that Lincoln lost the election, the debates thrust him into the national spotlight, for Lincoln had found a responsive chord with opponents of slavery. Although no abolitionist himself, Lincoln’s rhetoric matched the sentiments of those who were opposed to the expansion of slavery as well as those who morally condemned it.

- **John Brown’s Harpers Ferry Raid (1859)** John Brown’s crusade to eradicate slavery was indeed noble, but his methods were violent. He believed that the planter-slaveholders who maintained a violent system of human ownership could be compelled to end slavery only through violent means. In what many consider a misguided attempt to start a slave rebellion, Brown and his supporters seized the federal arsenal at Harpers Ferry, Virginia (now West Virginia). Hoping that slaves would flock to his cause and take up arms, Brown was instead met by U.S. Army troops under the command of Colonel Robert E. Lee. Captured and ultimately hanged, Brown became a martyr to many Northerners, which in turn made Southerners suspect that Northerners were involved in or at least supportive of violent slave rebellions.

Though many did not know it then, one more significant event would shatter the Union. A slave revolt? Another bloody conflict like the one in Kansas? No. It was a presidential election that led to secession and civil war. The election of 1860 showed just how divided the nation was. Four candidates sought the presidency:

- The Republican candidate was Abraham Lincoln, whose major political platform was the containment of slavery.
- The Democrats split between a Northern candidate and a Southern candidate. The former, Stephen A. Douglas, continued to advocate popular sovereignty. The latter, John C. Breckinridge, opposed the containment of slavery.
- The Constitutional Unionists ran John Bell. His position was generally ambiguous, though preserving the Union seemed to be his primary goal.

Lincoln was elected despite the fact he received only about 39 percent of the popular vote. In most Southern states his name did not even appear on the ballot. Because Lincoln was determined to stop the spread of slavery, South Carolina believed its future in the federal Union was threatened: more and more new free states would dramatically tip the balance in Congress in the North’s favor. Shortly after Lincoln’s election, South Carolina seceded from the United States, followed by six other Deep South states.

The new Southern government, called the Confederate States of America, elected Jefferson Davis, a former secretary of war and U.S. senator, as its president, with former U.S. senator Alexander Stephens as vice president. The other Southern states waited to see if Lincoln would use force against South Carolina when he entered the White House in March 1861. In the meantime, the incumbent, James Buchanan, fretted and frowned and did nothing.

Lincoln had to wait nearly half a year after his election to become president. During that time, Kentucky senator John Crittenden proposed a compromise that would essentially return the nation to 1820 and the Missouri Compromise. This last-ditch attempt to prevent
war failed as many Republicans, including Lincoln, believed the proposal would allow slavery to spread to the territories.

**THE WAR**

- The opening shots occurred on April 12, 1861, when Confederate shore batteries fired on Fort Sumter off the coast of Charleston, South Carolina, compelling the fort's commander to surrender. Although seen as a military victory in the South, it was a political victory for the Lincoln administration because the South had opened hostilities.
- Lincoln immediately called for 75,000 volunteers to suppress the rebellion, whereby four more Southern states seceded. The capital of the Confederacy was moved from Montgomery, Alabama, to Richmond, Virginia.
- In what became known as the Trent Affair, a Union warship stopped and seized a British ship carrying Mason and Slidell, Confederate diplomats to Britain and France, and arrested the two. Lincoln was forced to release them for fear that Britain would declare war on the United States.

**Comparison of Union and Confederate Strengths and Weaknesses**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Union</th>
<th>Confederate</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Population: 22 million</td>
<td>Population: 6 million whites</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Had to conquer the South (offensive war)</td>
<td>Defensive war</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Considerably more factories, wealth; a much more diverse economy than the South's</td>
<td>Economy is backward and underdeveloped; relies on overseas demand for cotton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strong central government (including A. Lincoln)</td>
<td>New and weak central government</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Generals who understood the nature of &quot;total war,&quot; such as Grant and Sherman</td>
<td>Initially better generals, such as Lee and Jackson</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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At the outbreak of hostilities, Lincoln had Confederate sympathizers arrested and in the process suspended the writ of habeas corpus, a fundamental legal right that requires the government to bring specific charges against the accused and prevents it from jailing an individual indefinitely. Justice Taney ruled that Lincoln had violated their civil rights and ordered them released.

Initially the South was successful in waging war against the Union, in part because of the type of war—defensive—that the South was fighting. The Union military had the considerably more difficult task of capturing and holding major strategic areas. It had to conquer the South, whereas the Confederacy hoped that if the war dragged on, the Northern public would soon grow tired of "Lincoln's war" and sue for
peace. The result of the war, however, was in large part ordained by the enormous population and industrial and transportation advantages of the North. To be sure, historians refer to other important factors, such as better political leadership (Lincoln versus Davis), but as one Civil War historian put it, the North fought the war “with one hand tied behind its back.” Following is a list of major military engagements. In general, the Union named battles after the nearest body of water (in italics) and the Confederates named them after the nearest town (roman).

- **First Bull Run**, 1861 (Manassas): Confederate victory; led the North to realize this would not be a “Ninety Day War”
- Peninsula Campaign, 1862 (Seven Days): Confederate victory made possible by the brilliant leadership of Robert E. Lee
- **Second Bull Run**, 1862 (Manassas): Confederate victory
- **Antietam**, 1862 (Sharpsburg): Union victory. After a string of Union defeats, this victory, which turned back a Confederate invasion of the North, allowed Lincoln to issue the Emancipation Proclamation several months after the battle. This decreed that slaves living in those states that were in open rebellion against the United States would be forever free. The Emancipation Proclamation did not apply to the four Border States (Maryland, Missouri, Kentucky, and Delaware); for though they were slave states, they had not seceded. Lincoln had enough on his hands without inviting more states to take up arms against his government. This battle therefore changed the nature of the war from a war to preserve the union to a battle over slavery.
- Fredericksburg, 1862: Confederate victory
- **Monitor and Merrimac**, 1862: In order to break the Union blockade of Southern ports, which was designed to prevent the South from exporting cotton and importing needed supplies (the Anaconda Plan), the Confederacy launched the **Merrimac**, an ironclad ship. The **Merrimac** proceeded to wreak havoc on the wooden Union blockade ships. But the North had not been idle in its development of an ironclad vessel. The North’s ironclad, the **Monitor**, fought the **Merrimac** to a draw. The consequences of this famous naval battle were twofold: it rendered wooden fleets obsolete, and the Union, given its vast resources, began to build a fleet of ironclad warships, which it used to gain control of important waterways and defeat Confederate forts that guarded such important rivers as the Mississippi.
- **Gettysburg**, 1863: Union victory. Considered the most famous battle fought on North American soil, the defeat of the second and last major Confederate invasion of the North was the turning point of the war. The Confederates had reached their high-water mark, a point from which their fortunes steadily declined.
- **Vicksburg**, 1863: Union victory. This gave control of the Mississippi River to the North, effectively cutting the Confederacy in half.
- Sherman’s “March to the Sea,” 1864: Union victory. The Confederacy was again cut in half.
- **Petersburg Campaign**, 1864–1865: Union victory. Grant closed in on the Confederate capital.
- **Appomattox Court House**, 1865: Confederate General Lee surrendered to General Grant, effectively ending the war. Five days
later, Lincoln was assassinated by a Confederate sympathizer, John Wilkes Booth.

