### Ms. Wiley’s APUSH Period 4 Packet, 1800-1840s

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**NEW YORK CITY**
HELP WRITE THE DOCUMENT OF SENTIMENTS AND GAIN SUFFRAGE
ORGANIZED BY
ELIZABETH STANTON
AND LUCRETIA MOTT
Period 4 Summary (1800-1840s)

Key Questions for Period 4:
- Key tensions emerge in this period between nationalism vs. sectionalism and traditionalism vs. modernism. By the end of this period, was the nation more nationalistic or sectionalized? Traditionalist or modernist?
- To what extent did the branches of government expand beyond the contours of the Constitution in this period? When were these expansions of power warranted, if at all?
- During this period, did America move closer to, or farther from, American ideals espoused in the Declaration of Independence?
- The first half of the 19th century is often heralded as being a more democratic period than the preceding years. In what ways was American more of a democracy by the 1840s than it had been in the 1790s?
- Are the reputations of each president in this period warranted, or are they in need of revision?
- To what extent were the various reform movements of this period successful, at both the state and national level?
- To what extent was the nation headed inevitably towards civil war by the end of the 1840s?

Key Concept 1:
The United States began to develop more of a democratic nation and celebrated a new national culture, while Americans sought to define the nation’s democratic ideals and change their society and institutions to match them.

Related Ideas/Examples:
- The nation’s transition to a more participatory democracy was achieved by expanding suffrage from a system based on property ownership to one based on voting by all adult white men, and it was accompanied by the growth of political parties.
  - In the early 1800s, national political parties continued to debate issues such as the tariff, powers of the federal government, and relations with European powers.
  - Supreme Court decisions established the primacy of the judiciary in determining the meaning of the Constitution and asserted that federal laws took precedence over state laws.
  - By the 1820s and 1830s, new political parties arose; the Democrats, led by Andrew Jackson, and the Whigs, led by Henry Clay, which disagreed about the role of the federal government and issues such as the national bank, tariffs, and federally funded internal improvements.
  - Regional interests often trumped national concerns as the basis for many political leaders’ positions on slavery and economic policy.
- While Americans embraced a new national culture, various groups developed distinctive cultures of their own.
  - The rise of democratic and individualistic beliefs and changes to society caused by the market revolution, along with greater social and geographic mobility, contributed to a Second Great Awakening among Protestants that influenced moral and social reforms and inspired utopian and other religious movements.
  - A new national culture emerged that combined American elements, European influences, and regional cultural sensibilities.
  - Liberal social ideas from abroad and Romantic beliefs in human perfectibility influenced literature, art, philosophy, and architecture.
  - Enslaved blacks and free African Americans created communities and strategies to protect their dignity and family structures, and they joined political efforts aimed at changing their status.
- Increasing numbers of Americans, many inspired by new religious and intellectual movements, worked primarily outside of government institutions to advance their ideals.
  - Americans formed new voluntary organizations that aimed to change individual behaviors and improve society through temperance and other reform efforts.
  - Abolitionist and antislavery movements gradually achieved emancipation in the North, contributing to the growth of the free African America population, even as many state governments restricted African Americans’ rights. Antislavery efforts in the South were largely limited to unsuccessful slave rebellions.
  - A woman’s rights movement sought to create greater equality and opportunities for women, expressing its ideals at the Seneca Falls Convention.

Related Themes:
- American and National Identity:
  - Explain how interpretations of the Constitution and debates over rights, liberties, and definitions of citizenship have affected American values, politics, and society.
  - Analyze relationships among different regional, social, ethnic, and racial groups, and explain how these groups’ experiences have related to U.S. national identity.
Key Concept 2:
Innovations in technology, agriculture, and commerce powerfully accelerated the American economy, precipitating profound changes to U.S. society and to national and regional identities.

Related Ideas/Examples:
- New transportation systems and technologies dramatically expanded manufacturing and agriculture production.
  - Entrepreneurs helped to create a market revolution in production and commerce, in which market relationships between producers and consumers came to prevail as the manufacture of goods became more organized.
  - Innovations including textile machinery, steam engines, the telegraph, and agricultural inventions increased the efficiency of production methods.
  - Legislation and judicial systems supported the development of roads, canals, and railroads, which extended and enlarged markets and helped foster regional interdependence. Transportation networks linked the North and Midwest more closely than either was linked to the South.
- The changes caused by the market revolution had significant effects on U.S. society, workers’ lives, and gender and family relations.
  - Increasing numbers of Americans, especially women and men working in factories, no longer relied on semisubsistence agriculture; instead, they supported themselves by producing goods for distant markets.
  - The growth of manufacturing drove a significant increase in prosperity and standards of living for some; this led to the emergence of a larger middle class and a small but wealthy business elite, but also to a large and growing population of laboring poor.
  - Gender and family roles changed in response to the market revolution, particularly with the growth of definitions of domestic ideals that emphasized the separation of public and private spheres.
- Economic development shaped settlement and trade patterns, helping to unify the nation while also encouraging the growth of different regions.
  - Large numbers of international migrants moved to industrializing northern cities, while many Americans moved west of the Appalachians, developing thriving new communities along the Ohio and Mississippi rivers.
  - Increasing Southern cotton production and the related growth of Northern manufacturing, banking, and shipping industries promoted the development of national and international commercial ties.
  - Southern business leaders continued to rely on the production and export of traditional agricultural staples, contributing to the growth of a distinctive Southern regional identity.
  - Plans to further unify the U.S. economy, such as the American System, generated debates over whether such policies would benefit agriculture or industry, potentially favoring different sections of the country.

Related Themes:
- Politics and Power: Explain how different beliefs about the federal government’s role in U.S. social and economic life have affected political debates and policies.
- Culture and Society:
  - Explain how different group identities, including racial, ethnic, class, and regional identities have emerged and changed over time.
  - Explain how ideas about women’s rights and gender roles have affected society and politics.
- **Work, Exchange, and Technology:**
  - Explain how patterns of exchange, markets, and private enterprise have developed, and analyze ways that governments have responded to economic issues.
  - Analyze how technological innovation has affected economic development and society.
  - Explain how different labor systems developed in North America and the United States, and explain their effects on workers’ lives and U.S. society.

- **Migration and Settlement:**
  - Explain the causes of migration to colonial North America, and, later, the U.S., and analyze immigration’s effects on U.S. society.
  - Analyze causes of internal migration and patterns of settlement in what would become the U.S., and explain how migration has affected American life.

**Key Concept 3:**
The U.S. interest in increasing foreign trade and expanding its national borders shaped the nation’s foreign policy and spurred government and private initiatives.

**Related Ideas/Examples:**
- Struggling to create an independent global presence, the U.S. sought to claim territory throughout the North American continent and promote foreign trade.
  - Following the Louisiana Purchase, the U.S. government sought influence and control over North America and the Western Hemisphere through a variety of means, including exploration, military actions, American Indian removal, and diplomatic efforts such as the Monroe Doctrine.
  - Frontier settlers tended to champion expansion efforts, while American Indian resistance led to a sequence of wars and federal efforts to control and relocate American Indian populations.
  - As settlers moved westward during the 1780s, Congress enacted the Northwest Ordinance for admitting new states; the ordinance promoted public education, the protection of private property, and a ban on slavery in the Northwest Territory.
  - An ambiguous relationship between the federal government and American Indian tribes contributed to problems regarding treaties and American Indian legal claims relating to the seizure of their lands.
- The U.S.’s acquisition of lands in the West gave rise to contests over the extension of slavery into new territories.
  - As overcultivation depleted arable land in the Southeast, slaveholders began relocating their plantations to more fertile lands west of the Appalachians, where the institution of slavery continued to grow.
  - Antislavery efforts increased in the North, while in the South, although the majority of Southerners owned no slaves, most leaders argued that slavery was part of the Southern way of life.
  - Congressional attempts at political compromise, such as the Missouri Compromise, only temporarily stemmed growing tensions between opponents and defenders of slavery.

**Related Themes:**
- **Migration and Settlement:** Analyze causes of internal migration and patterns of settlement in what would become the U.S., and explain how migration has affected American life.
- **Geography and Environment:** Explain how geographic and environmental factors shaped the development of various communities, and analyze how competition for and debates over natural resources have affected both interactions among different groups and the development of government policies.
- **Work, Exchange, and Technology:**
  - Explain how patterns of exchange, markets, and private enterprise have developed, and analyze ways that governments have responded to economic issues.
  - Explain how different labor systems developed in North America and the United States, and explain their effects on workers’ lives and U.S. society.
- **Culture and Society:** Explain how different group identities, including racial, ethnic, class, and regional identities, have emerged and changed over time.
- **Politics and Power:** Explain how popular movements, reform efforts, and activist groups have sought to change American society and institutions.
- **America in the World:**
  - Analyze the reasons for, and results of, U.S. diplomatic, economic, and military initiatives in North America and overseas.
  - Explain how cultural interaction, cooperation, competition, and conflict between empires, nations, and peoples, have influenced political, economic, and social developments in North America.
Assessment Information:
- The Period 4 exam will consist of an in-class LEQ (before the winter break) and a multiple-choice assessment (after the winter break).
- The Midterm exam (administered towards the end of December 2018) contains approximately 15 multiple-choice questions from Period 4 material. It is recommended that students review the key concepts outlined above for content highlighted on the midterm.
- National Exam (May 2018): Period 4 comprises approximately 12% of the national APUSH exam.
## Period 4 Timeline

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<th>Event</th>
<th>Details</th>
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<tr>
<td>1801-1809</td>
<td>The ___________________ administration</td>
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<tr>
<td>1803</td>
<td>The Louisiana Purchase doubled the size of the nation; Jefferson used __________________ fiscal system to finance the project and instituted a non-republican government in the region</td>
<td>The ___________________ v. Madison case, which:</td>
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<td>1809-1817</td>
<td>The ___________________ administration</td>
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<td>1812-14</td>
<td>The War of ______________</td>
<td>Key causes:</td>
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<td>Key results:</td>
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<tr>
<td>Post-War of 1812</td>
<td>The ___________________ System is endorsed by the ___________________ party, which should come as somewhat of a shock</td>
<td>Key tenets of the system:</td>
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<td>1817-1825</td>
<td>The ___________________ administration</td>
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<tr>
<td>1819</td>
<td>___________________ v. Maryland, which:</td>
<td>Spanish ___________________ sold to the U.S. as a result of:</td>
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<td>1820ish-1840ish</td>
<td>Democratic transition takes place, particularly out West</td>
<td>Causes:</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>Limitations:</td>
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<tr>
<td>1820 (to 1854)</td>
<td>The ___________________ Compromise, which:</td>
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<td>Year</td>
<td>Event</td>
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<tr>
<td>1823</td>
<td>The ________________ Doctrine, which:</td>
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<td>1824</td>
<td>The “____________________ Bargain,” a term used by __________________ supporters to describe:</td>
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<td>1825-1829</td>
<td>The ___________________ administration</td>
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<td>1828</td>
<td>The “Tariff of ______________________” signed into law the highest tariff on record, which was opposed by Southerners because:</td>
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<td>_______________ elected president, running under a newly rebranded party name: the ______________________, which was done to:</td>
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<td>1829-1837</td>
<td>The ___________________ administration</td>
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<tr>
<td>1828-1832</td>
<td>The __________________________ crisis</td>
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<td></td>
<td>South Carolina’s claim + threat:</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Jackson’s response:</td>
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<tr>
<td>1828-1850s</td>
<td>The __________________________ party emerged as an opposition party to Jacksonian Democrats</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Key tenets of party:</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Quite similar to earlier __________________________ party (1789-1814)</td>
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<td>1830</td>
<td>Overriding opposition from __________________________, Jackson’s supporters pass the Indian __________________________ Act, which results in many deaths due to U.S. government/military negligence (as in the Trail of Tears, 1837-8)</td>
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<td>1832</td>
<td>Worcester v. ________________ case declared:</td>
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<td>But Georgia, with Jackson’s backing, ___________________________ the decision, highlighting what Hamilton had said in the Federalist Papers about the judiciary being the __________________ branch of government</td>
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### Treaty of ________________—Considered fraudulent—Signed by the ________________ faction of the Cherokee tribe

- Explain this treaty and its consequences:

### The ________________ War

- Why did Jackson veto and then “kill” the national bank?

- What were the results of Jackson’s decision to “kill” the national bank?

### The ________________ Convention declared men and women equal and outlined the myriad ways in which men have tyrannized women; cultivated minimal success at the time, due to its radical nature (suggesting women obtain the right to ________________)

Throughout the timeline above, roughly 1800-1850, there are some major movements influencing American life that are difficult to “place” on a specific timeline. Key examples are below. Record time periods when possible, and an overview of each item.

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<th>Utopian Movements</th>
<th>Transcendentalism</th>
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Marbury v. Madison (1803): Establishing Judicial Review

Marbury v. Madison, arguably the most important case in Supreme Court history, was the first U.S. Supreme Court case to apply the principle of “judicial review,” the power of federal courts to void acts of Congress in conflict with the Constitution. Written in 1803 by [Federalist] Chief Justice John Marshall, the decision played a key role in making the Supreme Court on par with Congress and the executive, thereby creating a stronger central government.

The facts surrounding Marbury were complicated. In the election of 1800, the Democratic-Republican party of Thomas Jefferson defeated the Federalist party of John Adams, creating an atmosphere of political panic for the lame duck Federalists in Congress (a “lame duck” official is one in the final period of office, after the election of their successor). In the final days of his presidency, Adams appointed a large number of Federalist judges whose commissions were approved by the Senate, signed by the president, and affixed with the official seal of the government. The commissions were not delivered, however (clerical error), and when President Jefferson assumed office on March 5, 1801, he ordered James Madison, his Secretary of State, not to deliver them.

William Marbury, one of the Federalist appointees who expected to begin his new job, then petitioned the Supreme Court for a legal order, compelling Madison to deliver the papers so he could assume his new position. Under the Washington administration (1789-1797), Congress had passed a Judiciary Act which included a section that empowered the to issue writs of mandamus:

\[
\text{man\-da\-mus} \\
\text{\quad /mæn\-dæ\-məs/} \\
\text{noun \quad LAW} \\
\quad \text{a judicial writ issued as a command to an inferior court or ordering a person to perform a public or statutory duty.} \\
\quad \text{“a writ of mandamus”}
\]

In resolving the case, Chief Justice Marshall answered three questions:

**First**, did Marbury have a right to the legal order for which he petitioned? ➔ Marshall wrote that Marbury had been properly appointed in accordance with procedures established by law, and that he therefore had a right to the order (his job).

**Second**, did the laws of the United States allow the courts to grant Marbury such a legal order? ➔ Marshall wrote that because Marbury had a legal right to his commission, the law should afford him a remedy. The Chief Justice went on to say that it was the particular responsibility of the courts to protect the rights of individuals, even against the president of the United States. [Note: At the time, Marshall’s thinly disguised lecture to President Jefferson about the rule of law was much more controversial than his statement about judicial review.]

