

## CHAPTER 5 RISING SECTIONALISM

### I. Expressions of Nationalism

#### A. War of 1812

1. Causes of the War. The War of 1812 has been called America's Second War for Independence. Basically, the waging of this second war proved to the world in general, and England in particular, that the United States of America was indeed an independent and sovereign member of the community of nations. The British authorities had for some time been stopping American ships on the high seas for the ostensible purpose of searching for deserters from the Royal Navy. The rights of the United States were treated with disregard. Many American soldiers were illegally impressed into the British navy at gunpoint, and numerous United States ships and their cargoes were forcibly confiscated. In June of 1807, the American naval vessel *Chesapeake* was ordered by the British warship *Leopard* to halt. When the captain of the *Chesapeake* refused, the *Leopard* opened fire on the American ship. The *Chesapeake* was boarded and four American seamen forcibly taken from her. In spite of these incidents, both President Jefferson and President Madison did all that was humanly possible to keep the United States out of war. Oddly enough, the New Englanders, who were most affected by the British attacks on American shipping, were totally opposed to war. Nearly all the "War Hawks" were from the South and West. John C. Calhoun of South Carolina and Henry Clay of Kentucky were the two most vociferous advocates of war with England. In 1812 President Madison gave in to "War Hawk" pressure and requested a formal declaration of war from the United States Congress. American's reasons for the War of 1812 were fourfold: (1.) The seizure of American cargoes and the impressment of American sailors violated our "freedom of the seas." (2.) The antipathies between the United States and England stemming from the War for Independence continued to exist. (3.) The Indians, raiding along the American frontier, were being armed and encouraged by the British in Canada. (4.) American "War Hawks" demanded the annexation of Canada and Florida.

2. The War. During the course of the War of 1812, the Americans made several attempts to invade Canada. Although there were some victories, there were more defeats. Overall, the Americans were unsuccessful. In 1813 the Canadian city of York (present-day Toronto) was captured and burned by American forces.

At the outset of the War, the United States had less than a dozen sailing vessels, while England fielded a fleet of six hundred. American merchant ships were, however, quickly converted into fighting ships. A surprisingly large number of British merchant ships were destroyed or captured by the Americans, but England was easily able to maintain tight control over the Atlantic Ocean.

One American ship in particular distinguished herself on the high seas. The frigate *U.S.S. Constitution*, under the command of Captain Isaac Hull, met and defeated the British warship *HMS Guerrière* near Cape Race, Newfoundland. The battle between these two vessels was hard fought. Legend says that the *Guerrière’s* cannon balls merely bounced off the hard hull of the *Constitution*. Because of this phenomenon, the American frigate was nicknamed “Old Ironsides.”

A second British fleet, stationed on the Great Lakes, threatened the United States. The American navy sent Commodore Oliver Hazard Perry to meet this particular British challenge. Perry assembled a fleet of small warships and defeated the British fleet at the Battle of Lake Erie. Perry’s report of the conflict read, “We have met the enemy and they are ours: two ships, two brigs, one schooner, and one sloop.” The Great Lakes were once again safely in American hands.

1. America’s Second War for Independence was the \_\_\_\_\_.
2. The waging of the War of 1812 proved to the world that the US was an \_\_\_\_\_ and \_\_\_\_\_ member of the community of nations.
3. The American’s made several attempts to invade \_\_\_\_\_.
4. American merchant ships were converted into \_\_\_\_\_.
5. The *U.S.S. Constitution* was nicknamed “\_\_\_\_\_.”
6. Under the leadership of Commodore Oliver Perry, the Americans defeated the British at the \_\_\_\_\_.

3. The National Anthem. In August 1814 the British invaded the United States and attacked Washington, D.C. The invaders burned the White House and the Capitol Building in retaliation for the burning of York. President Madison fled Washington, D.C., and barely escaped capture. The British army then moved on toward Baltimore, Maryland, but was stopped just outside the city at Fort McHenry on September 13, 1814. Three Americans were given a unique opportunity to view the battle that followed. These men were temporarily being detained on board a warship in the British fleet that was anchored in Chesapeake Bay. One of these three men was a lawyer and writer Francis Scott Key. Key had written a great deal of poetry, much of which was religious in nature. He also wrote the beautiful hymn, “Lord, with Glowing Heart I’d

Praise Thee.” At one time Key seriously considered studying for the ministry in the Episcopal Church. It was, however, what he would write concerning the British bombardment of Fort McHenry that would make him famous.