**IMPACT OF THE WAR**

Both the North and the South were transformed dramatically by the war. Slavery was of course abolished (Thirteenth Amendment), the planter class was defeated, and the South quickly came under military rule. The war also marked the emergence of the United States as a nation-state. It was no longer a confederation of states—when his state seceded in 1861, Robert E. Lee resigned his commission in the U.S. Army because he could not take up arms against his “country,” Virginia. The United States had become a federal union.

Even as it fought a major civil war, the North was changing. During the war it had passed a number of important acts, such as

- The Morrill Tariff of 1861, a high protective tariff
- The Homestead Act of 1862, leading to further development of the West
- The Morrill Land Grant Act of 1862, stimulating the growth and development of higher education
- A banking act that created (in 1863) the National Banking System
- A loose immigration law

The U.S. government also continued to develop the transcontinental railroad, further linking East and West, and it provided black Americans the opportunity to fight for their freedom as soldiers in the Union Army, which they did in considerable numbers—180,000.

Because of the application of industry and technology to warfare in the period 1861–1865, the Civil War is sometimes seen as the first modern war. The use of submarines, aerial reconnaissance, repeating rifles (an early form of machine gun), and ironclad ships is a short list of new technologies applied to waging that war. Moreover, the Napoleonic tactics, rampant disease, and amputations together with modern warfare led to astronomical death tolls. War also became considerably more personal and shocking with the extensive use of early photography in the Civil War. (The Crimean War, 1854–1856, was the first military conflict to be photographed, but it produced nowhere near the volume and graphic nature of pictures taken during the American Civil War.)

Extraordinarily, the North also held a democratic presidential election in the midst of the Civil War, despite the fact that the incumbent, Lincoln, seemed certain to lose, but he did not. By late spring 1865, the American Civil War was over, but a new battle was looming, one that would attempt to combat racial injustice and shape the way Americans viewed their newly reunited nation.
Content Review Questions

1. Which of the following is NOT an accurate statement regarding the North in the antebellum period?
   (A) Its industrial development was greater than the other two regions.
   (B) The textile industry was important to several of the states in this region.
   (C) The planter class was dominant in most of the states in the region.
   (D) Northerners favored a high protective tariff.

2. The turning point of the American Civil War occurred at the battle of
   (A) First Bull Run.
   (B) Gettysburg.
   (C) Monitor and Merrimac.
   (D) Antietam.

3. Which of the following is consistent with the contract theory?
   (A) South Carolina Exposition
   (B) The political views of John C. Calhoun
   (C) The states, not the federal government, are supreme
   (D) The decisions handed down by the Marshall Court

4. The Compromise of 1850
   (A) allowed California to enter as a free state.
   (B) ended the Fugitive Slave law.
   (C) gave all of the land taken from Mexico to Texas.
   (D) banned slavery in Washington, D.C.

5. Popular sovereignty was the idea that
   (A) the government of each new territory should be elected by the people.
   (B) the American public should vote on whether to admit states with or without slavery.
   (C) it was for the citizens of a territory to decide if their territory would enter the Union as a slave state or a free state.
   (D) the United States should assume popular control of the territory acquired from Mexico.

6. In the Dred Scott decision, the Supreme Court
   (A) avoided controversy by ruling that Dred Scott had no right to sue in federal court.
   (B) ruled that Congress could not prohibit slavery in the territories because slaves were private property.
   (C) ruled that slaves could sue in federal court only if their masters allowed them to do so.
   (D) ruled that a slave that had been transported to a free state or territory was a free citizen of the United States.
7. The Crittenden Proposal
   (A) forbade slavery west of the Mississippi River.
   (B) would have granted the Southern states their independence if
   they abolished slavery.
   (C) would have lowered the protective tariff in return for
   abolishing the Fugitive Slave Act.
   (D) would have guaranteed slaveholders the right to own slaves
   south of the 36°30′ line.

8. In the election of 1860,
   (A) most Southerners refused to vote in protest against Lincoln’s
   candidacy.
   (B) the Republicans gained control of the executive branch for the
   first time.
   (C) the tariff was the most controversial issue.
   (D) the vast majority of southerners voted for the compromise
   candidate, John Bell.

9. The Emancipation Proclamation
   (A) abolished slavery in all states that were in open rebellion.
   (B) abolished slavery in the Border States.
   (C) ended the slave trade but not slavery.
   (D) was ruled unconstitutional by the Taney Supreme Court.

10. Which of the following is NOT associated with the North during
    the war?
    (A) Continued industrialization
    (B) The Homestead Act of 1862
    (C) The use of blacks in the Union military
    (D) The ratification of the Fifteenth Amendment guaranteeing
        voting rights to male U.S. citizens

11. In *American Slavery as It Is* (1839), Theodore Weld articulated the
    view that
    (A) abolitionists were to blame for fanning the flames of sectional
        discord.
    (B) nullification was a constitutional obligation needed to sustain
        the institution of slavery.
    (C) American slavery could be reformed by placing a time limit on
        how long one could legally be a slave.
    (D) slavery was an immoral institution that brought misery to
        millions of people.

12. Which state entered the Union as a result of the Compromise of
    1850?
    (A) California
    (B) Texas
    (C) Missouri
    (D) Maine

13. Which Confederate state broke apart when one of its regions
    seceded from the Union to form a new state?
    (A) Virginia
    (B) Tennessee
    (C) Arkansas
    (D) Kansas
14. The Morrill Tariff Act of 1861
   (A) was the lowest protective tariff in U.S. history.
   (B) was warmly embraced by the South as a compromise of
goodwill by the North.
   (C) ultimately led to the most devastating depression in U.S.
history until the financial collapse in the Great Depression.
   (D) raised tariff rates to levels established by the Walker Tariff in
   1845.

15. Which of the following was a major achievement in the settling
    and development of the West during the Civil War?
   (A) Missouri Compromise
   (B) Wilmot Proviso
   (C) Homestead Act
   (D) Clayton-Bulwer Treaty

**Short-Answer Questions**

1. The Civil War was the result of multiple factors. Historians debate
which factor is the most significant in bringing about the war.
   (a) Choose one of the following causes of the Civil War listed and
   explain why this factor was the most significant cause of the
   war. Provide at least ONE piece of evidence to support your
   explanation.
   Slavery
   States’ rights
   Ineffective leadership
   Sectionalism
   (b) Contrast your choice against ONE of the other options,
   demonstrating why that cause of the war was not as significant
   a factor as the one you chose.

Question 2 is based on the following passages.