**Third**, if the answer to the second question was yes, could the Supreme Court issue such a legal order? ➔ It was in answering this third question—whether a legal order issuing from the Supreme Court was the proper remedy—that Marshall addressed the question of judicial review. The Chief Justice ruled that the Court could not grant the legal order because Section 13 of the Judiciary Act of 1789, which granted it the right to do so, was actually unconstitutional, since it extended the Court’s original jurisdiction beyond the intent of Article III of the Constitution. Article III is very clear on original jurisdiction: the power to bring cases directly to the Supreme Court. It applied only to cases affecting ambassadors and those “in which the state shall be party.” According to Marshall, by extending the Court’s original jurisdiction to include cases like Marbury’s (via writs of mandamus), Congress had exceeded its authority. And when an act of Congress is in conflict with the Constitution, it is, Marshall said, the obligation of the Court to uphold the Constitution because, by Article VI, it is the “supreme law of the land.”

As a result of Marshall’s decision Marbury was denied his commission, but the Federalist view of strong national government was enforced, and the Court began its ascent as an equal branch of government.

1. Evaluate Jefferson’s/Madison’s decision to disregard the undelivered commissions:
2. Why and how did Marbury petition the Supreme Court for a legal order?

3. Do you think the Supreme Court was correct in asserting that Section 13 of the Judiciary Act of 1789 was unconstitutional?

4. Explain why a founder who crafted the Constitution at the Convention in 1787 would be happy with this decision.

5. What would be a better way to prevent tyranny: State nullification rights (as asserted in VA and KY Resolutions) or judicial review? Explain.
Missouri Compromise, 1820 | Excerpts from ushistory.org

Most white Americans agreed that western expansion was crucial to the health of the nation. But what should be done about slavery? The incorporation of new western territories into the United States made slavery an explicit concern of national politics. Balancing the interests of slave and free states had played a role from the very start of designing the federal government at the Constitutional Convention in 1787. The crucial compromise there that sacrificed the rights of African Americans in favor of a stronger union among the states exploded once more in 1819 when Missouri petitioned to join the United States as a slave state.

In 1819, the nation contained eleven free and eleven slave states, creating a balance in the U.S. Senate, where each state receives two representatives, regardless of population. Missouri’s entrance threatened to throw this parity in favor of slave interests. The debate in Congress over the admission of Missouri was extraordinarily bitter after Congressman James Tallmadge (NY) proposed that slavery be prohibited in the new state (known as the “Tallmadge Amendment”). Another issue of concern was that slave states would likely see increases in slave populations over time as their agricultural economies developed, thereby adding to their Congressional representation in the House [and thus Electoral College] and increasing Northern fears of a “slaveocracy.”

The debate was especially sticky because defenders of slavery relied on a central principle of fairness. How could the Congress deny a new state the right to decide for itself whether or not to allow slavery? If Congress controlled the decision, then the new states would have fewer rights than the original ones, who had the power to choose slavery if they wished.

Henry Clay, a leading congressman, played a crucial role in brokering a two-part solution known as the Missouri Compromise. First, Missouri would be admitted to the union as a slave state, but would be balanced by the admission of Maine, a free state, that had long wanted to be separated from Massachusetts. Second, slavery was to be excluded from all new states in the Louisiana Purchase north of latitude 36°30′, except for Missouri.

People on both sides of the controversy saw the compromise as deeply flawed. The Missouri Compromise was criticized by many southerners because it established the principle that Congress could make laws regarding slavery; northerners, on the other hand, condemned it for acquiescing in the expansion of slavery (though only south of the compromise line). Nevertheless, it lasted for over thirty years until the Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854 determined that new states north of the boundary deserved to be able to exercise their sovereignty in favor of slavery if they so choose.

Democracy and self-determination could clearly be mobilized to extend an unjust institution that contradicted a fundamental American commitment to equality. The Missouri crisis probed an enormously problematic area of American politics that would later explode in a civil war. As Thomas Jefferson observed about the Missouri crisis, "This momentous question, like a fire-bell in the night, awakened and filled me with terror."

1. For what reasons were Northerners opposed to admitting Missouri’s entrance to the Union as a slave state?

2. What constitutional argument(s) did Southerners make in support of Missouri’s request to be admitted as a slave state?
3. Which region had the better argument (consider the Constitution, Declaration, morality...)? Why?

4. Evaluate the Missouri Compromise. Was the decision clever, folly, futile, the best decision given the circumstances, etc.?

Monroe Doctrine, 1823 | Excerpts from ushistory.org

In his December 2, 1823, address to Congress, President James Monroe articulated his policy on the new political order developing in the rest of the Americas and the role of Europe in the Western Hemisphere. The statement, known as the Monroe Doctrine, was little noted by the Great Powers of Europe, but eventually became a longstanding tenet of U.S. foreign policy.

Monroe and his Secretary of State John Quincy Adams drew upon a foundation of American diplomatic ideals such as disentanglement from European affairs and defense of neutral rights as expressed in Washington's Farewell Address and Madison's stated rationale for waging the War of 1812. The three main concepts of the doctrine—separate spheres of influence for the Americas and Europe, non-colonization, and non-intervention—were designed to signify a clear break between the New World and the autocratic realm of Europe. Monroe's administration forewarned the imperial European powers against interfering in the affairs of the newly independent Central and South American states (who had just broken free from Spain) or potential United States territories. While Americans generally objected to European colonies in the New World, they also desired to increase United States influence and trading ties throughout the region to their south. Europe posed the greatest obstacle to economic expansion.

"The American continents ... are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European powers." The independent lands of the Western Hemisphere would be solely the United States' domain. By the mid-1800s, Monroe's declaration, combined with ideas of Manifest Destiny, provided precedent and support for U.S. expansion on the American continent. In the late 1800s, U.S. economic and military power enabled it to enforce the Monroe Doctrine.

5. What was the purpose of the Monroe Doctrine? What did it seek to achieve or convey? What does it suggest about America’s role in the world?
In *McCulloch v. Maryland* (1819), the Supreme Court ruled that Congress had implied powers under the Necessary and Proper Clause of Article I, Section 8 of the Constitution (the “elastic clause”) to create the Second Bank of the United States and that the state of Maryland lacked the power to tax the Bank. The case not only gave Congress broad discretionary power to implement their powers, but also repudiated, in ringing language, the radical states’ rights arguments presented by counsel for Maryland.

At issue in the case was the constitutionality of the act of Congress chartering the Second Bank of the United States in 1816, under President Madison. State banks looked on the national bank as a competitor and resented its privileged position. When state banks began to fail, they blamed their troubles on the national bank. One such state was Maryland, which imposed a hefty tax on “any bank not chartered within the state.” The Bank of the United States was the only bank not chartered within the state, thus, the tax was clearly aimed at targeting the national bank (and running it out of town). Maryland argued that banking was reserved for the states, resting their argument on the 10th Amendment. In their view, like Jefferson had argued in the 1790s, the national bank violated the principle of federalism and the Constitution.

When the Bank’s Baltimore branch refused to pay the tax, Maryland sued James McCulloch, cashier of the branch, for collection of the debt. McCulloch responded that the tax was unconstitutional. A state court ruled for Maryland, and the court of appeals affirmed. McCulloch then appealed to the U.S. Supreme Court, which reviewed the case in 1819.

In a unanimous opinion written by Chief Justice Marshall, the Court ruled that the Bank of the United States was constitutional and that the Maryland tax was unconstitutional. Concerning the power of Congress to charter a bank, the Court turned to the Necessary and Proper Clause of Article I, Section 8, which expressly grants Congress the power to pass laws that are "necessary and proper" for the execution of its "enumerated powers" and any other power vested in the government. The enumerated powers of Congress include the power to regulate interstate commerce, collect taxes, borrow money, etc. The Court proclaimed that if “the ends be legitimate, [if it’s] within the scope of the constitution, ... [and is] not prohibited, but consist[s] with the letter and spirit of the constitution, [it is] constitutional.” In other words, because the creation of the Bank was appropriately related to Congress's legitimate power to tax, borrow, and regulate interstate commerce, the Bank was constitutional under the Necessary and Proper Clause. (Note: These were the same arguments Hamilton had used to convince President Washington to sign his fiscal plan in the 1790s.)

Second, the Court ruled that Maryland lacked the power to tax the Bank because, pursuant to the Supremacy Clause of Article 6 of the Constitution, the laws of the United States trump conflicting state laws. As Marshall put it, “the government of the Union, though limited in its powers, is supreme within its sphere of action, and its laws, when made in pursuance of the constitution, form the supreme law of the land.” Because "the power to tax is the power to destroy," Maryland was unconstitutionally undermining the superior laws and institutions of the United States.

*Marbury v. Madison* (1803) foreshadowed that the Supreme Court would exercise great authority in shaping the laws of the land. *McCulloch v. Maryland* (1819) fulfilled that idea for the first time. Arguably no other decision has so profoundly defined national power. In one case, the Court expanded Congress' powers to include those implied by the Constitution and established the inferior status of the states in relation to the Union.
6. What was Maryland arguing in this case?

7. How did the Court defend its position that the national bank was constitutional?

8. Do you agree with the Court’s decision? Why or why not?

9. How do both *Marbury v. Madison* (1803) and *McCulloch v. Maryland* (1819) highlight the Federalist legacy in national politics?

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**McCulloch v. Maryland**

- *McCulloch v. Maryland* (1819): The Supreme Court ruled that:
  - Congress has the expressed powers to lay and collect taxes, as well as borrow money.
  - In order to carry out (execute) its expressed powers, Congress has the implied power under the necessary and proper clause to pass a federal law establishing a national bank.
  - Thus, the Maryland state law taxing the national bank was preempted under the supremacy clause since it conflicted with a federal law.
Indian Removal Documentary (PBS)

This documentary highlights the Native American experience through much of Period 4 (1800-1848), with an emphasis on the Indian Removal politics of the 1830s and how those politics influenced the Cherokee tribe.

Throughout the first half of the 19th century, as Americans encroached on their lands, the Cherokee felt their world evaporating around them. By 1830, after years of fighting the military, the Cherokee had struck a bargain with the U.S.—in return for giving up some of their lands and assimilating, they could remain on what remained of their land and receive aid from the U.S. government. But even after these peace treaties, leaders of the Cherokee knew the safety of their people was not a given...

1. What Native American policy began at the end of the Revolution (1776-1813)? What “promise” was made to them?

2. Describe Jefferson’s thoughts on Native Americans:

3. Describe the Cherokee characters below; their background, goals, role in the tribe, etc. You will need to add to this chart throughout the video.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>John Ross</th>
<th>Major Ridge (do not confuse him with his son, John Ridge)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• Would eventually become the chief of the Cherokee</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Indian mother; white father</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>• Wealthy exemplar of “civilization”</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>• Close relationship with U.S. agents—gave him the name “Major Ridge”</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

4. Describe the response of “enlightened” New Englanders when Major Ridge’s son, John Ridge, marries a white woman. How were Indians viewed during this time?

5. What tensions existed between the Cherokee and the federal government and/or white settlers? How was the “alliance” between the Cherokee and U.S. government “fraying”?

6. Take notes below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class System / Economy</th>
<th>Literacy</th>
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</table>
7. Describe the Cherokee Constitution authored by John Ross (1827):

8. How did the state of Georgia respond to the Cherokee Constitution?

9. What did President Jackson (1829-1837) intend to do to the Indians? Why did he feel justified in pursuing this plan?

10. Who supported the Cherokee during the Congressional debate on Jackson’s Indian Removal Bill (1830)?

11. How did Georgia respond to the passing of the Indian Removal Bill of 1830? What kind of legislation did GA pass in its aftermath?

12. What was the “blood law,” authored by the new chief, John Ross?

13. What did the Supreme Court decide in Worcester v. Georgia (1832)? How did the Cherokee respond?

14. How did Jackson and Georgia respond to Worcester (1832)?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Jackson</th>
<th>Georgia</th>
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</table>
15. In light of Jackson’s defiance of the Supreme Court, the Cherokee people had to decide if they would stay on their land or leave for the West. Two factions developed—describe the key arguments of each faction below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ross Faction</th>
<th>Ridge Faction</th>
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<tbody>
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<td></td>
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</table>

16. Describe the Treaty of New Echota (1835), which was negotiated by the Ridge faction in defiance of Chief Ross and the National Council:

17. Though the Cherokee were told they had two years to relocate, what did the vast majority end up doing?

18. Why did Ross send a petition to the Senate? What was its fate?

19. Describe the staging camps the Cherokee were held in prior to removal and the experiences of the Cherokee as they traveled to their new home:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Staging Camps</th>
<th>The Trek West (Trail of Tears)</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
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</tbody>
</table>

20. What was the fate of the Ridge faction in the wake of the Trail of Tears?

21. How did the Cherokee Nation fare in new Indian Territory under John Ross?
Post-Viewing Questions:

22. Were there any possible alternatives to the removal policies pursued by Jackson and his administration? If so, discuss what could have been done differently. If not, explain how removal was the only possible method for the U.S. government to pursue.

23. Is there anything the Cherokee people could have done differently to achieve their goals? Explain. (Keep in mind that they assimilated, became “civilized,” engaged in friendly relations with the U.S. government, and tried to achieve their goals through the court of law, rather than warfare.)

24. Who was right: Ridge or Ross? Who would you have supported had you been a member of the Cherokee Nation? Why?

25. Ethnic cleansing is defined as “the process or policy of eliminating unwanted ethnic or religious groups by deportation, forcible displacement, and/or mass murder, with the intent of creating a territory inhabited by a people of similar or pure ethnicity, religion, culture, and history.” Historic preservationist Russell Townsend is quoted in the film claiming ethnic cleansing did take place during Indian Removal of the 1830s. Do you agree or disagree with this viewpoint? If you agree, why do you think Americans have been reluctant to use terms like “ethnic cleansing” to describe their past? If you disagree, what would be a better label for Indian Removal?
The Jackson Administration (1829-1837)

Though Andrew Jackson was formerly considered one of the greatest American presidents, reverence for the once-esteemed president has receded, as a result of America’s evolving sense of justice and decency. Despite this change in historical interpretation, the President of the United States has urged Americans to recalibrate their judgements to that earlier period of veneration for Jackson. For students of history trying to make sense of the past, these dueling analyses can make the process of evaluating Jackson’s presidency quite confounding. In order to define the Jackson legacy and determine how he should be judged, one must first explore the lenses through which he could be judged. A few are listed below, and will be debated in class:

A. How democratic was he (i.e. how well did he reflect the views and wishes of those that counted as “American people” at the time)? Assuming he was as democratic as he claimed, is being democratic better than republican? [Remember, democratic means the will of the majority prevails; republican means some forms of representative government, some undemocratic elements where tyranny majority is controlled, and all are restrained by the Constitution, and other institutions of government, some of which are not elected by the people.]

B. How true to the Constitution and the framers’ intent was he? Consider the political philosophy that exists in the words of the Constitution (separation of powers, checks and balances, federalism, prevention of tyranny majority, etc.) and the way in which each branch was supposed to operate. If a key goal of the Constitution was to prevent tyranny of any kind, was that achieved during Jackson’s tenure?

C. How successful was he in creating a more stable and prosperous nation? To what extent did the nation become a better place to live for average Americans?

Actively read the sources below. Annotate in the space to the right (how does each document address A-C) or answer questions when they appear.


The concept of a political revolution in 1828 is not completely farfetched. The increased turnout of voters proved that the common people, especially in the universal-white-manhood-suffrage states, now had the vote and the will to use it for their ends...

Prior to this election, America had been ruled by an elite of brains and wealth, whether aristocratic Federalist shippers or aristocratic Jeffersonian planters. Jackson’s victory accelerated the transfer of national power from the country estate to the farmhouse, from the East to the West, from the snobs to the mobs. If Jefferson had been the hero of the “gentleman farmer,” Jackson was the hero of the dirt farmer. The plow-holders were now ready to take over the government: their government.