Early in the morning on Wednesday, September 14, 1814, the three Americans saw, through the smoke of battle, their national ensign still flying from the battlements of Fort McHenry. Within a few minutes, Francis Scott Key had written most of “The Star-Spangled Banner” on the back of an envelope. After his release by the British, Key returned to Baltimore and finished the other now familiar stanzas.

Key’s poem was printed on handbills the next morning and distributed throughout Baltimore. A few days later, the actor Ferdinand Durang sang “The Star-Spangled Banner” in the city of Baltimore. This marked the first public performance of the song. Durang sang it to the tune of an old popular English song entitled “To Anacreon in Heaven.” Americans had known the melody of “The Star-Spangled Banner” as a military march of the 1700s and as a political song named “Adams and Liberty.” “The Star-Spangled Banner” became popular immediately, and three months later it was played at the Battle of New Orleans. The United States Army and Navy had long acknowledged “The Star-Spangled Banner” as the national anthem, but Congress did not officially approve it as such until March of 1931 when President Herbert Hoover signed a Congressional resolution to that affect.

### The Star-Spangled Banner

- v.1      *Oh! Say, can you see, by the dawn's early light,  
What so proudly we hailed at the twilight's last gleaming?  
Whose broad stripes and bright stars, thro' the perilous fight,  
O'er the ramparts we watched were so gallantly streaming?  
And the rockets' red glare, the bombs bursting in air,  
Gave proof thro' the night that our flag was still there.  
Oh! say, does that star-spangled banner yet wave  
O'er the land of the free and the home of the brave?*
- v.2      *On the shore, dimly seen thro' the mist of the deep,  
Where the foe's haughty host in dread silence reposes,  
What is that which the breeze, o'er the towering steep,  
As it fitfully blows, half conceals, half discloses?  
Now it catches the gleam of the morning's first beam,  
In full glory reflected, now shines on the stream;  
'Tis the star-spangled banner. Oh! long may it wave  
O'er the land of the free and the home of the brave!*
- v.3      *And where is that band who so vauntingly swore  
That the havoc of war and the battle's confusion  
A home and a country should leave us no more?  
Their blood has washed out their foul footsteps' pollution.*

No refuge could save the hireling and slave  
From the terror of flight of the gloom of the grave,  
And the star-spangled banner in triumph doth wave  
O'er the land of the free and the home of the brave.

v.4 Oh! thus be it ever when freemen shall stand  
Between their loved home and the war's desolation,  
Blest with vict'ry and peace, may the Heav'n- rescued land  
Praise the Pow'r that hath made and preserved us a nation.  
Then conquer we must, when our cause it is just,  
And this be our motto, "In God is our trust."  
And the star-spangled banner in triumph shall wave  
O'er the land of the free and the home of the brave.

#### MOMENT IN HISTORY

The British bombardment began the morning of September 13, 1814, and lasted 25 hours. Over 1,500 bombshells were launched upon the American stronghold, but thankfully many exploded in the night sky above the fort before reaching their target. These explosions, along with the technologically advanced Congreve rockets, lit the sky with deadly fireworks.

The ships docked in Chesapeake Bay observed the incredible sight of countless bombs bursting in the air. On one such ship, political prisoner and lawyer Francis Scott Key and two fellow American prisoners watched as Fort McHenry refused to surrender to the vicious attack. The incessant sound of shelling suddenly stopped as day dawned, bringing with it a mysterious silence. In the midst of the smoke and burning rubble, Mr. Key saw the joyous sight of the great American flag blowing in the breeze. Within a few minutes, he had penned most of the never-to-be-forgotten words of "The Star-Spangled Banner" on the back of an envelope.

The flag Key saw flying over Fort McHenry had 15 stars and 15 stripes and is now preserved in the Smithsonian Museum in Washington, D.C.