“You say you will not fight to free Negroes. Some of
them seem willing to fight for you; but, no matter. Fight
you, then, exclusively to save the Union. I issued the
proclamation on purpose to aid you in saving the
union.”

—Abraham Lincoln, Open Letter to Democrats,
   August 26, 1863

“The hundreds of thousands, if not millions of slaves
[the act] will emancipate will come North and West and
will either be competitors with our white mechanics
and laborers, degrading them by competition, or they
will have to be supported as paupers and criminals at
the public expense.”

—Cincinnati Enquirer
2. Based on these two views on the Emancipation Proclamation, complete the following tasks:
   (a) Briefly explain the main point made by Abraham Lincoln in the first passage.
   (b) Briefly explain the main point in the Cincinnati Enquirer in the second passage.
   (c) Choose ONE event during the Civil War that illustrates the main idea in one of the passages, and explain how that event reflects the passage you chose.

**Long Essay Questions**

1. Compare and contrast the industrial capitalist class and the Southern planter-slaveholding class. Discuss the following topics in your essay:
   - economic priorities
   - the expansion of slavery

2. Analyze the following statement:
   The Civil War was the result of irreconcilable differences between the North and West on the one hand and the South on the other.

   To what extent is this statement true?

**Answers**

**CONTENT REVIEW QUESTIONS**

1. (C) The planter class was the dominant social, economic, and political class in the antebellum South (The American Pageant, 15th ed., pp. 288–293, 339/16th ed., pp. 290–293; Learning Objective ENV-3).

2. (B) Gettysburg. From this point on, though the South did win several important battles, it was greatly weakened (The American Pageant, 15th ed., pp. 445–446/16th ed., pp. 448–449; Learning Objective ENV-3).

3. (D) Answers A–C all support the alternative contract theory. In a number of important decisions, the Marshall Court strengthened the role of the federal government in relation to the states (The American Pageant, 15th ed., p. 238/16th ed., p. 240; Learning Objective POL-5).

4. (A) California’s entrance into the Union as a free state was a major concession of the South. The slave trade, not slavery, was banned in Washington, D.C. The Fugitive Slave Act was strengthened, not ended. The territory acquired from Mexico was divided into two territories, Utah and New Mexico (The American Pageant, 15th ed., pp. 384–387/16th ed., pp. 387-390; Learning Objective POL-6).
5. (C) Popular sovereignty, an idea put forth by Lewis Cass as a means to compromise, gave citizens of a territory the right to decide on the status of slavery when joining the Union (The American Pageant, 15th ed., p. 378/16th ed., p. 381; Learning Objective POL-6).

6. (B) The Taney Supreme Court ruled that Scott, as a slave, was property that could be transported wherever his master decided to take him. The decision, highly controversial, invalidated the Missouri Compromise, not the Kansas-Nebraska Act (The American Pageant, 15th ed., pp. 403-404/16th ed., pp. 406-407; Learning Objective POL-5).

7. (D) This last-ditch attempt to forestall civil war would have, for all intents and purposes, returned the United States to 1820 and the Missouri Compromise (The American Pageant, 15th ed., pp. 413-414/16th ed., pp. 415-416; Learning Objective POL-6).

8. (B) Lincoln, the first Republican to win the presidency, was elected with only 39 percent of the popular vote. Southerners did indeed vote, but primarily for Breckinridge. The tariff was not the most controversial issue in 1860, though it was still a point of tension between the North and South (The American Pageant, 15th ed., pp. 409-412/16th ed., pp. 412-415; Learning Objective POL-2).

9. (A) Although controversial, the proclamation added another important moral and legal dimension to the Union cause by undermining slavery in those states that had seceded. It also made it morally difficult for France and Britain to provide aid to the Confederacy (The American Pageant, 15th ed., pp. 440-441/16th ed., pp. 443-444; Learning Objective CUL-5).


12. (A) In the Compromise of 1850, the North benefited by having a new free state (California) enter the Union, thus tipping the balance in the Senate to the North (The American Pageant, 15th ed., p. 385/16th ed., p. 388; Learning Objective POL-6).

13. (A) As early as the American Revolution era, Virginians in the western part of the state felt underrepresented and compelled to pay high taxes. The outbreak of the Civil War provided them with an opportunity to separate from the rest of Virginia, which they did on June 11, 1861 (The American Pageant, 15th ed., p. 420/16th ed., p. 423; Learning Objective ID-5).
14. (D) When the South seceded from the Union, it gave Congress an opportunity to supersede the low tariff that had been established in 1857. The Morrill Tariff raised duties by 5 to 10 percent on many commodities (The American Pageant, 15th ed., p. 431/16th ed., pp. 433–434; Learning Objective WXT-6).

15. (C) The Homestead Act of 1862 authorized Congress to sell 160 acres of western land to settlers who agreed to live on that property for at least five years. It was an integral feature of western settlement (The American Pageant, 15th ed., p. 433/16th ed., p. 436; Learning Objective PEO-5).

**SHORT-ANSWER QUESTIONS**

1. There are effective arguments to be made for all four of the options listed. Slavery caused tension in the country dating back to colonial times, and its possible expansion exacerbated those hostilities. Similarly, the battle over states’ rights versus federal power lingered from the creation of the Constitution, with Southern states persistently believing that their needs were ignored by the national government and a Congress ruled by the more populous Northern states. Any of the four factors can also be contrasted with another. Ineffective leadership, for example, might be seen as less important than the issues that abounded from slavery and sectionalism because the issues were bigger than any one person.

2. Abraham Lincoln claims that even if Northerners are not willing to fight to end slavery in the wake of the Emancipation Proclamation, the order would still strengthen the North’s forces and enable them to win the war. The Cincinnati Enquirer, meanwhile, asserts that freeing the slaves will harm Northern workers by creating increased competition for jobs or harm the economy by draining its resources. You could cite the 1863 draft riots as an example of an event that echoes the sentiments made by the Cincinnati Enquirer.

**LONG ESSAY QUESTIONS**

1. When you are asked to compare and contrast two or more items, it is important that you identify both their similarities and their differences. In this question, the topics are selected for you. Identify and discuss economic priorities—for example, both sides’ attitudes toward the tariff. A discussion of the political objectives—in favor of the expansion or containment of slavery—as it relates to the interests of the industrial and capitalist class of the North and the planter-slaveholder class of the South should be your focus for the second part of the essay. (Historical Thinking Skill II-4: Comparison and II-5: Contextualization)

2. In order to thoroughly answer this question, you need to decide how accurate you think the statement is and incorporate evidence that supports your conclusion. You may wish to discuss the divergent political and economic
differences and disputes between the sections, as well as the ideological justifications each side utilized to defend its way of life. Another aspect of your discussion may include the view held by some historians that the North and the South had two incompatible civilizations that could not be sustained under one government, and thus they resorted to war to settle their economic and political differences. (Historical Thinking Skill III-6: Historical Argumentation and III-7: Appropriate Use of Relevant Historical Evidence)
RECONSTRUCTION:
1863–1877

A pivotal movement in recent U.S. history has been the struggle by blacks to achieve racial equality. Many remember or are at least aware of the leaders, organizations, and demonstrations that shaped the 1950s and 1960s over the question of the rights of African Americans. But the plight of black Americans did not begin fifty years ago. In fact, it can be said that this struggle is as old as the nation. Yet, two decades in the nineteenth century, the 1860s and 1870s, stand out as much as any, including the 1950s and 1960s, as essential to the goal of redefining race relations in the United States. After four years of horrific warfare, the South needed to be rebuilt economically, politically, and socially. Though it remains an especially controversial period in American history, Reconstruction attempted to do just that.