Jackson’s view on office-holding became even more democratic as he got older. He proceeded from the idea that all offices – whether appointed or elected – must ultimately fall under the absolute control of the people. Appointed offices should be rotated, preferably every four years. Elected offices must be filled directly by the people. In keeping with this principle, Jackson tried to abolish the Electoral College in the election of the President by proposing a constitutional amendment! Moreover, he believed that United States Senators should be directly elected by the people, not appointed by their state legislatures as was customary at the time. [Note: today, senators are chosen in direct elections.]
South Carolina’s Ordinance of Nullification, 1832

Southerners tended to oppose tariffs (part of the American System), while Northerners supported it. Remember, tariffs are taxes on imports and they are used to do one of two things: discourage buying foreign goods, thereby helping domestic industries thrive, or bring in revenue to the government if people continue to buy the foreign goods. Though the Tariff of 1832, signed into law by Jackson, slightly decreased the “Tariff of Abominations” (1828, signed by JQA), it wasn’t decreased quite enough for Southerners. South Carolinians, with support from Jackson’s own vice president, John C. Calhoun, reasserted the principles of state nullification and threatened to secede from the nation if forced to submit to the tariff.

Whereas the Congress of the United States by various acts, purporting to be acts laying duties and imposts on foreign imports, but in reality intended for the protection of domestic manufactures and the giving of bounties to classes and individuals engaged in particular employments [i.e. Northern manufacturers], at the expense and to the injury and oppression of other classes and individuals [i.e. Southerners], [it has] exceeded its just powers under the constitution, which confers on it no authority to afford such protection, and hath violated . . . the constitution, which provides for equality in imposing the burdens of taxation upon the several States . . . Congress, exceeding its just power to impose taxes and collect revenue . . . , hath raised and collected unnecessary revenue for objects unauthorized by the constitution.

We, . . . the people of the State of South Carolina, . . . do declare and ordain . . . that the [tariffs] are unauthorized by the constitution of the United States, and violate the true meaning and intent thereof and are null, void, and no law, nor binding upon this State, its officers or citizens; and all promises, contracts, and obligations, made or entered into, or to be made or entered into, with purpose to secure the duties imposed by said acts, and all judicial proceedings which shall be hereafter had in affirmance thereof, are and shall be held utterly null and void. [This is the theory of nullification once more, first espoused in the KY and VA Resolutions of 1798-9 in response to the Alien and Sedition Acts.]

And it is further ordained, that it shall not be lawful for any of the constituted authorities, whether of this State or of the United States, to enforce the payment of duties imposed by the said acts within the limits of this State; but it shall be the duty of the legislature to adopt such measures and pass such acts as may be necessary to give full effect to this ordinance, and to prevent the enforcement and arrest the operation of the said acts and parts of acts of the Congress of the United States within the limits of this State . . . [;] and all persons residing or being within the limits of this State . . . are hereby required and enjoined to obey and give effect to this ordinance, and such acts and measures of the legislature as may be passed or adopted in obedience thereto. . . . And we, the people of South Carolina . . . do further declare that we will not submit to the application of force on the part of the federal government, to reduce this State to obedience, but that we will consider the passage, by Congress, of any act authorizing the employment of a military or naval force against the State of South Carolina . . . to be null and void, otherwise . . . the people of this State will henceforth hold themselves absolved from all further obligation to maintain or preserve their political connection with the people of the other States; and will forthwith proceed to organize a separate government, and do all other acts and things which sovereign and independent States may of right do.

1. How did South Carolina justify nullification? Do you sympathize with SC in this situation? Why or why not?

2. Review the Constitution; its articles and its principles. To what extent does SC’s approach seem in line with the Constitution? To what extent does it seem opposed to the principles set forth in the Constitution?
Andrew Jackson’s Proclamation to the People of South Carolina, 1832

In response to SC’s ordinance (see above), Jackson and Congress passed the Force Bill, which explicitly empowered the president to compel SC’s compliance with the federal tariffs, if necessary. The law stipulated that the president could deploy the army to force SC to comply with the law. At the same time, a compromise tariff was reached, appeasing Southerners. But Jackson made sure to send a proclamation to the citizens of SC, conveying his opposition to the theory of nullification and alluding to the fact that he viewed their ordinance as equivalent to treason.

The Ordinance of Nullification is founded . . . on the strange position that any one state may not only declare an act of Congress void, but prohibit its execution; that they may do this consistently with the Constitution; that the true construction of [the Constitution] permits a state to retain its place in the Union and yet be bound by no other of its laws than those it may choose to consider as constitutional. . . . If South Carolina considers the revenue laws unconstitutional and has a right to prevent their execution in the port of Charleston, there would be a clear constitutional objection to their collection in every other port; and no revenue shall be collected anywhere. . . . If this doctrine had been established at an earlier day, the Union would have been dissolved in its infancy. . . .

I consider, then, the power to annul a law of the United States, assumed by one state, incompatible with the existence of the Union, contradicted explicitly by the letter of the Constitution, unauthorized by its spirit, inconsistent with every principle on which it was founded, and destructive of the great object for which it was formed. . . . In vain these sages [the framers of the Constitution] declared that Congress should have the power to lay and collect taxes, duties, etc.; in vain they have provided that they shall have the power to pass laws which shall be necessary and proper to carry those powers into execution, that those laws and the Constitution should be the supreme law of the land, and that judges in every state shall be bound thereby. . . . If a bare majority of voters in any one state may, on real or supposed knowledge of the intent with which a law has been passed, declare themselves free from its operation, the work of those great sages will be destroyed. . . .

[The] Constitution forms a government, not a league. . . . Each state having expressly parted with so many powers as to constitute jointly with other nations, a single nation, cannot from that period, possess any right to secede, because such secession does not break a league, but destroys the unity of a nation. . . . To say that any state may at pleasure secede from the union is to say that the United States is not a nation . . . . Because the union was formed by a compact, it is said that the parties to that compact may, when they feel themselves aggrieved, depart from it; but it is precisely because it is a compact that they may not. A compact is a binding obligation . . . .

3. How did Jackson refute the nullification theory? Was he successful? Why or why not?

Andrew Jackson’s Bank Veto Message to Congress, 1832

When the bank’s re-charter legislation was brought to Jackson, he vetoed the act, arguing that the bank was an enemy of the people. Jackson was generally opposed to the American System (except the tariff) and in support of Jefferson’s vision of an agrarian republic. He used the veto message to defend his decision and play into the concerns of the “common man,” who were becoming more and more politically active across the country due to the democratic transition in electoral laws.

I sincerely regret that in the act before me, I can perceive none of those modifications of the bank charter which are necessary, in my opinion, to make it compatible with the Constitution of our country. . . . It appears that more than one-fourth of the bank’s stock is held by foreigners and the remainder is held by a few hundred of our own citizens, chiefly the richest class. Of the twenty-five directors of the bank, five are chosen by the Government and twenty by the bank stockholders . . . [I]t is easy to conceive that great evils to our country might flow from such a concentration of power in the hands of a few men irresponsible to the people. Is there no danger to our liberty and independence in a bank than the fact that it has so little to bind it to our country? It is to be regretted that the rich and powerful too often bend the acts of government to their selfish purposes . . .

Note: Senator Daniel Webster would respond to Jackson’s veto by saying that it “sows the seeds of jealousy and ill-will against the government of which he is the official head. . . . It manifestly seeks to inflame the poor against the rich . . ."
Senator Henry Clay’s Senate Censure of President Andrew Jackson, 1834

In one of Jackson’s most controversial acts in public office, he ordered the withdrawal of U.S. funds from the national bank in 1833, while Congress was on recess. He had to go through three treasury secretaries to find someone who would follow through on this order, which is deemed by most historians and constitutional scholars as illegal and worthy of impeachment and removal from office. When Congress returned, they were enraged with his grasp of power and quickly censured him for his actions, though this would later be reversed when his supporters gained controlled Congress. [To censure means to make a statement that reprimands a president, member of Congress, or judge.] Jackson’s actions would set about a chain reaction that would lead to economic calamity, the Panic of 1837.

Resolved: that in taking upon himself the responsibility of removing the deposits of the public money from the Bank of the United States, the President of the U.S. has assumed the exercise of a power over the Treasury of the U. States, not provided to him by the Constitution and laws, and dangerous to the liberties of the people.

4. Both Jackson’s veto message and decision to “kill” the U.S. bank (two separate things) were critiqued by the political elites. Was this warranted?

Excerpts from Andrew Jackson’s Message[s] to Congress on Indian Removal

Jackson proposed the Indian Removal Act in 1830, which would authorize the President to negotiate removal treaties with all the tribes east of the Mississippi. According to the Act, removal would be voluntary and Indians would receive “perpetual title to their new land.” The act was narrowly passed in both houses of Congress.

The condition and destiny of the Indian tribes within the limits of some of our states have become objects of much interest and importance . . . [B]y persuasion and force, they have been made to retire from river to river and from mountain to mountain, until some of the tribes have become extinct and other have left but remnants. Surrounded by whites with their arts of civilization, which, by destroying the resources of the savage, doom him to weakness and decay . . . humanity and national honor demand that every effort be made to avert such a great calamity.

I suggest for your consideration setting apart an ample district west of the Mississippi, and outside the limits of any state or territory now formed to be guaranteed to the Indian tribes as long as they shall occupy it, each tribe having a distinct control over the portion designated for its use. This emigration should be voluntary, for it would be as cruel as unjust to compel the Indians to abandon the graves of their fathers and seek a home in a distant land.

Toward the aborigines of the country no one can indulge a more friendly feeling then myself, or would go further in attempting to reclaim them from their wandering habits and make them a happy, prosperous people. . . . It is pleasing to reflect that results so beneficial, not only to the States immediately concerned, but to the harmony of the union, will have been accomplished [by the Indian Removal Act of 1830] by measures equally advantageous to the Indians. . . . That those tribes can not exist surrounded by our settlements . . . is certain. They have neither the intelligence, the industry, the moral habits, nor the desire of improvement which are essential to any favorable change in their condition. Established in the midst of another and a superior race, and without appreciating the causes of their inferiority or seeking to control them, they must necessarily yield to the force of circumstances and ere long disappear.

5. Based on what you’ve learned from the Indian Removal documentary (etc.), to what extent are Jackson’s words in these addresses sincere?
President Jackson was certainly a larger than life figure. He had a history of ambitiously and aggressively pursuing his goals, whether it be in Florida during the Monroe administration, “killing” the national bank while president, vetoing more legislation than all other presidents before him combined, and wiping out federal employees and replacing them with his friends (the “spoils system”), just to name a few. Jackson thought that the president symbolized the popular will of the people and ought to dominate the government, at no expense.

In this caricature of Andrew Jackson he is depicted as a despotic monarch, probably issued in 1833 in response to the President’s order to remove federal deposits from the Bank of the United States, on which the President was strongly criticized for acting without congressional approval. Jackson, in regal costume, stands before a throne in a frontal pose reminiscent of a playing-card king. He holds a “veto” in his left hand and a scepter in his right. The Federal Constitution and the arms of Pennsylvania (the United States Bank was located in Philadelphia) lie in tatters under his feet. A book "Judiciary of the United States" lies nearby. Around the border of the print are the words "Of Veto Memory", "Born to Command" and "Had I Been Consulted."

6. What do you suspect is the purpose of the cartoon? To what extent does the image depict reality, given what you’ve learned from the vignette, documentary, and mixes?
Introduction to the North

When we speak of the North in the first half of the 19th century, we’re talking about:
- New England (Connecticut, Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, and Vermont)
- the Middle Atlantic states (New Jersey, Pennsylvania)
- what is called the Old Northwest, which stretched from Ohio to Minnesota. (Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota—all became states from 1803 to 1858)

In the early 1800s the Old Northwest was an unsettled frontier. By mid-century though, it was closely tied to the other northern states, due to the building of canals and established common markets between the Great Lakes and East Coast.

While manufacturing was expanding via the market revolution—which you’ll read about momentarily—the vast majority of northerners were still involved in agriculture.

The North was the most populous section in the country as a result of both high birthrate and increased immigration. As we know, the more populous a state is the more reps they get in the House and more electoral votes they get in the Electoral College. This is part of what gave Southerners by the 1840s and 50s a heightened fear of becoming a minority in the republic. Would the increasingly populous North eventually dismantle the institution of slavery they relied on, for a combination of political, economic, and moral reasons? The answer to more and more Southerners became YES.

The Market Revolution: (transportation revolution + industrialization)

While we often talk of the industrial changes of this time as simply industrialization, the more accurate term used by historians is the market revolution. This refers to social and economic changes caused by the transportation revolution, and industrialization (use of power-driven machinery to produce goods once made by hand, like farm equipment, clocks, shoes, etc.), that influenced Northern life, and—to a lesser extent—Western life.

Between 1800 and 1840, the U.S. experienced truly revolutionary improvements in transportation, which encouraged Americans to look beyond their local communities to broader ones and fostered an enterprising commercial spirit. Even for those who chose not to venture out of their local communities, those local communities were forever changed by commercial goods made in distant centers.

In 1800, travel by road was difficult for much of the year. Though localities and states tried to improve roads, their efforts failed to resolve the problem. The federal government decided to step in by funding the National Road in 1808, under President Jefferson, which crossed the Appalachian Mountains at Cumberland Maryland, thereby opening up the West. The road would facilitate trade and bind the states together in what Jefferson called a “union of sentiment.” Congress had to think innovatively to get the road underway. To address the belief that the government did not have the constitutional authority to build a road on land owned by the states, Jefferson was required to secure consent from the states through which the road would pass. By 1850, the National Road tied the East and West together. The federal government’s decision to fund the road demonstrated its commitment to both expansion and national cohesion. These efforts helped to foster a national community, along with pride.

To ship bulky goods, waterborne transportation was preferred (since it was easier and cheaper than roads). But before the 1820s, most water routes were north-south or coastal; east-west links were urgently needed. Canals turned out to be the answer. The Erie Canal—the most famous canal of the era—provided easy passage to and from the interior, both for people and goods. It drew settlers from the East and from overseas, creating new communities around the canal. The canal was opened for business in 1825, having been constructed by Irish laborers, whom locals regarded as different and frightening. Much of the heavy construction work on later canals and railroads was performed by immigrant labor. The phenomenal success of the Erie Canal prompted other states to follow New York’s lead and invest in canal building. The great spurt of canal building ended the geographical isolation of much of the country. As commercial ties grew, farm families began purchasing what they needed, rather than producing it themselves.
Railroads were new in 1830; as a young innovation they would experience many problems. It wouldn’t be until the 1850s that consolidation of local railroads into larger system began in earnest.

Effects of the transportation revolution:
- Fueled economic growth; made distant markets accessible
- Successes of innovations such as canals and, later, railroads attracted large capital investments (including foreigners)
- New investment fueled economic growth further
- Favored an optimistic, risk-taking mentality in the U.S. that stimulated innovation
- Allowed people to move with ease
- Spread of disease; epidemics that were once localized spread as travel expanded
- Every east-west connection helped reorient Americans away from the Atlantic and toward the heartland, creating national pride and identity; transportation improvements linked Americans in larger communities of interest

Alongside the transportation revolution was industrialization. Begun in Britain in the mid-eighteenth century, industrialization—which required workers to concentrate in factories—stood in stark contrast to the preindustrial system, where capitalists had dispersed work into many individual households. Britain was well-aware of the value of their industrialization; as such, they enacted laws forbidding the export of machinery and emigration of skilled workers. With the help of industrial spies Samuel Slater and Francis Cabot Lowell, the science of British technology made its way to America. By 1820, mills dotted the rivers of New England, which was rich in flowing streams that could provide power to spinning machines and power looms.