KEY CONCEPTS

- Attitudes and economic and political forces influenced the dimensions of Reconstruction.
- Lincoln’s and Johnson’s lenient Reconstruction plans clashed with the radical Republicans’ Reconstruction methods and objectives.
- The Republican Party sought to contain blacks in the South in order to establish the nucleus of their party in that section of the country.
- Southern “Receivers” temporarily reinstated the South’s prewar political and social system, leading to the more punitive radical Republican Reconstruction.
- Congress ratified three important civil rights amendments—the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments.
- Reactionaries regained control of the South, and blacks were relegated to sharecropping and social and political subordination.
- A political deal between Southern Democrats and the Republican Party ended Reconstruction.
Reconstruction is discussed in depth in *The American Pageant*, 15th and 16th eds., Chapters 22 and 23.

**AP Tip**

As much as any period in U.S. history, historians hold widely divergent views about the causes, ramifications, successes, and failures of Reconstruction. You should attempt to read as widely as possible on the interpretive nature of the debate over this topic. Should the College Board offer a free-response question or a DBQ on Reconstruction, an understanding of various historians’ interpretations will provide you with a broader grasp of its significance as well as relevant interpretations around which you can develop your own view. If your AP teacher does not infuse class discussions and notes as well as assigned readings with evaluative essays, ask for suggestions regarding analytical literature on the subject.

**THE WAR, THE EXPANSION OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT, AND THE IMPACT ON RECONSTRUCTION**

Before we explore the dimensions and dynamics of Reconstruction, it is important to understand how the war transformed the U.S. government, for in the end, it was the government that was center stage in the debate over reconstructing the South and addressing the problems of integrating blacks into the nation’s social, political, and economic fabric. In March 1865, just one month before the end of the war, Congress passed the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands Act (more commonly known as the Freedmen’s Bureau). Under the leadership of General O. O. Howard, it assisted both freed slaves and poor whites who were destitute and in need of food and medical care. It also provided them farmland that had earlier been owned by slaveholders; President Johnson undermined this effort when he returned most of the confiscated land to previous owners. But the most well-known legacy of the Freedmen’s Bureau was its success in constructing schools that educated thousands of Southern blacks and poor whites, often under the tutelage of Northern whites, many of whom were women. Despite the achievements of the Northerners who worked for the Freedmen’s Bureau, many Southerners referred to them derisively as “carpetbaggers,” implying that they were opportunists who, for their own self-interest rather than altruistic reasons, rushed down South after the war. This transformation of governmental power was taking place as war was being waged, for the war expanded the role of the federal government in unprecedented ways. A short list would include the following:

- In an unprecedented decision, the government instituted conscription—the draft.
For the first time in U.S. history, the national government assumed responsibility for guaranteeing and protecting the constitutional rights of a segment of U.S. society.

The government had to raise millions of dollars to fight the war. To do this, the government issued greenbacks (paper currency) in record amounts.

Lincoln used the power of the government to suspend basic constitutional rights, such as habeas corpus.

**AP Tip**

Students sometimes ask whether they should incorporate contemporary ideas and issues into their free-response and DBQ essays. Believing that history is a continuum in which the forces that shape our contemporary world have their historical antecedents, you can make connections between past and present events. For example, Lincoln's suspension of habeas corpus rights is relevant to a discussion of the USA PATRIOT Act. Make certain, however, that you maintain your focus on the specific question that is asked of you. A question on Lincoln, the Civil War, and habeas corpus should not get lost in a political discussion on governmental powers in combating terrorism since 9/11. Also, do not incorporate an issue into your discussion if you know little or nothing about it. College Board readers can identify these. Ask what your teacher advises.

Reconstruction continued this trend of governmental intervention and influence in all regions of the United States. In the North a powerful relationship was fostered between government and capital. And in the South, the government was instrumental in creating a new mode of production, capitalism, to replace the collapsed slave-based economy. In short, the federal government took on the responsibility of reconstructing the South, which in the end required the application of laws, old and new, the use of federal troops to ensure order and stability, and significant amounts of money. One controversial extension of federal power serves nicely as an example of the application of the government's willingness to use its expanded political and military power to carry out domestic policy—namely, the division of the South into military districts and the stationing of U.S. troops in Southern states to carry out federal law and to prevent reactionary and violent responses to Reconstruction. The government played an important role in altering the South's social and political institutions, though in some cases only temporarily.
THE ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL FOUNDATIONS OF RECONSTRUCTION POLICIES

It can be argued that Reconstruction began even before the Civil War ended. When President Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation in 1863, he redefined the nature of the struggle by giving the Union cause a broader meaning. A significant development in U.S. race relations did come about with the end of the war and the abolition of slavery. But though laws can be changed, people’s attitudes are often considerably more difficult to alter. As we will see, many whites in the South, and even numerous whites in the North, were not about to give freed blacks access to the major institutions, rights, and privileges of American citizenship. Tragically, many blacks were free in name only. In fact, many white Northerners favored a policy of containing blacks in the South for two key reasons:

- **Racism** Although Lincoln made abolition a cause of the Union war effort with the announcement of the Emancipation Proclamation, many Northerners preferred that blacks stay in the South.
- **Economic competition** Northern whites worried that blacks might migrate to the North, where there were more economic opportunities than could be found in the war-torn South. This in turn would drive down workers’ wages. Consequently, while the wage-earning classes felt threatened by black migration north, the capitalist class desired an expanded labor pool, which would drive down wages.

There were political objectives as well. The Civil War indeed ended slavery and reestablished the Union, but it had two other desired consequences from the perspective of the North’s political and economic leaders. The South’s defeat had ended the reign of the planter aristocracy and decimated the Democrats (sneeringly referred to by Republicans as the “party of secession”). To ensure that neither the planters nor the Democrats would reemerge in the postwar South, Northern political and economic interests maintained that both of these objectives could be met if the Republican Party was firmly entrenched in the South. This would make the Republicans a national party and make the Democrats a nuisance at worst, but certainly not a threat to Republican hegemony. The Republicans attempted to realize their goals by implementing the following measures:

- They denied to the former Confederate leaders, many of them from the planter-slaveholding class, their political rights, which in turn would remove them as an obstacle to the Republicans’ economic and political agenda.
- They provided blacks in the South with just enough political and economic rights and opportunities so that they would choose to stay in the South, thereby establishing a base for the Republican Party as well as obviating the racial and economic tensions that would occur if blacks began moving north.
PLANNING RECONSTRUCTION: CONFLICTING METHODS

Had Lincoln not been assassinated at the end of the war, Reconstruction and, in fact, the subsequent history of the nation might have been fundamentally different. Lincoln’s plan for reconstructing the South was moderate in every sense of the word, especially in comparison with a wing of his party that became known as the radical Republicans. Lincoln’s successor, Andrew Johnson, applied a plan that was quite similar but one that would bring him into direct confrontation with the radical Republicans. The stage would soon be set for a clash between the executive and legislative branches over how best to reconstruct the South and address the status of black Americans.

Lincoln wanted to quickly—and for the most part, painlessly—reincorporate the South back into the Union. His ideological rationale for this was his view that the people of the South did not secede; their economic and political leaders initiated secession and war. Lincoln argued that because the government was indivisible, secession was politically impossible. Instead, the Civil War represented a rebellion by a small minority who had brazenly violated the authority and laws of the national government. (Shortly after the war’s end, in Texas v. White, the Supreme Court affirmed the contract theory of government.) This explains why he was opposed to the radical Republicans’ plan (see below). Lincoln’s design included the following features:

- Before a state could be readmitted into the Union, (only) 10 percent of voters needed to take a loyalty oath to the United States.
- The South had to repudiate the compact theory of government and accept the contract theory.
- Until the above requirements were met, military governors would oversee the conquered Southern states.

Initially, Johnson was accepted by many Republicans, for his contempt of the planter aristocracy in his home state of Tennessee was well known. But he quickly became an obstacle to those seeking a more radical and punitive solution to reconstructing the South. Johnson’s plan was very similar to Lincoln’s, though with a few additions, such as the disenfranchisement of very wealthy and politically powerful former Confederates. But one loophole that Johnson used frequently was the right to grant pardons to the same individuals that he claimed he sought to exclude from power. Given this approach, it was not long before most of the South’s elites were back in power and every Southern state had been readmitted to the Union. In fact, the 1872 Amnesty Act lifted the last political restriction on former ex-Confederate leaders. Imagine the irritation of Northern senators at seeing the former vice president of the Confederacy, Alexander Stephens, reclaim his seat in the United States Senate. Although the readmitted states drew up constitutions that repudiated secession and abolished slavery, accepting the Thirteenth Amendment, nothing was done to enfranchise the South’s black population. Enter the radical Republicans.

Not satisfied with disenfranchising blacks, the newly formed Southern state governments went even further by establishing what
became known as Black Codes. The codes were designed to limit severely the movement of millions of dislocated blacks as well as to deny them the right to own property, including much-needed farms. Further, they were returned to a form of perpetual servitude by being compelled to sign work contracts that were little more than a thinly disguised attempt to make them dependent once again on their former owners. Legally, their rights were abridged as well; they still could not testify in a court of law against a white person (even if they had the courage to do so). For Southern reactionaries, the Thirteenth Amendment was irrelevant; they would, in the postwar years and following the end of Reconstruction, find other methods to subordinate and repress the newly freed slaves. Although steps were taken to address these abuses, in the decades following Reconstruction blacks were in fact returned to a state of subordination and degradation. Infuriated at how suddenly reactionaries reelected control of the South, Northern politicians openly challenged Southern elections that had returned the former Southern elite to power. The radical Republicans seemed to have anticipated these developments. Even before the war was over, they offered up their most decidedly punitive Reconstruction plan in 1864, referred to as the Wade-Davis Bill:

- Slavery was banned in the United States.
- All former high-ranking military, political, and economic (planter class) leaders of the former Confederacy, like Robert E. Lee and Jefferson Davis, were disenfranchised.
- Unlike Lincoln's modest 10 percent requirement for readmission, the radical Republicans required a more substantial commitment: 50 percent of a state's citizens must swear loyalty and allegiance to the United States.

A little over a year after becoming president, Johnson was in direct confrontation with the radical Republicans, led by Senator Charles Sumner (who before the war had been beaten to within an inch of his life by a South Carolina congressman, Preston Brooks, in the Senate chamber), and Representative Thaddeus Stevens. The conflict centered on a piece of legislation called the Civil Rights Act of 1866, which included the following features:

- Blacks were to be considered citizens of the United States, entitled to all the rights and privileges expressed in the U.S. Constitution.
- Attempts to restrict basic rights, such as owning property and testifying in a court of law, were illegal.
- The federal government, not the states, would enforce the act.

Johnson's veto of the bill was overridden by Congress; however, supporters of the legislation feared that the Supreme Court would rule the bill unconstitutional. Something more permanent was necessary.

**THE FOURTEENTH AMENDMENT**

Whereas the Thirteenth Amendment ended slavery, the Fourteenth defined citizenship rights, not only for freed slaves, but for all Americans. At least that was the implication. Women and minority groups would have to continue their battle for equal rights as citizens...
under the Constitution. Pointedly attacking the Black Codes, Congress’s passage of the amendment established the following constitutional limitations on a state’s power to modify or eliminate the rights of its citizens under the federal government. (Keep in mind that not until the 1950s would the federal government expand protection of Fourteenth Amendment rights to other civil rights groups, such as women, children, and those accused of a crime.) The most important provisions of the Fourteenth Amendment include the following:

- All persons who are born in or who are naturalized in the United States are citizens.
- A citizen of the United States cannot be denied *equal protection under the law* and must be provided *due process rights* under the law regardless of race, gender, class, religion, political views, or ethnicity.
- Any state that refuses a segment of its population protection and rights accorded them by this amendment would suffer a reduction in its congressional representation.

Knowing they had an ally in the White House, Southern states refused to ratify the Fourteenth Amendment, especially since one clause prohibited former Confederate leaders from holding state or federal offices. Again, battle lines were drawn. The radical Republicans mobilized their forces and sought to outmaneuver their opponents, whether they were in Southern state assemblies, the U.S. Congress, or even in the Oval Office.

**The Radical Republicans Ascendant**

In the summer of 1866 the radical Republicans acted after a joint committee of Congress recommended that those Southern politicians elected to Congress under Johnson’s lenient requirements for readmission and representation be barred from taking their seats. Moreover, the committee placed the responsibility and authority for Reconstruction under the direction of the legislative branch, thus devaluing the chief executive’s role. Consequently, from 1867 to 1870 the radical Republicans were at the height of their power. In that brief time they instituted sweeping policies, with the Fourteenth Amendment as their guide. First and foremost they replaced Johnson’s Reconstruction plan with their own.

The former Confederate states would be divided into five military zones, each governed by a U.S. Army general entrusted with considerable powers.