Industrialization gave way to a growing political battle between the North and South over slavery. Southern defenders of slavery compared their alleged “cradle-to-grave responsibility” to their slaves (the “benevolent masters” argument) with Northern employers’ “heartless” treatment of their “wage slaves.” Southerners critiqued the fact that Northern employers felt no obligation to help or care for old or disabled workers; this, perhaps, was worthy of critique, but Northerners were right when they pointed out that industrialization was certainly freer than the slave system (though precisely how much freer is up for debate)...

Industrial development meant that large numbers of people who had once earned their living as independent farmers and artisans—who could set their own prices—now were taken out of the market and held at the whim of factory owners. The harsh realities of industrialism ensured that most received meager wages, little job security, and came to think of themselves (and their labor) as more of a commodity, to be bought and sold. The industrialization process inevitably creates many unskilled laborers who are in a poor position to lobby for better wages or working conditions. As such, urban workers in different cities started organized unions to do the work of collective bargaining with employers, but their success was curtailed. English and American law branded unions as “illegal combinations,” a “government unto themselves,” which “unlawfully interfered with a master’s authority over his servant.” As such, states across the nation declared that unions/strikes were illegal, arguing that it was in the “best interests of society that the price of labor be left to regulate itself.” Unions and strikes were put down well into the 20th century. (More on this in Period 6.)

Note: It is important to remember that industrialization did not occur overnight. Large factories and national rail lines were not common until after the Civil War (1870s-80s).

1. Make a list of references/connotations that should come to mind when you hear/read, “Market Revolution”:

This infrastructure, like the Erie Canal, was as important to the nation as the railroad network of the late 19th century and the interstate highway and airport transportation systems of the late 20th century.
A New Social Order and Family Life

The market revolution ended the stable, hierarchical social order, creating the dynamic and unstable one we recognize today: upper, middle, and working classes, whose members all share the hope of climbing as far up the social ladder as they can. This social mobility was new—since colonial times, the upper class was a small elite that often intermarried. The expanding opportunities of the market revolution enriched this already rich class and simultaneously created a new layer directly below the upper class: white-collar workers (managers, bank tellers, clerks, bookkeepers, insurance agents, etc., who had been independent artisans in the preindustrial North).

The market revolution also provoked changes in leisure time. Workers across the North found leisure at the local tavern, spectator sports (horse racing, boxing, baseball) and popular entertainments (plays, minstrel shows, operas, circuses). Over time, working-class amusements became more distinct and visible than they had been before.

Family roles were dramatically reshaped by the market revolution. Men increasingly focused their energies on their careers and occupations; they were expected to be industrious, responsible and attentive to their business, since they operated in a competitive, uncertain, and rapidly changing landscape. Most middle-class fathers spent their day away from their homes and families. Women assumed new responsibilities for inculcating in their children the new attitudes necessary for success in the business world. Women were expected to fulfill this new duty, all while providing a quiet, well-ordered, and relaxing refuge from the pressures of industrial life. Through literature, women’s magazines, and church groups, women shared ideas on child-raring, cooking, medical care, household design, and morals, all of which contributed to a new middle-class ethic.

Families began limiting their size during the market revolution, as industrialization reduced the economic value of children. Family size reduced from 7 in 1800 to 5 by 1830. This was achieved by family planning, contraception, and abortions, which were widely advertised by the 1830s. The rising rate of abortions by married women prompted the first legal bans; by 1860, twenty states had outlawed the practice. It is important to note that these laws were enacted as a result of the dangers the surgery caused to the women themselves; the stated aim by state legislatures was not one of moral opposition.

Changes brought on by the market revolution were somewhat liberating for women of farm families. Almost half of the wage laborers in 1840 were women—women whose destiny would have been predetermined in the preindustrial North. Thus, as a result of the market revolution, some women started traveling for work and marrying urban men. Since some women now earned wages, their voices were strengthened in the home. In fact, industrialization posed a major threat to the status and independence of men. Mechanization meant that most tasks could now be performed by unskilled labor, which meant that women and children were preferred laborers over men. Not surprisingly, male workers quickly began to oppose female participation in the workforce. Many felt that “respectable” women did not do factory work. Nonetheless, women made up a large portion of the industrial workforce and went on to lead some of the first strikes in American history, which owners considered unfeminine and ungrateful. Early American strikes, led by either women or men, were largely unsuccessful, as owners were always able to find new workers, like Irish immigrants, who would work at lower wages.

2. What are some of the ways in which gender and family relations changed in the North as a result of the Market Revolution?

Urban Life & Immigration

The North’s urban population grew from approximately 5% in 1800 to 15% by 1850. As a result of such rapid growth in cities from Boston to Baltimore, slums also expanded, which were home to disease, crime, prostitution, and alcoholism. There was no unemployment insurance, regulation of wages, or welfare programs to help the most vulnerable or sick. Nevertheless, the new opportunities in cities offered by the market revolution continued to attract both native-born Americans from farms and immigrants from Europe.

From the 1830s through the 1850s, nearly 4 million people from northern Europe came to America’s northern seacoast cities of Boston, NY, and Philadelphia. Most stayed there, while others traveled to the Old Northwest. Few journeyed to the South where the plantation economy limited their opportunities.

The surge in immigration between roughly 1830-60 was caused by:

- Development of inexpensive and relatively rapid ocean transportation
• Famines and revolutions in Europe that drove people from their homelands
• Growing reputation of the U.S. as a country offering economic opportunities and some political freedom (America was more “democratic” than most)

Immigrants strengthened the U.S. economy by providing both a steady source of inexpensive labor and an increased demand for mass-produced consumer goods.

Half of all the immigrants—almost 2 million—came from Ireland. They were mostly tenant farmers driven from their homeland by the potato crop failures and a devastating famine in the 1840s. They arrived with little interest in farming, few special skills, and little money. Due to ardent anti-Catholicism among Protestant white Americans, the Irish faced callous discrimination. Politically, most Irish immigrants joined the Democratic party, which had long traditions of anti-British feelings and support—real or perceived—for the “common man.” Their progress was gradual and difficult.

The Irish benefitted from a new political institution emerging in the new cities—the “political machine,” a local party organization, usually Democratic, that had control of local city politics and could dole out benefits and aid to immigrants, among others, in return for votes. These machines, such as Tammany Hall in NYC, were known for their corruption, but on a more positive note, performed valuable service to recent immigrants.

As for German migrants, both economic hardships and the failure of democratic revolutions in 1848 caused more than 1 million to seek refuge in the U.S. in the late ‘40s and ‘50s. Most had modest means as well as considerable skills as farmers and artisans. They tended to move westward in search of cheap, fertile land; they established homesteads throughout the Old Northwest and generally prospered. Many strongly supported public education and were staunchly opposed to slavery.

Today, over 50 million Americans have full or partial German ancestry, making German-Americans the largest white ethnic group in the United States. Germans had a long history of emigration to America. Remember, William Penn welcomed Germans to PA, one of the most diverse of the British North American colonies.

Many native-born white Americans were alarmed by the influx of immigrants, particularly Irish, fearing the newcomers would take their jobs and also subvert (weaken) the culture of the majority. Protestant nativists (those opposed to immigrants) were especially distrustful of Catholicism, practiced by the Irish and some of the Germans as well. In the 1840s, opposition to immigrants led to sporadic rioting in the big cities and the organization of a secret-society aimed at rooting out foreigners from American society—the American, or Know Nothing Party.

Cartoon title: Uncle Sam’s Lodging House | Source: Puck (an American satirical magazine). Caption below title reads, “Uncle Sam to Irishman: Look here, you, everybody else is quiet and peaceable, and you’re all the time a-kicking up a row!” The accompanying editorial stated, “the raw Irishman in America is a nuisance, his son a curse. They never assimilate; the second generation simply shows an intensification of all the bad qualities of the first. . . .They are a burden and a misery to this country. . . .The time had come to clear the Irishman from Uncle Sam’s lodging house . . .”

3. Why did so many Irish and German immigrants come to America in the first half of the 19th century?

4. How is the cartoon and accompanying editorial indicative of nativism?
Approximately 250,000 free blacks lived in the North during the first half of the 19th century. At the start of the Revolution in 1775, slavery was legal in all of the colonies, but by the time the war ended and peace settled in Paris in 1783, New England was mostly free of slavery, and by 1800 all the states north of MD had provided for the gradual abolition of slavery in their state constitutions, though the process dragged on until the 1830s. Remember, slavery never gained a foothold in this region of the country for a combination of geographic reasons and migration patterns—settlers came in family groups, creating villages, towns, and then cities.

Despite their status as free peoples, blacks were denied political rights, such as voting and officeholding; economic rights, such as working in most skilled professions and crafts; social rights, such as moving freely in public spaces, attending schools; and legal rights, such as testifying against whites or marrying whites. Though they could maintain a family, and in some instances, own land, their lives were widely restricted. Their position in society was further reduced as a result of massive immigration, which led to increasing black unemployment. Employment was only certain for blacks when white workers went on strike—they’d be brought in as strikebreakers, dismissed after the strike ended, and hated even more in its aftermath.

5. How “free” would you characterize Northern blacks in the first half of the 19th century?

6. What do you suspect was the student’s objective in his graduation speech?

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**Graduation speech made by a young African American who was first in his class of his New York City free school, 1819**

**Respected Patrons and Friends,**

... Why should I strive hard and acquire all the constituents of a man if the prevailing genius of the land admit me not as such, or but in an inferior degree? Pardon me if I feel insignificant and weak.... Where are my prospects? To what shall I turn my hand? Shall I be a mechanic? No one will employ me; white boys won't work with me. Shall I be a merchant? No one will have me in his office; white clerks won't associate with me. Drudgery and servitude, then, are my prospective portion. Can you be surprised at my discouragement?

**Note:** Before the Civil War most Northern schools for blacks were segregated. However, this was an improvement over the South where public schooling for both white and free black was very limited, and where educating slaves was generally illegal.
The Second Great Awakening (1790s-1840s)

The Second Great Awakening (1790s-1840) began in New England, and then swept through the frontier regions of the West—where families were searching for social ties in new communities—and then made its way to the South. It was something all of America shared in common.

In these revivals, successful preachers were audience-centered and easily understood by the uneducated; they spoke about the opportunity of salvation to ALL. These populist movements seemed attuned to the democratization of American society taking place at the same time. Preachers would travel from one location to another and attract thousands to hear the dramatic preaching at outdoor revivals, or camp meetings. These preachers activated the faith of many people who had never belonged to a church.

Though a religious movement, it had an enormous influence in social and political matters of the North; the Second Great Awakening is seen as a major cause of the antebellum (pre-Civil War) reform era. In fact, by the 1820s, so many Protestant men and women of the North had embraced social reform that church leaders warned them not to neglect their spiritual duties.

Blacks, even those in the South, were affected by the revival, creating the first black Christian churches, typically Baptist or Methodist. Previously, most had maintained the religious practices of their homelands, giving homage to African gods and spirits or practicing Islam.

Women found new opportunities in the revival, taking charge of religious and charitable enterprises, and often becoming leaders of reform movements (if they lived in the North). Ministers, preaching spiritual equality, ended gender-segregated prayer meetings, and more colleges in the country started admitting women (though it was still a very small number).

Preachers in the South were initially disruptive because they spoke of spiritual equality and criticized slavery. To retain white men in their churches, they gradually adapted their religious message to justify the authority of white men, highlighting the myriad ways in which our society often influences religion, instead of the other way around.

Like the First Great Awakening (1720s-'40s), the Second Great Awakening (1790-1840):

- rejected predestination in favor of more liberal and forgiving doctrines; both repudiated the orthodox focus on human wickedness; instead, both preached that universal salvation was possible
- rejected sermons based on rational argument; instead, preachers appealed to people’s emotions and fear of damnation
- prompted thousands to publicly declare their revived faith
- promoted the idea that very individual could be saved through faith
- caused new divisions and sects in Christian society between the newer, evangelical sects, and the older Protestant churches
- affected all sections of the country, but in Northern states the Second Great Awakening also touched off social reform; activist religious groups provided both the leadership and well-organized volunteer societies that drove the reform movements of the antebellum (pre-Civil War) period
- offered powerful emotional messages, invigorating churches
- led to the growth of private colleges; various Protestant denominations founded denominational colleges, especially in newer western states (Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Iowa)

1. Though the Second Great Awakening touched all parts of America, how did it effect North and South differently?
Northern Reform Movements (1st half of the 19th century)

In the decades before the Civil War—what historians call the antebellum period—there were a diverse mix of reformers in the North dedicated to causes such as establishing free (tax-supported) public schools, improving the treatment of the mentally ill, controlling or abolishing the sale of alcohol, winning equal rights for women, and abolishing slavery. The enthusiasm for reform had many historic sources: the Enlightenment belief in human goodness and the ability of humans to use logic and reason to resolve problems; the democratization that occurred across the nation, bringing many more white men (of lesser means) into the political sphere; industrialization, which made glaringly apparent the social and economic ills of the society; and evangelical religious beliefs set off by a religious revival called the Second Great Awakening (1790s-1830s), which taught that perfection in self and society would lead to salvation.

At first, reformers hoped to improve people’s behavior through moral persuasion. After they tried sermons and pamphlets, they then moved on to political action and a desire to create new institutions to replace the old. Reformers realized large cities had to make large-scale provisions for social misfits and that institutional rather than private efforts were needed. Traditional methods of small-scale relief for the poor, for example, were no longer adequate in the crowded cities where poverty festered.

Central to the belief system of reformers was that society should not simply unfold naturally; instead, its environment should be consciously structured with care. Put another way, the environment makes the individual, not other way around. As such, reformers believed the condition of the unfortunate (poor, insane, criminal, slave) could improve with a wholesome environment. This moralistic dogma at times took the form of nativism, a dangerous hostility to immigrants. The temperance movement in particular targeted Irish and German immigrants for their drinking habits.

1. What were some of the causes of the Northern reform movements in the first half of the 19th century?

Temperance

- Largest reform movement of the period
- Dominated by evangelicals
- Excessive drinking was a national problem; led to violence, crime, domestic abuse, and economic problems
- The new middle class, preoccupied with respectability and morality, found drinking unacceptable, while immigrants remained hostile to reform
- By mid-1840s, successful campaigns for temperance (plus the economic problems caused by the economic Panic of 1837) drastically decreased consumption in many states
- In 1851, Maine was the first state to prohibit the manufacture and sale of liquor; 12 others followed before the Civil War
- National Prohibition would not occur until the 18th Amendment (1919), after successful lobbying from women’s organizations, only to be repealed in 1933 by the 21st Amendment


Humanitarian reform

Humanitarian reformers of the era called attention to the increasing numbers of criminals, mentally ill, and paupers that came with industrialization, often living in wretched conditions without any caretakers. To alleviate their suffering and get them off streets to prevent crime, reformers proposed setting up new institutions—state-supported prisons, mental hospitals, and poorhouses. Reformers hoped inmates would be cured as result of being withdrawn from squalid surroundings and treated to disciplined pattern of life.
One of the more famous humanitarians of the era was Dorothea Dix, a former school teacher from Massachusetts, who was horrified at the treatment of mentally ill. Often in unsanitary prison cells with felons, beaten and tortured, Dix documented their stories, publicizing the awful treatments she witnessed. By the 1840s, one legislature after another built new mental hospitals or improved existing institutions, and mental patients began receiving professional treatment.