In order for a state to be readmitted into the Union, it had to ratify the Fourteenth Amendment and establish a state constitution that would guarantee black suffrage and disenfranchise ex-Confederate leaders. (In 1870, Hiram Revels of Mississippi became the nation’s first black congressman when he was elected to the Senate seat previously occupied by the former president of the Confederacy, Jefferson Davis. Ironically, Davis, who had been captured at the end of the war, had recently been released from a federal prison.) These state constitutions had first to be ratified by Congress before readmission was possible.

The right of blacks to vote would be guaranteed by the federal government, which would oversee voting in the Southern states.
By the end of Reconstruction in the late 1870s, only three states had not been readmitted into the Union and were therefore still under the control of the military.

THE IMPEACHMENT OF PRESIDENT JOHNSON

Fully aware that their nemesis in the White House would continually attempt to thwart their plans, the radical Republicans passed the Tenure of Office Act over the president’s veto. In retrospect, the act appears as a trap waiting to ensnare President Johnson, for it prohibited the president from removing civilian or military officials without the consent of the Senate. In essence, it profoundly reduced his authority as commander in chief. As expected, Johnson believed that the law encroached on the authority granted to the executive branch by the Constitution, and he set about to challenge the Tenure of Office Act. The obvious target was Secretary of State Edwin Stanton, who not only was allied with the radical Republicans, but also supervised the South’s military districts. When Johnson fired Stanton, the radical Republicans impeached him. Charged with numerous counts of “high crimes and misdemeanors,” Johnson avoided removal from office by merely one Senate vote. Retrospectively, the impeachment and trial seem purely politically motivated. Had Johnson been removed from office, a dangerous precedent would have been established. Not only would it have seriously damaged the system of checks and balances—not to mention the independence of the executive branch—it would encourage any subsequent majority political party in Congress to remove a sitting president for political reasons. Although he survived removal, Johnson was greatly weakened and posed no further serious threat to the radical Republican agenda.

REACTIONARIES AND RACISTS
RESPOND TO RECONSTRUCTION

Most Southerners disdained the Republicans’ reconstruction of the South. Over time they took the following steps to regain control:

- Many in the South’s upper class believed it best to accept the Republicans’ measures, gain the trust of the new black voters, and proceed to use this newfound relationship to entice them to become Democrats.
- They worked to gradually regain control of the state legislatures from, among others, “scalawags” (Southerners allied with radical Reconstruction). Although some white politicians hoped to appeal to black voters, poor whites rejected this because the war had exacerbated their condition. The last thing they wanted was political and economic competition from poor blacks.
- Violence and intimidation were used against blacks to maintain their subordination. To this end, various antiblack, anti-Republican reactionary groups, such as the Ku Klux Klan (KKK) and the Knights of the White Camellia, were created. Utilizing violence and intimidation as their methods of control, such as burning homes,
whippings, and lynching, the Klan and the Knights were determined to keep blacks and sympathetic whites from voting. Garbed in white hoods and gowns, carrying torches, and firing weapons, the KKK would sweep down on unsuspecting victims, whether in their homes or at political meetings, and terrorize them. Although moderate whites condemned such actions, many terrified blacks and white Republicans stayed away from the polls. Not to be deterred, Congress passed the Force Act and the Ku Klux Klan Act, which made it illegal to use force or intimidation with the intention of disenfranchising citizens and denying them their Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendment rights. The president was authorized to use military force to carry out these acts. Although membership in the Klan diminished, their use of fear and terror had panicked enough voters that by 1876 only three Southern states (South Carolina, Florida, and Louisiana) still had radical Republican state governments.

By the time the Force Act and the Ku Klux Klan Act were passed, the radical Republicans had already reached the zenith of their power and influence. Soon they would experience a precipitous decline, to be replaced by more conservative-minded political leaders. Yet they had at least one more significant bill left to pass: the Civil Rights Act of 1875. This far-reaching piece of legislation called for full equality in all public facilities—in other words, access to public accommodations and institutions could not be denied based on race. Unfortunately, the Supreme Court ruled the act unconstitutional in 1883. The nation would not see the likes of such legislation for more than eighty years.

THE END OF RECONSTRUCTION: THE ELECTION OF 1876 AND THE COMPROMISE OF 1877

Reconstruction’s life span did not exceed two decades, leaving students of history to ponder the circumstances of its short existence and sudden demise. Just as paleontologists often reflect on why the dinosaurs died off after flourishing for millions of years, historians are compelled to ask the same of Reconstruction’s very brief life. Of course, there are any number of plausible explanations, one of which has to do with the state of the nation in the mid-1870s, when the motivation for continuing Reconstruction was waning.

- Starting in 1873, the nation experienced a depression. Funding to sustain Reconstruction was drying up. At the same time, sympathetic whites in the North were more concerned with their own economic situation than with those in the South.
- The hegemonic upper classes in both the North and South were concerned that the masses would somehow unite and threaten their interests. And, at the end of Reconstruction, the railroad strike of 1877 did little to assuage their fears.
- Because they were no longer enemies, the ruling elites in the North and South were increasingly interdependent as a result of their mutual economic interests.
Given its power in the North and ever-expanding West, the Republican Party no longer believed it had to dominate in all regions of the United States.

Corruption and scandal were rampant.
- The Grant administration was riddled with corrupt officials ("spoilsmen") and illegal deals—for example, the Crédit Mobilier scandal and the Whiskey Ring.
- In some municipal governments, such as New York City’s Tweed Ring, there were glaring abuses. Through the efforts of political cartoonist Thomas Nast, the extent of the Tweed Ring’s corruption was conveyed to the public in persuasive images that influenced citizens to demand investigations into the abuses. As a result, some began to hold the view that Reconstruction programs were another way for corrupt and opportunistic politicians and businessmen to get rich at the public’s expense.
- Some Northerners were appalled by reports of corruption in Reconstruction governments.
- There were abuses on Wall Street—for example, the attempt by financiers Gould and Fisk to corner the gold market in 1869.

Given these factors, many were tiring of the Grant administration and the Republican Party. Conditions were ripe for a change. However, the election of 1876 showed just how politically divided the nation had become. The Republicans ran a Civil War veteran and governor of Ohio, Rutherford B. Hayes. His Democratic opponent was New York’s reform governor, Samuel J. Tilden. Tilden initially won both the electoral and popular vote, but Republicans charged that several Southern states had denied many blacks their right to vote; they contended that these were votes lost to the Republican candidate. For a time, there seemed to be no clear winner. On the one hand, the Democrats were certain their candidate had won; on the other hand, the Republicans claimed the election results in the states where the alleged abuses occurred should be nullified. A special electoral committee was established to decide which candidate was entitled to the disputed votes. Given the makeup of the commission (eight Republicans, seven Democrats), a partisan decision was made to give all of the contested votes to the Republican Hayes. Outraged Democrats threatened to filibuster the decision in the House of Representatives. The nation was in political limbo. And then, a deal was struck. The Southern Democrats relinquished the contested votes and therefore the election to Hayes and the Republicans in return for
- The removal of the remaining federal troops from the South
- Federally funded development of a Southern railroad network
- The appointment of a Democrat to Hayes’s cabinet

With this agreement, Reconstruction came to a sudden and, some would argue, premature end.
THE LEGACY OF RECONSTRUCTION

In the short term, blacks in the South found themselves languishing in a form of agrarian servitude once more. They were relegated to sharecropping whereby, under contract, they often labored in the same fields they had worked as slaves. Even as tenant farmers (a slight improvement over sharecropping) who received tools and seed in return for usually half their crop, freedmen toiled their lives away once again in abject poverty and misery.

Decades later, at the turn of the twentieth century, blacks were still living a marginal existence. Following the Supreme Court’s Plessy v. Ferguson (“separate but equal”) decision in 1896, whatever hope they may have had about equal protection under the law and social acceptance had turned to dust. “What happens to a dream deferred?” asked the black poet Langston Hughes. “It dries up like a raisin in the sun.” For many blacks who had lived through slavery, the Black Codes, and the terror of “night riders” such as the KKK, the end of Reconstruction bequeathed to them a new form of misery known by the name Jim Crow laws, which further subordinated blacks in the South in the following ways:

- Political restrictions were imposed to circumvent the Fifteenth Amendment:
  - Poll taxes, a fee for voting, disenfranchised the poor, blacks and whites alike.
  - Literacy tests worked because there were very few schools for blacks in the South.
  - The grandfather clause (if your grandfather had the right to vote, you did as well) excluded most blacks because their grandfathers had been slaves.
  - Gerrymandering, the redrawing of voting districts to alter a racial, ethnic, or political majority, was used to neutralize votes.

- Blacks were denied access to many public and municipal facilities such as parks, theaters, housing, and mass transit. When Jim Crow laws failed to intimidate recalcitrant blacks, they were often threatened, beaten, and lynched.

- Various economic sanctions were placed on blacks in order to maintain their subjugated status and keep them dependent on their fellow Southerners.

Still, Reconstruction did set a precedent that would stand the test of time. Government can and often does intervene to redress grievances and address the social, economic, and political needs of those who have been exploited. Reconstruction was quite possibly a failure, especially for those who lived through its promise of hope and equality. Yet, as with all reform movements, it did at the very least attempt to raise the consciousness of Americans about their own definitions of democracy, and at times it succeeded. For blacks, some educational opportunities were now available, and as a race they had finally experienced the cherished right to vote and elect fellow blacks to important positions during Reconstruction.
Unfortunately, more than one hundred years after the last federal troops were withdrawn from the South, black Americans were still fighting for their rights and hoping that, unlike their ancestors, their dream would not be deferred.

**Content Review Questions**

1. The original purpose of the Freedmen’s Bureau was to
   (A) generate support among Southern whites to attempt to end federal military occupation.
   (B) organize blacks as sharecroppers.
   (C) provide freed blacks with food, clothing, and educational opportunities.
   (D) register blacks to vote.

2. Lincoln’s plan for Reconstruction, developed in 1863, allowed for a state to be readmitted once
   (A) 50 percent of its voters took an oath of allegiance to the Union.
   (B) the state legislature ratified the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments.
   (C) 10 percent of its voters repudiated the contract theory.
   (D) it abolished slavery.

3. The Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution
   (A) abolished slavery.
   (B) gave to the federal government supreme authority over the states.
   (C) gave black males the right to vote.
   (D) defined citizenship rights.

4. Carpetbaggers were
   (A) Southerners who supported radical Republican governments in the South.
   (B) Northerners such as teachers and ministers who traveled South after the war to aid the freedmen.
   (C) freed blacks who fled the South after being emancipated.
   (D) Southern governments that refused to accept the Thirteenth Amendment.

5. Andrew Johnson was impeached because
   (A) Southerners were opposed to his radical Reconstruction policies.
   (B) he failed to enforce federal law in combating the KKK.
   (C) his administration was involved in a number of corrupt activities.
   (D) he was an obstacle to the radical Republicans’ Reconstruction plan.
6. In the election of 1876,
   (A) the contested election was decided by the Supreme Court.
   (B) Tilden received more electoral votes but far fewer popular votes than Hayes.
   (C) most white Southerners refused to vote.
   (D) Republicans claimed that blacks had been denied the right to vote in several Southern states.

7. Which of the following did NOT attempt to disenfranchise black voters?
   (A) Force Act
   (B) Literacy test
   (C) Grandfather clause
   (D) Poll tax

8. Jim Crow laws
   (A) were ruled unconstitutional by the U.S. Supreme Court immediately following the end of the war.
   (B) were designed to subordinate blacks.
   (C) allowed for the integration of all public facilities.
   (D) were designed to address the abuses of racist organizations such as the KKK and the Knights of the White Camellia.

9. Hiram Revels
   (A) was the leader of the radical Republicans in the House of Representatives.
   (B) was head of the Freedmen's Bureau.
   (C) was the first black American elected to Congress.
   (D) was instrumental in organizing the KKK.

10. In the compromise that was reached by Republicans and Democrats over the impasse in the presidential election between Hayes and Tilden,
    (A) Tilden was given the presidency in return for selecting Republicans for every cabinet position in his administration.
    (B) the radical Republicans agreed to disband if Hayes was given the presidency.
    (C) Southerners generally voted for a third-party candidate.
    (D) Hayes was given the presidency in return for the removal of federal troops from the South.

11. To reduce racial tensions that had erupted following the end of the Civil War, Congress passed the Reconstruction Act (1867), which
    (A) divided the South into five military districts.
    (B) denied citizenship rights to those who joined racist organizations such as the Ku Klux Klan.
    (C) granted to former Confederate states financial assistance to rebuild their economies.
    (D) compelled all former Confederate states to ratify the Thirteenth Amendment.
12. "Scalawag" was the insulting label given to
   (A) Southern blacks who had fought for the Confederacy.
   (B) Southern whites who cooperated with the Reconstruction
efforts of the U.S. government.
   (C) white Northerners who violently opposed the Reconstruction
   policies of the U.S. government.
   (D) Northerners who went south after the war to participate in the
   reconstruction of the South.

13. The Tenure of Office Act (1867) was instrumental in
   (A) removing Union troops from the South, thereby ending
   Reconstruction.
   (B) placing term limits on the executive branch.
   (C) the impeachment of President Andrew Johnson.
   (D) the rise of Southern Redeemers.

14. In the Supreme Court case *Ex parte Milligan*, the court ruled that
   (A) the Fourteenth Amendment was unconstitutional.
   (B) freedmen were entitled to possess the land they worked as
   slaves.
   (C) Southern states were constitutionally required to ratify the
   Thirteenth Amendment as a prerequisite for readmission to the
   Union.
   (D) citizens could not be tried by a military court if a civilian court
   was in session.