**Education (see Education & Reform document)**

Another reform movement focused on the need to establish free (tax-supported) public schools for all children of all classes. Middle class reformers were motivated in part by their fears for the future of the republic posed by growing numbers of uneducated poor—both immigrant and native-born. The movement’s leading advocate was Horace Mann of Massachusetts, who argued for compulsory attendance, longer school years, and increased teacher training. By the 1840s, his ideas spread to other Northern and Western states. Meanwhile the South rejected education legislation.

By mid-century, more schools separated students by age, had a semblance of uniformity in curriculum, and basic teacher training. Though more and more children went to school, it was often for short terms and schools continued to be underfunded.

**Abolitionism**

- **American Colonization Society:**
  - Formed in 1817 with the goal of sending blacks back to Africa
  - Northerners were especially interested in sending the North’s free black people away, describing them as “ignorant, degraded and miserable, mentally diseased…”
  - Some argued that slavery hindered economic progress, putting economies in a stagnant state of agriculture rather than industry and progress
  - Proved an ineffective organization, only sending 12,000 black people to a colony in Liberia, on the west coast of Africa
  - Most free blacks strongly opposed such colonization schemes, as they saw themselves as American

- **American Anti-Slavery Society:**
  - Formed in 1833 by William Lloyd Garrison (and others)
  - Flooded the nation with its literature
  - Aided fugitive slaves in the Underground Railroad, which helped to free about 1,000 slaves each year; Harriet Tubman and other runaways risked re-enslavement or death by returning repeatedly to the South to help others escape
  - Bombarded Congress with petitions containing nearly 500,000 signatures demanding the abolition of slavery in D.C., an end to the domestic slave trade (interstate as opposed to international), and a ban on admission of new slave states (none of which were successful)

- **National government and abolitionism:**
  - President Jackson, a longtime slave owner, asked Congress in 1835 to restrict the use of the mails by abolitionist groups like the American Anti-Slavery Society; Congress refused
  - In 1836, the House of Representatives adopted the “gag rule,” which automatically tabled (dismissed) any antislavery petitions, keeping the explosive issue of slavery off the congressional stage; remained in force until 1844

- **Free northern blacks,** such as Frederick Douglass, founded many abolitionist societies that held conventions and distributed literature; they believed that slave narratives and literature, providing graphic details of abuse under slavery, would force southerners to confront their wrongdoing and seek repentance by freeing their slaves
• William Lloyd Garrison, founder of *The Liberator* (an antislavery newspaper), was the most famous white abolitionist
  o Advocated for immediate emancipation without compensation to slaveholders (a very radical idea for the time) and was uncompromising in his views
  o Helped to radicalize many northern abolitionists
  o Worked with many women to spread the movement
  o Georgia legislature offered a $5,000 reward to anyone who would kidnap him and bring him to the South to stand trial for inciting rebellion
  o Maintained that the Constitution was a proslavery document that should be condemned (3/5th clause, fugitive slave clause)

• The Southern response/perspective:
  o Southerners sought to suppress abolitionist literature; some banned it altogether, others encouraged harassment and abuse of anyone distributing it
  o Tightened laws concerning all aspects of slave behavior throughout the first half of the 19th century, particularly after Nat Turner’s Revolt in 1831, where Turner and other slaves killed 55 whites; in retaliation, the VA militia killed hundreds of slaves

• Resistance to abolitionism:
  o Slavery’s proponents were more numerous and equally as aggressive as abolitionists
  o Conservative clergy condemned the public roles assumed by abolitionist women
  o Northern wage earners feared that free blacks would take their jobs
  o Many Northerners relied on trade with southern planters and the slave economy
  o Whites, North and South, almost universally opposed amalgamation/miscegenation (racial mixing and intermarriage; see next section below)
  o Racial fears and hatreds led to violent mob actions throughout the 1830s
    ▪ White workers in northern towns destroyed taverns and brothels where whites and blacks mixed
    ▪ Vandalized black churches, temperance halls, and orphanages
    ▪ Clubbed and stoned residents and destroyed homes and churches
    ▪ Killed Elijah Lovejoy, an editor of an abolitionist paper
    ▪ abolitionists had revealed the extent of racial prejudice and had heightened race consciousness

• Fears over miscegenation: There had been a long history of white American revulsion at the thought of black men and white women sleeping together (miscegenation). The moral outrage that the thought of race-mixing raised had its political uses in the defense of slavery. White abolitionists, a majority of whom were women, were often accused by slave owners of joining the movement to gratify their “lust.” One of the great fears of anti-abolitionists was the certainty that if black men were free there would be widespread intermarriage. The resulting mixed-race children, called “mulattos,” were seen as a danger to society. Henry Hughes, in his 1854 *Treatise on Sociology* wrote that “if the white race is superior, their ethical progress forbids intermixture with an inferior race.” He warned his educated readers that “Impurity of the races is against the law of nature. Mulattoes are monsters.”

*Amalgamation Waltz is the first of many cartoons by Edward Clay published in 1839 showing graphically that emancipation of the slaves would lead to the seduction of white women by black men dancing the Amalgamation Waltz.*
The sexual union of black man and white woman was expected to produce the “monstrous mulattoes” such as the girl and the baby shown here who have none of the purity of their white mother.

Note: Most ex-Confederate states did not allow whites and blacks to engage in sexual acts or marry until the Supreme Court invalidated their anti-miscegenation laws in 1967 (Loving v. Virginia).

2. Record reactions/questions to the material from this section:

Women’s Rights Movement

- Reform movements of this age were often spearheaded by women, who were involved in all reform movements of the era
- Women of the era sought to step outside their “separate sphere” of domestic life by becoming more active in the church and reform movements, such as temperance
- Seneca Falls Convention, 1848
  - Led by Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Lucretia Mott, both active members of the abolition movement
  - 300 people attended the two-day meeting in Seneca Falls, NY
  - Focused on the Declaration of Sentiments, a petition for women’s rights modeled on the Declaration of Independence
  - Detailed the oppressions men had imposed on women, just as the Jefferson’s Declaration had detailed the oppressions King George III imposed on the colonists, and asserted the nation’s republican principles:
    - People (of course they disagreed on who qualified as a person) have sacred and unalienable rights; governments exist to protect those rights; when governments violate those natural rights, the people have a duty/right to alter or abolish their government but must present a list of the alleged abuses
  - Only 100 people, including some men, signed the document; passages on elective franchise were seen as too radical for their time
- Women would not achieve the vote until 1920 (19th Amendment)

Southern reaction to reform

Antebellum reform was largely found in the North, with little impact in South. While “modernizers” attempted to reform and perfect society in the North, Southerners were more committed to tradition and slow to support public education and humanitarian reform. As a whole, the region was more conservative, attributing social ills to God’s will. They were especially hostile to the role women often played in the movements, and were quick to notice the tendency of all movements to coalesce around the abolitionist movement. Increasingly Southerners saw social reform as a Northern threat against their way of life.

Women’s Rights & Seneca Falls Convention, 1848: The Women’s Rights Movement was one of many reform movements that emerged in the Northern states in Period 4 (1800-1850ish); remember, these movements are said to have emerged for two key reasons—1) industrialization of the North led to an increased awareness of social problems and society’s inadequate public institutions; and 2) the Second Great Awakening (1790s-1830s) inspired evangelicals to perfect their society. While reform for women was limited in its success, it paved the way for later reforms in the 20th century.

Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Lucretia Mott, two American activists in the movement to abolish slavery, called together the first conference to address Women’s rights and issues in Seneca Falls, New York, in 1848. Part of the reason for doing so had been that Mott had been refused permission to speak at the world
anti-slavery convention in London, even though she had been an official delegate. Applying the analysis of human freedom developed in the abolitionist movement, Stanton and others began the public career of modern feminist analysis. The Declaration of the Seneca Falls Convention, using the model of the U.S. Declaration of Independence, forthrightly demanded that the rights of women as right-bearing individuals be acknowledged and respected by society. It was signed by sixty-eight women and thirty-two men.

DECLARATION OF SENTIMENTS.
When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one portion of the family of man to assume among the people of the earth a position different from that which they have hitherto occupied, but one to which the laws of nature and of nature’s God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes that impel them to such a course.

We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men and women are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights governments are instituted, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed. Whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of those who suffer from it to refuse allegiance to it, and to insist upon the institution of a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly, all experience hath shown that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they were accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their duty to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security. Such has been the patient sufferance of the women under this government, and such is now the necessity which constrains them to demand the equal station to which they are entitled.

The history of mankind is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations on the part of man toward woman, having in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over her. To prove this, let facts be submitted to a candid world.

He has never permitted her to exercise her inalienable right to the elective franchise. He has compelled her to submit to laws, in the formation of which she had no voice. He has withheld from her rights which are given to the most ignorant and degraded men-both natives and foreigners. . . He has made her, if married, in the eye of the law, civilly dead. He has taken from her all right in property, even to the wages she earns... He has so framed the laws of divorce, as to what shall be the proper causes of divorce; in case of separation, to whom the guardianship of the children shall be given; as to be wholly regardless of the happiness of women-the law, in all cases, going upon a false supposition of the supremacy of man, and giving all power into his hands. After depriving her of all rights as a married woman, if single and the owner of property, he has taxed her to support a government which recognizes her only when her property can be made profitable to it. He has monopolized nearly all the profitable employments . . . . He closes against her all the avenues to wealth and distinction . . . He allows her in Church, as well as State, but a subordinate position, claiming Apostolic authority for her exclusion from the ministry, and, with some exceptions, from any public participation in the affairs of the Church. . . He has endeavored, in every way that he could, to destroy her confidence in her own powers, to lessen her self-respect, and to make her willing to lead a dependent and abject life.

Now, in view of this entire disfranchisement of one-half the people of this country, their social and religious degradation, in view of the unjust laws above mentioned, and because women do feel themselves aggrieved, oppressed, and fraudulently deprived of their most sacred rights, we insist that they have immediate admission to all the rights and privileges which belong to them as citizens of the United States.

In entering upon the great work before us, we anticipate no small amount of misconception, misrepresentation, and ridicule; but we shall use every instrumentality within our power to effect our object. We shall employ agents, circulate tracts, petition the state and national legislatures, and endeavor to enlist the pulpit and the press in our behalf. We hope this Convention will be followed by a series of Conventions, embracing every part of the country.

Firmly relying upon the final triumph of the Right and the True, we do this day affix our signatures to this declaration.

RESOLUTIONS.
Resolved, That such laws as conflict, in any way, with the true and substantial happiness of woman, are contrary to the great precept of nature, and of no validity; for this is "superior in obligation to any other."
Resolved, That all laws which prevent woman from occupying such a station in society as her conscience shall dictate, or which place her in a position inferior to that of man, are contrary to the great precept of nature, and therefore of no force or authority...
Resolved, That woman is man's equal—was intended to be so by the Creator—and the highest good of the race demands that she should be recognized as such.
Resolved, That woman has too long rested satisfied in the circumscribed limits which corrupt customs and a perverted application of the Scriptures have marked out for her, and that it is time she should move in the enlarged sphere which her great Creator has assigned her.
Resolved, That it is the duty of the women of this country to secure to themselves their sacred right to the elective franchise.
Resolved, That the equality of human rights results necessarily from the fact of the identity of the race in capabilities and responsibilities. Resolved, therefore, That, being invested by the Creator with the same capabilities, and the same consciousness of responsibility for their exercise, it is demonstrably the right and duty of woman, equally with man, to promote every righteous cause, by every righteous means; and especially in regard to the great subjects of morals and religion, it is self-evidently her right to participate with her brother in teaching them, both in private and in public, by writing and by speaking, by any instrumentalities proper to be used, and in any assemblies proper to be held . . . .

The only resolution which met opposition was the one demanding the right of suffrage which, however, after a prolonged discussion, was adopted. But it would take another seventy-two years for women to receive the right to vote by the Nineteenth Amendment to the Constitution (1920).

3. Revisit the Declaration of Independence. What similarities and differences can you locate between these two documents? See Revolution-Era Primary Sources from Period 3.

4. The Declaration of Sentiments (1848) highlights a push for reform that wasn’t resolved for another 72 years (by the 19th Amendment). Does the “failure” of the Seneca Falls Convention to initiate any political change for women indicate that the women involved used an ill-advised strategy? Was there some other alternative to achieving their goals that might have been more successful at the time?

Abolitionism: William Lloyd Garrison, 1854 Speech
While support for abolitionism remained low throughout Period 4, it was increasingly vocal in the print culture, due to reformers like William Lloyd Garrison. In the very first issue of his anti-slavery newspaper, the Liberator, Garrison stated, “I do not wish to think, or speak, or write, with moderation. . . . I am in earnest -- I will not equivocate -- I will not excuse -- I will not retreat a single inch -- AND I WILL BE HEARD." His ceaseless, uncompromising position on the moral outrage that was slavery made him loved and hated by many Americans. In this 1854 speech which appears below, Garrison called for complete freedom for the slave and urged all Americans to support this cause. Sadly, historians estimate only about 10% of Americans did just that.

. . . I am a believer in that portion of the Declaration of American Independence in which it is set forth, as among self-evident truths, “that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.” . . . Hence, I cannot but regard oppression in every form—and most of all, that which turns a man into a thing—with indignation and abhorrence. Not to cherish these feelings would be recreancy (unfaithful) to principle. They who desire me to be dumb on the subject of slavery, unless I will open my mouth in its defense, ask me to give the lie to my professions, to degrade my manhood, and to stain my soul. I will not be a liar, a poltroon, or a hypocrite, to accommodate any party, to gratify any sect, to escape any odium or peril, to save any interest, to preserve any institution, or to promote any object. Convince me that one man may rightfully make another man his slave, and I will no longer subscribe to the Declaration of Independence. Convince me that liberty is not the inalienable birthright of every
human being, of whatever complexion or clime, and I will give that 
instrument to the consuming fire. I do not know how to espouse freedom 
and slavery together.

I do not know how to worship God and Mammon (wealth) at the same 
time. . . . My crime is that I will not go with the multitude to do evil. My 
singularity is that when I say that freedom is of God and slavery is of the 
devil, I mean just what I say. My fanaticism is that I insist on the American 
people abolishing slavery . . . .

The abolitionism which I advocate is as absolute as the law of God, and as unyielding as his throne. It admits of no compromise. Every slave 
is a stolen man; every slaveholder is a man stealer . . . . Whatever sanctions his doom must be pronounced accursed. The law that makes 
him a chattel is to be trampled underfoot; the compact that is formed at his expense, and cemented with his blood, is null and void; the 
church that consents to his enslavement is horrifyingly atheistical; the religion that receives to its communion the enslaver is the embodiment 
of all criminality. Such, at least, is the verdict of my own soul, on the supposition that I am to be the slave; that my wife is to be sold from 
me for the vilest purposes; that my children are to be torn from my arms, and disposed of to the highest bidder, like sheep in the market. 
And who am I but a man? What right have I to be free, that another man cannot prove himself to possess by nature? Who or what are my 
wife and children that they should not be herded with four-footed beasts, as well as others thus sacredly related? ...

If the slaves are not men; if they do not possess human instincts, passions, faculties, and powers; if they are below accountability, and 
devoid of reason; if for them there is no hope of immortality, no God, no heaven, no hell; if, in short, they are what the slave code declares 
them to be, rightly deemed, sold, taken, reputed and adjudged in law to be chattels personal in the hands of their owners and possessors, 
and their executors, administrators and assigns, to all intents, constructions, and purposes whatsoever; then, undeniably, I am mad, and 
can no longer discriminate between a man and a beast. But, in that case, away with the horrible incongruity of giving them oral instruction, 
of teaching them the catechism, of recognizing them as suitably qualified to be members of Christian churches, of extending to them the 
ordinance of baptism, and admitting them to the communion table, and enumerating many of them as belonging to the household of faith! 
Let them be no more included in our religious sympathies or denominational statistics than are the dogs in our streets, the swine in our 
pens, or the utensils in our dwellings. It is right to own, to buy, to sell, to inherit, to breed, and to control them, in the most absolute sense. 
All constitutions and laws which forbid their possession ought to be so far modified or repealed as to concede the right.

But, if they are men; if they are to run the same career of immortality with ourselves; if the same law of God is over them as over all others; 
if they have souls to be saved or lost; if Jesus included them among those for whom he laid down his life; if Christ is within many of them 
"the hope of glory"; then, when I claim for them all that we claim for ourselves, because we are created in the image of God, I am guilty of 
no extravagance, but am bound, by every principle of honor, by all the claims of human nature, by obedience to Almighty God, to 
"remember them that are in bonds as bound with them," and to demand their immediate and unconditional emancipation ....

These are solemn times. It is not a struggle for national salvation; for the nation, as such, seems doomed beyond recovery. The reason why 
the South rules, and the North falls prostrate in servile terror, is simply this: with the South, the preservation of slavery is paramount to all 
other considerations above part

What then is to be done? Friends of the slave, the question is not whether by our efforts we can abolish slavery, speedily or remotely-for 
duty is ours, the result is with God; but whether we will go with the multitude to do evil, sell our birthright for a mess of potage, cease to 
cry aloud and spare not, and remain in Babylon when the command of God is "Come out of her, my people, that ye be not partakers of her 
sins, and that ye receive not of her plagues." Let us stand in our lot, "and having done all, to stand." At least, a remnant shall be saved. 
Living or dying, defeated or victorious, be it ours to exclaim, "No compromise with slavery! Liberty for each, for all, forever! Man above all 
institutions! The supremacy of God over the whole earth!"

5. Garrison saw moral persuasion as the only means to end slavery. To him the task was simple: show people how immoral slavery was 
and they would join in the campaign to end it. Was he successful in doing so in this speech? Why or why not? Reference specific points 
from the speech.
Education Reform in the North

This document covers the history of education and education reform in America, up to the 1840s, while also making 21st century connections. Education reform was one of many reform movements that emerged in Northern states in Period 4 (1800-1850ish); remember, these movements are said to have emerged for two key reasons—1) industrialization of the North led to an increased awareness of social problems and society’s inadequate public institutions; and 2) the Second Great Awakening (1790s-1830s) inspired evangelicals to perfect their society. While education reform was limited in its success (with the exception of Massachusetts), it—like the other reforms of the era—paved the way for later reforms in the 20th century.

1. Does America have a strong public education system today? Why or why not? What do you think makes an education system (or school) “strong”?

2. If you could make two changes to the public school system today what would they be and why? Why might some oppose those measures?

3. Record a summary and reaction to each clip below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>2 Million Minutes</th>
<th>Finnish Education—Equal Opportunity for All</th>
<th>Philadelphia Schools Crippled by Budget Crisis</th>
</tr>
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The Rise of Public Education in Early America

As George Washington ended his term as the first president of the United States, he left with a few parting words. Washington’s Farewell Address of 1796 delineated many of the recommendations Washington had for the future of his country; much of the text emphasized that the nation should avoid foreign entanglements and political parties. A lesser known suggestion was a public education system. Washington instructed American leaders to “promote… institutions for the general diffusion of knowledge. In proportion as the structure of a government gives force to public opinion, it is essential that public opinion should be enlightened.” Washington saw the importance of educating the American public as a means to grow the country economically, but also to create a well-informed populace to participate in America’s newly founded republic. Washington never lived to see the formation of such an education system. Even so, Washington’s remarks on education were not lost on American policymakers.

Public Education in the American Colonies

Education in the American colonies began as a religious endeavor. In the seventeenth century, New England’s Puritan settlers stressed that everyone learn how to read the Bible. Puritan leaders began enforcing this by requiring that parents teach their children how to read and write and ordering each town to fund and operate a local school. Unfortunately, the schools tended to focus on producing an educated elite class and not on educating the entire public. In colonial America, public education was first and foremost a means to educate an elitist class of future political and business leaders. Education for commoners was largely left to families and churches.

Education across the colonies differed significantly. In ethnically and religiously homogeneous colonies, public education was far more widespread than it was in colonies with greater social diversity. Colonies like Massachusetts, whose citizens were largely British-born or descended from Puritans, were more apt to have state-run public schools. Other colonies, such as New York or Pennsylvania, where there was an assortment of religious groups with Quakers, Lutherans, Catholics, ancestral diversity with large German populations, and greater physical distances between communities bred a greater focus on localized education. Local entities, such as churches and parent groups, seized control of education because in a territory with a wide variety of cultures and religions it was important that each sect of society was able to educate its own in a way it saw fit. Since most middle American colonies were similar to Pennsylvania and New York, the foundations of American public education were strongly rooted in locally run schools and not statewide education programs by the time America gained independence. Meanwhile, Southern education initiatives were few and far between, with the aristocratic elite hiring private tutors or sending children to England (or elsewhere in Europe) for a formal education.

4. What were the differences in education between New England colonies, Middle colonies, and Southern (Chesapeake) colonies? What may have created these differences (think about the difference in makeup of colonists and motives for settlement)?
After the Revolutionary War

The years following America’s independence from Britain, recognized by the Treaty of Paris (1783), did little to change the American public education system. Education remained a responsibility of individual families and local communities, not a duty of state or federal governments. Though the Northwest Ordinance of 1787, under the Articles of Confederation, earmarked funds from land sales for schools, education remained a primarily local obligation; the ordinance was not put fully into effect.

Despite Congress’ failure to institute meaningful education reform following the Revolutionary War, a few American leaders began voicing support for a more extensive and structured public education system. One of the loudest voices was Thomas Jefferson. Jefferson’s greatest contribution to educational reform arrived with his Bill for the More General Diffusion of Knowledge. Arguing that a better-educated populace would result in a freer and happier American public, the bill called for a widespread system of public education. He asserted that the American government had the responsibility to foster the education of a meritocracy in which all citizens could compete. During the late eighteenth century, however, resistance to government-funded education was strong. In both 1778 and 1780, Jefferson failed to get the bill to pass through the Confederation Congress (the one branch of government under the Articles of Confederation).

To the dismay of Jefferson, it would take until the 1840s for a substantial public education system to emerge—in just some states. The Revolutionary War, though, did turn greater attention towards the education of women. Previously, the education of women was limited to elementary reading and writing along with the development of homemaking skills. Towards the end of the eighteenth century, the first private female academies started opening their doors. These institutions supported the new American vision that mothers were responsible to mold the moral and intellectual character of their children and would thus need to be educated well enough to do so (Republican Motherhood).

5. Should the Revolutionary War (1776-1783) be used as a turning point when it comes to education in America? Why or why not? Do not use women as the sole focus of your response, since this was previously discussed in Period 3.

The Nineteenth Century and the Common School Movement

Though it lacked an official public education system, the United States had the world’s highest literacy rate in the early nineteenth century. Informal means of education—such as apprenticeships, charity schools, and church schools—helped fill in the gaps created by the absence of public schools. Private academies only admitted those who could afford to attend them and even some “free” schools offered by local communities charged tuition. Moreover, many schools required prospective students to know how to read and write. This kept children whose parents did not educate them at home out of the schooling system.

Students able to attend early nineteenth century schools faced many challenges of their own. Children under the age of five were often times mixed in with adults in their twenties. Additionally, classrooms were frequently overcrowded, housing as many as eighty students at a time. Because of the overcrowding, already scarce textbooks and learning materials had to be spread even more thinly amongst students. As a result, class time amounted to a tedious recitation of facts and instructor struggled to devote individual attention to students.

It was not until the 1840s that a structured system of public education started to emerge in the United States. Reformers built common schools on a state-by-state basis. Education pioneers promoted educational reform as a means to enhance the economic opportunities for all Americans and to create a shared bond amongst the citizens of a very diverse population. Common school supporters sought to found completely free elementary schools available to all American children. For this reason, the nineteenth century is often referred to as the “Common School Period” because American education transitioned from an entirely private endeavor to some public availability.

Note: Recent scholarship has argued that public schooling arose in response to an influx of immigrants (particularly Irish and German) who had different religions or cultures, its primary focus to establish social order and mainstream vast numbers of immigrant children into a common school setting. It was a mistrust of parents that was common during the birth of public schools.
As an 1851 article in The Massachusetts Teacher reported: “In too many instances the parents are unfit guardians of their own children ... the children must be gathered up and forced into school.” Thus, nativism (anti-immigrant sentiment) eventually led native-born white Americans to support public schools to get the foreign out of foreigners.

6. What filled the gap created by an absence of public schools in the 19th century?

7. What were some of the problems associated with schools in the 19th century?

Horace Mann’s Influence on American Education

Horace Mann has been called the father of American “common,” or public, education. Indeed, he was a champion of the non-privileged classes, a man who worked tirelessly to overcome the injustices in our 19th century educational system. Associating with anti-slavery and reform leaders, Mann came to his zealous advocacy of public education from a career as a successful lawyer and legislator.

Although Massachusetts Colony had passed several laws and resolutions in the 17th century that made its towns responsible for providing education for all children within their boundaries, in fact there was little financial support or enforcement of universal schooling. By the early 19th century, when Horace Mann was growing up, public schools offered the bare minimum of education, often only to those families that could pay fees. Yearly school terms were rarely more than a few weeks long; absenteeism was extremely high; there were no common textbooks; buildings were inadequate and unequipped; and teachers were usually young, inexperienced, and untrained. Wealthy families had long opted for private tutors or elite academies, and poorer families, such as Mann’s, might well decide that they could afford to educate only one of several children. As the growth of manufacturing split the populace between laborers and entrepreneurs, differing opportunities for education made class distinctions even more pronounced. The common, or public, schools came to be regarded as charity institutions for the children of small farmers and laborers. There was little support for local or state funding through taxes.

In 1837 Massachusetts received a two-million-dollar windfall from the federal government—payment for services of state militias during the War of 1812. Mann, by then president of the state senate and a friend of the governor, was persuaded to support a bill that allocated part of this money to establish a state board of education, defined largely as an agency to gather data about MA schools and to disseminate information about new and useful innovations in teaching. The Board, empowered to appoint a secretary to carry out its mission, turned to Horace Mann. Each year, as mandated by law, he wrote a report to the Board, discussing the current state of the schools and their future needs. These Annual Reports, along with the Common School Journal, which Mann founded, presented important questions of policy and practice as well as statistical data.

Throughout his career as an educator, Mann had to defend his conviction that state-organized education could teach positive moral and civic values without favoring any particular doctrine. One of his first initiatives as secretary had been to make available in every school a core library of about 40 books that could be loaned to students and their families. Mann had educated himself sufficiently to enter Brown University at the sophomore level largely by reading through the holdings of the local library in the town of Franklin. These books had been donated by Benjamin Franklin when the town honored him by its choice of name.

From the outset, the principle of statewide public education sparked controversies that continued throughout Mann’s tenure in office. Struck by the large number of Irish immigrant children living in squatters’ camps beside the railroad lines on which their fathers worked, he pushed for mandatory education laws that would require towns and districts to provide schooling for all children, whether permanent residents or not. He also wanted parents held responsible for their children’s attendance. But the very immigrant groups the laws were designed to help were among his greatest opponents. Without education themselves, the laborers saw little value in having their children attend school when they could work in factories and add to the family income. In fact, they
regarded truant officers as “kidnappers.” Property owners whose taxes were required to support schools for immigrant children were equally opposed due to nativist sentiment, and the newly powerful Jacksonian Democrats, who gained the governorship of Massachusetts in 1839 with the backing of labor groups, set out to abolish the State Board of Education and all its activities.

Along with insisting that districts provide schools that met a minimum standard of quality and that children be required to attend them, Mann is best known for founding the first state-funded institutions for training teachers in the country. The normal schools and the educated corps of teachers they produced increased the professionalism and the financial status of teachers, especially women, and promulgated the idea that teaching was a skill requiring careful development. “Teaching,” he wrote in the First Annual Report, “is the most difficult of all arts and the profoundest of all sciences.” Mann’s conviction that appropriate teaching methods were the key to student learning led him to lengthy research and study of contemporary theories of psychology and cognition.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State</th>
<th>Men</th>
<th>Women</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Connecticut</td>
<td>$16.00</td>
<td>$6.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indiana</td>
<td>12.00</td>
<td>6.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Massachusetts</td>
<td>25.44</td>
<td>11.38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Michigan</td>
<td>12.71</td>
<td>5.36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Hampshire</td>
<td>13.50</td>
<td>5.65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New York</td>
<td>14.96</td>
<td>6.69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ohio</td>
<td>15.42</td>
<td>8.73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pennsylvania</td>
<td>17.02</td>
<td>10.09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vermont</td>
<td>12.00</td>
<td>4.75</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In his Eleventh Annual Report of 1847, Horace Mann published these average teaching salaries. He wrote that if these salaries are “compared with what is paid to cashiers of banks, to secretaries of insurance-factories, to custom-house officers, Navy agents, and so forth, it will then be seen what pecuniary temptations there are on every side, drawing enterprising and talented young men from the ranks of the teacher’s profession.”

Although it was difficult at times, Mann succeeded in persuading a majority of his contemporaries that free schools with trained teachers could inculcate desirable social values and simultaneously provide a practical education leading to prosperous and constructive citizenship. Today, education reformers argue that the possibility of achieving consensus about the content and promise of education is a fading dream. What seems to have been “lost” amid the standardized test culture since Mann’s time is his faith that public education, properly supported and provided, could be the means of creating a better society. . . .

8. What were Horace Mann’s key beliefs regarding education and the role of the government in education?

9. Why did public funding for education face a great deal of opposition in the 19th century?

10. To what extent was Mann’s leadership of this reform movement successful? Consider the state and national level.
Our ambition as a State should seek the solution of such problems as these: To what extent can competence displace pauperism (poverty)? How nearly can we free ourselves from the low-minded and the vicious, not by their expatriation, but by their elevation? To what extent can the resources and powers of Nature be converted into human welfare, the peaceful arts of life be advanced, and the vast treasures of human talent and genius be developed? How much of suffering, in all its forms, can be relieved? or, what is better than relief, how much can be prevented? Cannot the classes of crimes be lessened, and the number of criminals in each class be diminished? . . .