15. One of the most enduring legacies of the Reconstruction era was
   the passage of the Fifteenth Amendment, which
   (A) granted voting rights to all male American citizens regardless
   of race or color.
   (B) made the appointment of cabinet members a duty of the
   legislative branch of government.
   (C) prevents the government from suspending the writ of habeas
   corpus during peacetime.
   (D) abolished the institution of chattel slavery.
Short-Answer Questions

Question 1 is based on the following image

1. Based on the picture, complete the following tasks:
   (a) According to the picture, what was one major success of the Reconstruction era?
   (b) Provide ONE example of how the federal government supported this extension of rights.
   (c) How did later events in the South undermine this success? Provide at least ONE example as historical evidence.

2. Andrew Johnson was the first president in American history to be impeached. Some historians claim that his impeachment was politically motivated.
   (a) Briefly describe the differences between Johnson and Congress.
   (b) Briefly describe the Tenure of Office Act.
   (c) Based on the evidence, did Andrew Johnson deserve to be removed from office? Provide ONE example to support your answer.

Long Essay Questions

1. Compare and contrast the three major Reconstruction plans: Lincoln’s, Johnson’s, and the radical Republicans’.

2. To what extent can Reconstruction be considered both a success and a failure?
Answers

CONTENT REVIEW QUESTIONS

1. (C) The Freedmen’s Bureau, which helped poor blacks and whites, is considered an important success of Reconstruction, despite various claims that some Bureau employees were corrupt (The American Pageant, 15th ed., p. 469/16th ed., p. 469; Learning Objective POL-6).

2. (D) Option A describes the radical Republicans’ Reconstruction plan. Option B is incorrect since both amendments were passed after the war. Southern citizens were never asked to repudiate the contract theory—option C. If anything, they would be asked to repudiate the compact theory, which the Supreme Court nevertheless did in the Texas v. White decision. (The American Pageant, 15th ed., p. 470/16th ed., p. 470; Learning Objective POL-6).

3. (D) The Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments were all passed between 1865 and 1870. The Fourteenth Amendment entitled blacks to the same citizenship rights as other Americans (The American Pageant, 15th ed., pp. 473–474/16th ed. pp. 473–474; Learning Objective POL-5).

4. (B) Though unwelcome by some Southerners as opportunists seeking to get rich off the South’s misfortune, many sacrificed the comforts of home to help the freed slaves and poor whites of the South (The American Pageant, 15th ed., pp. 478–479/16th ed., p. 479; Learning Objective PEO-5).

5. (D) President Johnson’s policies conflicted with the radical Republican agenda. When he challenged the Tenure of Office Act, he was impeached (The American Pageant, 15th ed., pp. 480–481/16th ed., p. 481; Learning Objective POL-5).

6. (D) This claim threw the election into turmoil. Whites in the South generally voted Democratic—option A; a special electoral commission, not the Supreme Court, decided in Hayes’s favor (The American Pageant, 15th ed., pp. 494–495/16th ed., pp. 493–494; Learning Objective POL-2).

7. (A) The Force Act was passed to address the abuses of groups such as the KKK (The American Pageant, 15th ed., p. 480/16th ed., pp. 480–481; Learning Objective POL-5).

8. (B) Years after the end of Reconstruction, Jim Crow laws were passed to segregate and subordinate blacks in the South (The American Pageant, 15th ed., p. 496/16th ed., pp. 495–496; Learning Objective POL-6).

9. (C) Elected to the Senate in 1870, Revels was the first of his race to serve in Congress (The American Pageant, 15th ed., p. 478/16th ed., p. 479; Learning Objective POL-3).

11. (A) In order to end racial violence and implement Reconstruction programs, the South was divided into five military districts, each commanded by a Union general (The American Pageant, 15th ed., p. 475/16th ed., pp. 475-476; Learning Objective ENV-3).

12. (B) Some white Southerners who had opposed secession and were generally considered supporters of Reconstruction programs were given the derisive name "scalawags" (The American Pageant, 15th ed., p. 478/16th ed., p. 479; Learning Objective ID-5).

13. (C) The act forbade the president from dismissing cabinet members without Senate consent. When President Johnson fired Secretary of State Stanton, the president was impeached. The bill was initiated by the radical Republicans, who were angered by President Johnson’s opposition to their Reconstruction policies. The Senate, however, voted against the president’s removal from office with a one-vote majority (The American Pageant, 15th ed., pp. 480–481/16th ed., pp. 481–482; Learning Objective POL-5).


15. (A) The amendment also included the phrase “or previous condition of servitude,” obviously meaning freed slaves. The Fifteenth Amendment has become one of the cornerstones of American political democracy (The American Pageant, 15th ed., p. 475/16th ed., p. 476; Learning Objective POL-5).

**SHORT-ANSWER QUESTIONS**

1. The picture is clearly showing African Americans in the South voting during the Reconstruction period, thus gaining equal political rights (for men, at least) is the success of Reconstruction. There are several ways that the federal government supported this, the clearest being the Fifteenth Amendment. You could also discuss the Fourteenth Amendment, the Ku Klux Klan Act, or the military zones in the South after the war. There are a number of ways in which this regressed by the end of Reconstruction, including the use of poll taxes, literacy tests, and grandfather clauses. You can also discuss the violent tactics and lynchings used against African Americans in the South in the late nineteenth century.

2. Andrew Johnson’s tensions with Congress stemmed from a variety of sources. Johnson was a Democrat whereas Congress was dominated by Republicans. Johnson’s views on Reconstruction varied greatly from Congress’s, especially the
radical Republicans', leading to his vetoing several important bills that were swiftly overridden. The Tenure of Office Act mandated that the president attain the Senate’s approval before removing any official confirmed by that body, including Cabinet officials. There are several ways to respond to whether Johnson deserved to be removed from office. Although he did undermine the legislative branch and attempt to stymie the progress of Reconstruction, the law that he was impeached for breaking was trumped up for that purpose.

**LONG ESSAY QUESTIONS**

1. You should point out the similarities between Lincoln’s and Johnson’s plans. Both sought a quick readmission process. Lincoln maintained that the political leadership of the South, not the Southern people, had seceded. The radical Republicans believed in a punitive Reconstruction plan that would also guarantee the rights of blacks. Generally speaking, the Republicans in Congress sought to enfranchise blacks and provide economic aid in the South for two reasons: to keep blacks in the South so that they would not compete with Northern laborers for jobs, and to create the nucleus of a Southern Republican party. Thus it is important to discuss Reconstruction as a struggle between the executive and legislative branches. (Historical Thinking Skill II-4: Comparison)

2. As with all questions that begin with “To what extent,” there can be a wide range of responses. Organize your information based on a list of the successes and failures—categorized as economic, political, or social—of Reconstruction. Remember that the question does not ask whether Reconstruction was a success or a failure but to what extent it was a success and a failure. Thus pointing out, say, the economic accomplishments of Reconstruction may include the work of the Freedmen’s Bureau and the development of black educational institutions, as well as a negative economic effect: sharecropping and the crop-lien system. (Historical Thinking Skill III-6: Historical Argumentation and III-7: Appropriate Use of Relevant Historical Evidence)