[Discussing Massachusetts:] By its industrial condition, and its business operations, it is exposed, far beyond any other State in the Union, to the fatal extremes of overgrown wealth and desperate poverty. . . . Now surely nothing but universal education can counterwork this tendency to the domination of capital and the servility of labor. If one class possesses all the wealth and the education, while the residue of society is ignorant and poor, it matters not by what name the relation between them may be called: the latter, in fact and in truth, will be the servile dependents and subjects of the former. Property and labor in different classes are essentially antagonistic; but property and labor in the same class are essentially fraternal. . . .

Education then, beyond all other devices of human origin, is a great equalizer of the conditions of men,—the balance wheel of the social machinery. [I]t gives each man the independence and the means by which he can resist the selfishness of other men. It does better than to disarm the poor of their hostility toward the rich: it prevents being poor. . . . Education prevents both the revenge and the madness. On the other hand, a fellow-feeling for one's class or caste is the common instinct of hearts . . . . The spread of education, by enlarging the cultivated class or caste, will open a wider area over which the social feelings will expand; and, if this education should be universal and complete, it would do more than all things else to obliterate factitious distinctions in society. . . .

For the creation of wealth, then,—for the existence of a wealthy people and a wealthy nation,—intelligence is the grand condition. The number of improvers will increase as the intellectual constituency, if I may so call it, increases. That political economy, therefore, which busies itself about capital and labor, supply and demand, interests and rents, favorable and unfavorable balances of trade, but leaves out of account the elements of a wide-spread mental development, is naught but stupendous folly. For mere delving, an ignorant man is but little better than a swine, whom he so much resembles in his appetites, and surpasses in his power of mischief. . . .

11. Which two quotes stood out to you the most? Bracket them and label them #1 and #2. Explain your selections below.

12. Is Mann’s writing anti-capitalistic? [Capitalism is an economic/political system whereby a country’s trade and industry are controlled by private owners for profit, rather than by the state (government).] Why or why not?
Intellectual Culture

The individualistic competitiveness of early industrialization (happening in the North, and to a lesser extent—the West), created in some members of the new middle class a sense of nostalgia for preindustrial village life, which was glorified as a society built on trust and security. This longing was demonstrated in the literature of the time period, which drew inspiration from Europe’s Romantic Movement (1790s-1850). The Romantic Movement warned of the dangers and deceits of urban life while emphasizing the importance of morality and sincere feeling. Artists and writers shifted away from the Enlightenment emphasis on order, balance, and reason, toward intuition, feelings, acts of heroism, and the study of nature. Americans studied this Romantic Movement and created a distinct American literary form/philosophy, transcendentalism, by 1840, along the eastern seaboard cities of the North.

In America, Ralph Waldo Emerson and Henry David Thoreau helped formalize the Romantic Movement into Transcendentalism, a philosophy that reads almost like a faith. Transcendentalists believed that there was more to experiencing the world than could be inferred by logic and more to living than could be satisfied by the acquisition of material things in the market economy. Transcendentalists believed in the possibility of direct communion with God and knowledge of an ultimate reality through spiritual insight (in part, this was fueled by newly translated Hindu and Buddhist texts). The transcendentalists revered nature and felt that contemplation of natural scenes would lead to realization of fundamental truths. For Transcendentalists, truth is beyond, or transcends, what can be discovered using evidence acquired by the senses. Since this sort of knowledge of truth is a personal matter, Transcendentalism was committed to development of the self and had little regard for dogma or authority.

Ralph Waldo Emerson took up the Transcendentalist banner after studying at Harvard. In 1837, Emerson delivered his influential “American Scholar” lecture that exhorted Americans in the arts to stop turning to Europe for inspiration and instruction and begin developing an American literary and artistic tradition. Another Transcendentalist, Henry David Thoreau, wrote essays that have had a profound effect on America’s literary and artistic scenes. His philosophy of individualism and conscious nonconformity is expressed in his book Walden: Or Life in the Woods (1854) where he describes living a full emotional and intellectual life for two years while residing in a tiny cabin he made himself and existing in every other way at a barely subsistence level.

Until this time American literature was considered second rate, if it was considered at all. In the wake of these contributions, some European literary figures and students began to look to America for thought and inspiration.

“In the four quarters of the globe, who reads an American book? Or goes to an American play? Or looks at an American picture or statue? What does the world yet owe to American physicians or surgeons? What new substances have their chemists discovered?” (Sidney Smith, Edinburgh Review, 1820). Smith’s claims may have been true in 1820, but by 1850, they were certainly invalidated by a burgeoning and distinct American literary culture that had asserted itself as a force to be reckoned with.

Transcendentalism was a philosophical and somewhat religious movement that emerged for several key reasons:

- Europe’s Romantic Movement
- A nostalgia for the pre-industrial period; philosophers felt that industrialization was blinding individuals to nature’s beauty and “truth”; as Americans in the North became so consumed with consumerism, they warned of the dangers of urban life and the importance of morality and sincerity
- Newly translated Eastern religious texts emphasized the interconnectivity of all things, inspiring the future transcendentalist authors to write about interconnectivity of God, individual, and nature
Key tenets/characteristics:

- Conscious nonconformity
- Subsistence living
- Direct communion with God; knowledge of ultimate reality; spiritual insight; use nature as vehicle to transcend the senses and see the truth: “Few adult persons see nature. Most persons do not see the sun. At least they have a very superficial seeing.” (Emerson)
- Contemplation of natural scenes leads to realization of fundamental truths
- Questioned doctrines of established churches and business practices of merchant class
- Argued for mystical and intuitive way of thinking as a means for discovering one’s inner self and looking for essence of God in nature
- Challenged materialism in American culture by suggesting that artistic expression was more important than pursuit of wealth
- Supported variety of reforms of the era, especially the antislavery movement

1. What were some of the causes of the transcendentalist movement?

2. Summarize transcendentalism in your own words:

This philosophy was best reflected in the writing of famous authors such as Ralph Waldo Emerson and Henry David Thoreau. For the first time, American books and authors were taken seriously.

Outside of transcendentalism, other authors others helped to create a literature that was distinctively American. Partly as result of War of 1812, Americans, now more nationalistic, wanted to read American writers and American themes. Some key authors from the period you may have heard of: Washington Irving, James Fenimore Cooper, Nathaniel Hawthorne, and Herman Melville.

Hudson River School (American Art case study):

American Art underwent transformation in this period as well. For the first time, American artists portrayed distinctly American landscapes and were respected abroad. Thomas Cole was an American artist who used romanticism in his realistic and detailed portrayal of the American landscape and wilderness. He also painted allegorical works, the most famous of which are his five-part series, known as The Course of Empire, which depict the same landscape over generations – from a near state of nature to consummation of empire, and then decline and desolation (1833-36). Cole organized the Hudson River School of American painting in New York, which wasn’t a real school, but rather a community of painters who shared a common interest. Their paintings often depicted the American landscape as a pastoral setting, where human beings and nature coexist peacefully, idealizing nature, typically for urban audiences. Hudson River School landscapes are characterized by their realistic, detailed, and often idealized portrayal of nature, which juxtapose peaceful agriculture and the remaining wilderness, fast disappearing from the Hudson Valley. In general, Hudson River School artists believed that nature in the form of the American landscape was a manifestation of God, though the artists varied in the depth of their religious convictions.

The Course of Empire depicts the growth and fall of an imaginary city, situated on the lower end of a river valley. With The Course of Empire, Thomas Cole achieved what he described as a "higher style of landscape," one suffused with historical associations, moralistic narrative, and what the artist felt were universal truths about mankind and his abiding relationship with the natural world. Cole used the following quote in his newspaper advertisements for the series:

There is the moral of all human tales;
’Tis but the same rehearsal of the past.
First freedom and then Glory - when that fails,
Wealth, vice, corruption - barbarism at last.
And History, with all her volumes vast,
Hath but one page...
Use interactive site to explore: http://www.exploretomascole.org/tour/items/63/series/

3. Record your reactions to Thomas Cole’s Course of Empire:

Excerpts from Ralph Waldo Emerson’s “Nature,” an 1836 essay that laid the foundation of transcendentalism in America

I am not solitary whilst I read and write, though nobody is with me. But if a man would be alone, let him look at the stars. The rays that come from those heavenly worlds, will separate between him and what he touches. One might think the atmosphere was made transparent with this design, to give man, in the heavenly bodies, the perpetual presence of the sublime. . . . If the stars should appear one night in a thousand years, how would men believe and adore; and preserve for many generations the remembrance of the city of God which had been shown! But every night come out these envoys of beauty, and light the universe with their admonishing smile.

The stars awaken a certain reverence, because though always present, they are inaccessible; but all natural objects make a kindred impression, when the mind is open to their influence.

... When we speak of nature in this manner, we have a distinct but most poetical sense in the mind. We mean the integrity of impression made by manifold natural objects. . . . The charming landscape which I saw this morning, is indubitably made up of some twenty or thirty farms. Miller owns this field, Locke that, and Manning the woodland beyond. But none of them owns the landscape. There is a property in the horizon which no man has but he whose eye can integrate all the parts, that is, the poet. This is the best part of these men’s farms, yet to this their warranty-deeds give no title.

To speak truly, few adult persons can see nature. Most persons do not see the sun. At least they have a very superficial seeing. The sun illuminates only the eye of the man, but shines into the eye and the heart of the child. The lover of nature is he whose inward and outward senses are still truly adjusted to each other; who has retained the spirit of infancy even into the era of manhood. His intercourse with heaven and earth, becomes part of his daily food. In the presence of nature, a wild delight runs through the man, in spite of real sorrows. . . . In the woods, is perpetual youth. Within these plantations of God, a decorum and sanctity reign, a perennial festival is dressed, and the guest sees not how he should tire of them in a thousand years. In the woods, we return to reason and faith. There I feel that nothing can befall me in life, — no disgrace, no calamity, . . . which nature cannot repair. Standing on the bare ground, — my head bathed by the blithe air, and uplifted into infinite space, — all mean egotism vanishes. I become a transparent eye-ball; I am nothing; I see all; the currents of the Universal Being circulate through me; I am part or particle of God.

4. How is transcendentalism reflected in this excerpt?

5. Did you like Emerson’s writing/message? Why or why not?
The states that permitted slavery formed a distinctive region called the South. By 1861, the start of the Civil War, the region included 15 states, all but four of which (Delaware, Maryland, Kentucky, and Missouri; the "border slave states" of the Union) seceded and joined the Confederacy.

**Slave & Cotton Economy**

Though there were some small factories throughout the region, agriculture was the foundation of the South's economy. Wealth in the South was measured in terms of land and slaves. One reason the South was not able to undertake industrialization like the North was because their heavy capital investment in slaves meant they would have less capital than North for industrialization. As an agricultural slave society, tobacco, rice, and sugarcane were important cash crops, but these were far exceeded by the South’s chief economic activity: the production and sale of cotton.

While some of the Founders had thought slavery would eventually disappear with industrialization, the opposite seemed to be true. The development of mechanized textile mills in England, coupled with Eli Whitney’s cotton gin (1794), made cotton cloth affordable and increasingly in high demand, not just in Europe and the U.S. but throughout the world. By 1850, cotton was America’s leading export; as many at the time would say, “Cotton is King.” Originally, cotton was grown almost entirely in two states, SC and GA. But as demand and profits increased, planters moved westward into Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Texas. Expanding cotton and slavery was viewed as necessary for two reasons: so as not to become a political minority, and due to soil depletion from high cotton yield.

The cotton boom was largely responsible for a four-fold increase in the number of slaves, from 1 million in 1800 to 4 million in 1860. Most of the increase came from natural growth, although 1000s of Africans were also smuggled into the South in violation of the 1808 law against importing slaves from abroad. And the domestic slave trade continued after 1808, devastating families, as the Middle Passage had done previously. The trade separated a third of all slave children under the age of 14 from one or both of their parents 😞.

As cotton became basis of its economy, slavery became the focus of political thought. Southerners felt increasingly isolated and defensive about slavery, as some Northern abolitionists grew hostile to it and increasingly vocal in the print culture about its sinful nature, and helped slaves (Southern "property") escape. Other Northerners started openly objecting to the expansion of slavery for political/economic reasons, and globally, Mexico, Great Britain, France and other European nations had outlawed the practice altogether, so there was fear the same would be true for America if Southerners didn’t expand the institution.

In this context, Southerners voiced support for expansionist policies, especially where slavery might be conducive, and Southern state after Southern state started making it illegal to free one’s slaves. In previous years, white fathers had often liberated their “mulatto” children, born to African slave mothers they often raped. These laws eliminated that option.

1. For what reasons was slavery expanding during this time? Was this expected by the nation’s Founders?

2. For what reasons did Southerners grow increasingly defensive about slavery at this time?
Justifications of Slavery

In colonial times and the early republic, elites spoke of the institution of slavery as an economic necessity, a necessary evil that would eventually become extinct. But westward expansion, Indian removal policies of the 1830s, and later annexation of Texas and other Mexican (former Spanish) lands from 1845 to 1848 led to the spread of slavery. Meanwhile apologists for slavery started mustering new arguments to support their claim that slavery was good, for both the slave and the master. Southerners gradually shifted from seeing slavery as a “necessary evil,” as many of the Founders had maintained, to a “positive good”: it subsidized an elegant lifestyle for the elite and provided tutelage (guidance, teaching) for allegedly genetically inferior Africans, who were “treated benevolently” and “enjoyed their lives” (see Currier and Ives cartoon, titled The Old Plantation Home for a common portrayal of the era). Many also used the Bible to justify the institution, as the Hebrews—God’s chosen people—had owned slaves and Christ never condemned the institution.

3. Record a reaction/question to the information in this section:

Southern Class System

The southern class system and economy were dominated by a small elite of extraordinarily wealthy planters known as the Southern Gentry. They were the aristocratic, feudal heads of an increasingly unequal Southern society. They typically owned 100 slaves and 1,000 acres, and maintained power by dominating state legislatures and enacting laws that favored large landholders’ economic interests. As such, they were the least likely to incorporate universal manhood suffrage, keeping property tax qualifications on the books for longer than their Northern and Western counterparts.

Below the southern gentry were farmers, most of whom owned fewer than 20 slaves and lived modestly. Below slaveholding farmers were poor whites, often referred to as “white trash” by the Southern Gentry. Remember, though the South was a slave society—one in which slavery affected all aspects of life—most Southerners, approximately three-quarters, did not actually own slaves. While in cotton rich counties, 40% of white families typically owned slaves, “hill counties” near the Appalachian Mountains had little to no slave-owning families. And in parts of the Deep South, slaves made up as much as 75% of the total population in some instances.
Life for poor whites in the South was difficult; they had little hope for a better future because slave owners who had political control of their states refused to pay taxes to fund public schools and other services. They often lived as subsistence farmers in the hills, and were either called “hillbillies” or “white trash.” Perhaps shockingly, many of these individuals defended the slave system.

Despite the prevalence of poverty in the South, the Southern economy ranked fourth in the world in 1860. But non-slave owners (the majority of men in the South) had less wealth than the average Northerner, which highlights the wealth inequality of the region despite the enormous wealth of the small Southern Gentry.

**Slave Life**

- The conditions of slavery varied from one plantation to the next. All suffered from deprivations of their natural rights. Many were routinely beaten, humiliated, tortured, and/or sexually exploited. Many were callously separated from their wives, husbands, and children. And still some primary sources indicate that a small minority of slaves were treated humanely within a highly inhumane institution.
- Despite the common degradations of this “peculiar institution,” as some Southerners called it, African Americans maintained a strong sense of community, religious faith, and resilience.

**PECULIAR INSTITUTION** was a euphemistic term that white southerners used for slavery. John C. Calhoun defended the “peculiar labor” of the South in 1828 and the “peculiar domestick institution” in 1830. The term came into general use in the 1830s when the abolitionist followers of William Lloyd Garrison began to attack slavery. Its implicit message was that slavery in the U.S. South was different from the very harsh slave systems existing in other countries and that southern slavery had no impact on those living in northern states.

- The domestic slave trade mingled blacks from many states, erasing/blending regional differences
- Gullah dialect emerged in many parts of the South, which combined words from English and variety of African grammatical structures (“de preacher” as opposed to “the preacher”)
- Created fictive kinship ties (adopting “aunts” and “uncles”) when their family was destroyed by the slave trade
- Usually lived in family units in separate cabins and huts

- At certain times they resisted work and/or poor treatment through refusing to work
- Infrequent slave revolts were all unsuccessful and usually triggered harsher restrictions on slave life and heightened defensiveness about slavery from Southerners
  - Most recognized revolt as futile; whites were numerous, well-armed, and determined to maintain their position of racial superiority

- Recently, historians have focused more on regional variations in slavery. As an example: Compared to slaves on SC rice plantations, slaves in VA tobacco plantations lived longer, worked in smaller groups, and had more contact with whites; as a result, in SC, slaves kept stronger ties to their African heritage.

**The South as Distinct from North**

- Lack of educational institutions meant that literacy rates were far lower in the South than they were in the North; education in the South was reserved for the upper class in private academies of Europe; for the lower classes schooling was typically not available, or when it was, it was usually not available past elementary years
- North was industrializing and increasing its wealth at a faster pace than that of the South
- North was getting more connected through internal improvements such as canals and roads to the west, rather than the South
- Little European migration occurred in the South, since artisans and laborers did not wish to compete with slave labor
- In 1860, some 84% of Southerners—more than double the percentage in the northern states—still worked in agriculture; Southern factories turned out only 10% of nation’s manufactures
- The South was increasingly defensive about slavery and hostile to Northern antislavery sentiment in response to territorial acquisition, especially the M-A-W and vocal abolitionist movement they feared would grow in strength
- The South was more traditional; they rejected reforms of the North like public education, and had more conservative views about what they saw as the natural hierarchy between classes and genders
- Due to their traditional/conservative nature, Southerners were alarmed by the utopian movements of the North/West, as well as the transcendentalist emphasis on nonconformity
- In the South, a strong sense of personal honor and “code of chivalry” were all-important (except of course when it came to treatment of slaves)
- The South had more of a paternalistic attitude towards all deemed inferior
A Southern Defense of Slavery: *Slaves Without Masters*, George Fitzhugh (1806–1881)

George Fitzhugh was a Virginia lawyer, writer, and slaveowner. He maintained, with many other southern slave owners at the time, that slavery was a “positive good,” and more humane than the system of “wage slavery” that they claimed Northern industrial workers suffered in the wake of industrialization. Remember, the Revolutionary generation had claimed slavery was a “necessary evil” and one that would eventually dissipate. But innovations like the cotton gin only strengthened the institution. That fact, combined with the emerging abolitionist movement, required Southerners to shift their defense to the “positive good” argument.

The Negro slaves of the South are the happiest, and, in some sense, the freest people in the world. The children and the aged and infirm work not at all, and yet have all the comforts and necessaries of life provided for them. They enjoy liberty, because they are oppressed neither by care nor labor. The women do little hard work, and are protected from the despotism of their husbands by their masters. The Negro men and stout boys work, on the average, in good weather, not more than nine hours a day. The balance of their time is spent in perfect abandon. Besides, they have their Sabbaths and holidays. White men, with so much of license and liberty, would die of ennui, but Negroes luxuriate in corporeal and mental repose. With their faces upturned to the sun, they can sleep at any hour, and quiet sleep is the greatest of human enjoyments. “Blessed be the man who invented sleep.” ’Tis happiness in itself — and results from contentment with the present, and confident assurance of the future. We do not know whether free laborers ever sleep. They are fools to do so, for whilst they sleep, the wily and watchful capitalist is devising means to ensnare and exploit them. The free laborer must work or starve. He is more of a slave than the Negro because he works longer and harder for less allowance than the slave and has no holiday, because the cares of life with him begin when its labors end. He has no liberty, and not a single right.

4. What ideas from the passage support the idea that slavery was a more humane labor system than some thought?

5. Do you believe that slaveowners like Fitzhugh genuinely believed these ideas, or were they simply trying to disguise the horrors of the institution?
Throughout world history we see countless social experiments in unconventional living, typically organized and attempted by utopian thinkers. But never before had social experiments been so numerous as during the antebellum period (pre-Civil War). A number of “cooperative communities” were launched in the 1800s as experiments in alternative social organizations and/or Christian living (some were secular, and others were religious in nature). This was not a new phenomenon in the New World. The Puritans and Quakers, for example, made the difficult and dangerous voyage to America in order to live by their own “utopian” beliefs. But the rate at which these communities formed was new. Their causes were wide ranging but generally speaking, utopian thinkers had the following beliefs: too many inequalities festered in American life (gender, nationality, race, economic status, etc.); ownership of private property corrupted man; traditional gender and family structure needed rethinking; and the industrial society developing was full of ills.

Reformers in this era sought to get away from authoritarian power structures but still provide for all members of the group. Generally socialistic, these communities, predominately in the North and West, typically failed to thrive once the vision and dedication of the original founders was gone. Their histories as alternative patterns of living are valuable, however, for their insight into human relationships and social structures and remain as monuments to human courage to live differently on the basis of principle and/or religious conviction.

The open lands of the U.S. proved fertile ground for more than a hundred experimental communities. Subordination of the individual to the group seems to be the one common thread among the utopian experimental communities. Beyond that, their doctrines, practices, and fates make each group uniquely individual, reflecting the idealistic, reform-minded spirit of their age and remain as monuments to human courage to live differently on the basis of principle/philosophy and/or religious conviction.

1. What were some of the varied reasons for the creation of utopian settlements in the first half of the 19th century?

The Oneida Colony

The Oneida colony practiced free love, birth control, and eugenic selection of parents (planned breeding to increase “desirable” human characteristics). Founded in 1847 in Vermont by John Humphrey Noyes, the colony soon had to relocate to more-tolerant New York. Noyes’s doctrine of “Bible Communism” insisted selfishness was the root of unhappiness. Owning property and maintaining exclusive relationships encouraged selfishness and destructive covetousness of what others have. Therefore, the keys to happiness were communal ownership of property and what Noyes termed “complex marriage” where every woman was married to every man in the group. The Oneidans shared work equally and supported their enterprise by manufacturing such things as steel traps, silk thread, and silverplate tableware. Yielding to external pressure, the Oneida colony gave up complex marriage in 1879, and communal ownership of property soon followed. Believe it or not, the group eventually transformed itself into a joint-stock company manufacturing stainless steel knives and tableware; you can find Oneida products at the local Home Goods! Thus, Noyes’s communistic utopia ended as a capitalist corporation.
Mormonism

A new religious utopian group of the period was the Church of Jesus Chris of Latter-Day Saints, or Mormons, founded by Joseph Smith in NY in 1830. Under direction of an angel, Smith translated religious history from what he maintained was a buried book written on golden plates by an ancient prophet named Mormon. His church grew westward due to missionary work, settling in Ohio, then Missouri, followed by Illinois, due to mounting tensions with the Missouri government, and finally, Utah. In Missouri and Illinois, Mormon “peculiarities” led to hostilities with non-Mormons, climaxing in a mob that killed Smith. The next leader of the Church was Brigham Young, who led the persecuted out of Illinois to Utah Territory. Their cooperative social organization helped the Mormons to prosper in the wilderness. They were so staunchly independent, insular, and resistant to the U.S. government that they raised the ire of the military, which sent troops against them in 1857 in order to install a non-Mormon governor and uphold law and order.

The issue of plural marriage (polygamy) was particularly thorny, delaying statehood for Utah until 1896. Mormons had justified this practice by citing Biblical men who had more than one wife at one time: Abraham, Jacob, David, and Solomon, but were compelled to abandon it officially after the U.S. Supreme Court declared it illegal in Reynolds v. United States (1878). This was the first Court case dealing with the First Amendment’s protection of religious liberties, and it significantly limited that portion of the text, claiming that the First Amendment only forbade Congress from legislating against opinion, not against action.

Though no longer communal or polygamist in nature, Mormonism remains a dynamic influence in the state of Utah, and the Mormon faith is considered one of the major religions in the U.S.

Do you find any of the ideas endorsed by the “utopian” communities appealing? Why or why not?
Comparing North & South (+ a note on the West)

Throughout this packet, we’ve seen a broad range of forces affecting American life as it expanded and dealt with challenges of sectionalism and nationalism. Ultimately this balance swung too far in the direction of sectionalism and led to a four-year war between two regions of the country that killed approximately 800,000 Americans.

From roughly 1800 to the start of the Civil War in 1861, the U.S. expanded dramatically in terms of geographic size and strength of the national government. At times, the increase in size/strength was contested, at times it led to nationalism (think War of 1812), at times it led to sectionalism (think Missouri crisis of 1820), and at times it led perhaps paradoxically to BOTH nationalism and sectionalism. Consider the Second Great Awakening, a national movement that may have connected more Americans nationally, but the reform movements it triggered in the North promoted mostly opposition from the South, thereby increasing sectionalism.

By examining sectional differences we can better understand some of the forces that paved the way for the Union’s worst crisis: the Civil War (1861-’65), which pitted two very different societies against one another.

Part I: True or False statements on Northern society

1. True  False  The North was more populated than the South in this period (1800-1860).
2. True  False  The Market Revolution of the 19th century occurred in both the North and South.
3. True  False  The federal government encouraged Western settlement when it funded the National Road and kept Western land prices low.
4. True  False  Family size increased during the Market Revolution.
5. True  False  The argument about “wage slaves” would have been used by a Northerner in defense of the industrial system.
6. True  False  American spies stole American secrets regarding industrialization and carried them to Britain.
7. True  False  Unions were generally successful during this period (1800-1860).
8. True  False  Ills of industrialization at this time included slums, disease, crime, and absence of worker protections.
9. True  False  One reason Americans were hostile to Irish immigrants was their non-Christian religious faith.
10. True  False  Though free blacks in the North were treated poorly in society, they were granted legal and political rights during this period (1800-1860).
11. True  False  Females/Evangelists were vital to the reform movements of the era (1820-’60).
12. True  False  Consumption of alcohol decreased significantly during this period (1830-’60).
13. True  False The “gag rule” was one response to increased abolitionist rhetoric.
14. True  False Whites in both the South and North almost universally opposed miscegenation (1800-1860).
15. True  False Southerners were generally supportive of the reform movements happening in the North.
16. True  False Over a hundred experimental communities were founded in the North and West in this period, reflecting the idealistic, reform-minded spirit of the age (1800-1860).
17. True  False Mormons gave up the practice of polygamy without interference by the U.S. government.
18. True  False The first distinctly American intellectual culture emerged in the North via transcendentalism.

Part II: Fill-in-the-blank statements on Southern Society and the Second Great Awakening

19. Though some ______________ had maintained that slavery would end naturally through the industrialization process, the cotton gin and increasingly high demand for cotton led to a __________-fold increase in slavery by 1860, putting the number of slaves at _______ million.

20. The Currier and Ives cartoon from the document would be useful to an historian explaining how Southerners articulated the ___________________ justification of slavery during this time.

21. Given the extent of ______________ in the South, along with the control of the Southern ______________, it is shocking to many students of history that so many poor whites in the South supported slavery and Democratic leadership in general.

22. While the North and ________ were integrating during this period, the South was increasingly ______________ and alarmed at the changes brought about by Northern intellectual culture and reform and ______________ movements.

23. The Second Great Awakening was similar to the First in that they both ______________预destination and were highly ______________ in nature.

24. The Second Great Awakening was different to the First in that the former prompted ______________ movements in the North, which the South was hostile to, due in part to their more ______________ culture.

Part II: Thesis Practice

25. Respond to the prompts below with a two-four sentence thesis:

A. From approximately 1800-1860, the societies of North and South grew further apart, helping to explain why sectionalism nearly ripped the nation apart from 1861-'65. Support, modify, or refute that statement.

B. To what extent did the national government grow in size from 1801-1840?
Color-code the maps below using the visuals displayed in class or on my teacher site:
A Note on the West:

Just a quick note about the West, since Period 6 covers the region in detail:

As the U.S. expanded westward throughout the 18th and 19th centuries, the definition of “West” kept changing. In the 1600s, the West referred to all lands not along the Atlantic Coast. In 1700s, it meant lands on the other side of the Appalachian Mountains. By mid-1800s, the West lay beyond the Mississippi River and reached to California and the Oregon Territory on the Pacific Coast.

The original settlers of the West and the entire North American continent, were various groups of American Indians that had been cajoled, pushed, or forcibly driven westward as white settlers and the government encroached on their homelands.

By 1850 the vast majority of Native Americans were living west of the Mississippi River. Those to the east had either been killed by disease, died in battle, emigrated reluctantly or after fraudulent treaties, or military action. The Great Plains, however, would only provide temporary respite from conflict with white settlers.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>1820</th>
<th>1840</th>
<th>1860</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Northeast: Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania</td>
<td>4,360,000</td>
<td>6,761,000</td>
<td>10,594,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North Central: Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Iowa, Missouri, North Dakota, South Dakota, Nebraska, Kansas</td>
<td>859,000</td>
<td>3,352,000</td>
<td>9,097,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South: Delaware, Maryland, Washington DC, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, Arkansas, Louisiana, Oklahoma, Texas</td>
<td>4,419,000</td>
<td>6,951,000</td>
<td>11,133,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West: Colorado, New Mexico, Nevada, Utah, Washington, Oregon, California</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>619,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All States</td>
<td>9,618,000</td>
<td>17,120,000</td>
<td>31,513,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Pro Slavery Argument

- "Positive good"
- Slaves treated better than industrial workers
- Slavery creates racial peace
- Southern economy was key to national prosperity
- Southern culture was superior
- Biological inferiority – Eugenics – pseudo science
- Religious & biblical justifications

The Slave Power and white supremacy were further reinforced by the pro-slavery rationale of John C. Calhoun

- Slavery was "a good - a positive good" that was both profitable as well as politically and socially sound.
- "There never has yet existed in a wealthy and civilized society in which one portion of the community did not...live on the labor of the other...I fearlessly assert that the existing relations between the two races in the South forms the most solid and durable foundation upon which to rear free and stable political institutions."

THE PARADOX OF SOUTHERN SUPPORT FOR SLAVERY: WHY?

- Most white southerners didn't own slaves, in fact slavery kept many whites stuck in poverty, but the vast majority of white southerners supported slavery, why?
- Racism
  - Lower class whites no matter how poor were still better than slaves
- Economic motives
  - The economic well being of the entire South was dependent on slavery (or so people thought)
  - As long as slavery existed there was a chance that a poor white could acquire a slave or two and use them to become wealthy (or so they thought)
- Why the need to spread slavery out West, why not just have slavery where it was already?
  - Southern economy was based on agriculture, over time the soil lost its nutrients, Southerners constantly needed new land to cultivate
  - No more slave states would mean the existing slave states would get outvoted in Congress on a whole list of issues that were important to them (tariffs, internal improvements, taxes, future expansion, etc.)