4. End of the War. The combatants finally grew weary of the senseless fighting, and both sides were ready for a peaceful settlement. England and the United States met at Ghent, Belgium, in August 1814. It was agreed that all captured territory be returned to the original owners. The treaty of peace failed to address itself to the very grievances that had sparked the War, and although each side claimed victory, nothing was really settled. The Treaty of Ghent was signed on December 24, 1814. Fifteen days later General Andrew Jackson and a frontier army met a force of British regulars, 8,000 men strong, at New Orleans. Only a handful of Americans lost their lives, but 1,500 British soldiers died. The irony of the War was that the most decisive American victory (New Orleans) was won over two weeks after the War. Communications were simply too slow to inform either field commander that the peace treaty had been signed. However, the fame of "Old Hickory" Jackson, due to the Battle of New Orleans, would eventually take him into the Presidency.

7. Francis Scott Key wrote the “Star-Spangled Banner” during a battle at \_\_\_\_\_.
8. The first public performance of the song was in \_\_\_\_\_.
9. “The Star-Spangled Banner” became the national anthem in \_\_\_\_\_.
10. The \_\_\_\_\_ was signed on December 24, 1814.
11. The most decisive American victory was won over \_\_\_\_\_ weeks after the war.

**B. Era of Mixed Feelings**

1. Election of 1816. The Presidential election of 1816 ushered in a period of relative harmony, which has been called “the era of good feelings.” The Federalist Party virtually ceased to exist, and political rivalry all but disappeared. On the surface at least, most Americans were content, and the nation was experiencing a time of prosperity. Commerce and trade had been revitalized, the federal government was financially stable, and the population was on the increase. The development of industries and the settlement of the West bolstered the economy tremendously. The depression of 1818 and 1819 was only a temporary setback. Overall, Americans were riding high on a wave of *nationalistic*<sup>1</sup> feeling. The decisive victory at New Orleans, almost two years before, was one casual factor in this intense patriotism. James Monroe also contributed greatly to the general feeling of well-being. Having gained the Presidency, he appointed able men to Cabinet positions, but he retained for himself total personal control over the government. After his election Monroe personally toured the country, becoming the first President to do so.

2. American Revivals. The vitality of American manifestation of Christianity, beginning with the early nineteenth century, further lent itself to the general feeling of well-being. American revivalism countered the dangerous inroads of deistic and rationalistic humanism. Evangelistic outreaches were on the increase, both on the domestic front and on the foreign mission field. Coupled with this enthusiasm for revival was a genuine interest in legitimate reforms. The influences of the Great Awakening and the Second Great Awakening spread slowly westward with the expanding frontier. The effect of the Word of God on the lives of men cannot be lightly dismissed, but man, being the fallen creature that he is, brought about a gradual wearing away of the harmony felt across the country.

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<sup>1</sup> nationalistic – pertaining to patriotic feelings toward one’s country

3. The “American System.” The feeling of good will slowly become only a surface manifestation. Underneath ran a strong and growing current of sectionalism. Three fundamental issues caused the country to be divided into three basic sections. The West, the South, and New England clashed over the issues of the United States Bank, *protective tariffs*<sup>2</sup> and slavery. The rapid growth of the country had produced problems that some people felt could only be solved through government involvement. One of these men, House Speaker Henry Clay of Kentucky, proposed what he called the “American System.” The “American System” was calculated to strengthen the central government and the feeling of nationalism in two ways: (1.) The federal government would finance the construction of new public roads and canals in an effort to open the West. (2.) Congress would enact a strong protective tariff to encourage Northern manufacturing and to help develop domestic markets.

The “American System” was to be a partial answer to the problem caused by British manufacturers glutting American markets and stifling the infant American industry. Protective tariffs, however, did not particularly please Southern farmers who were seeking duty-free markets abroad.

The “American System” did not meet with President Monroe’s approval. Monroe seriously doubted that the federal government had the constitutional right to provide the services called for in Clay’s plan. The “American System,” as proposed, never came into being, but publicly financed means of transportation did. By 1818 the federally funded National Road stretched from Cumberland, Maryland, to the banks of the Ohio River. In the next fifteen years, the road was extended through Ohio and Indiana ending in Illinois. Other public roads quickly followed. Farther to the south of the National Road, the Wilderness Road traversed the Appalachian Mountains through the Cumberland Gap.

Water routes were also utilized for transportation. In 1825 New York State completed the Erie Canal from the Hudson River to Buffalo. The canal linked the Great Lakes with the Atlantic Ocean. Soon after canal systems were dug, but with varying degrees of success.

Horse-drawn wagons, pulled along crude plank “tracks,” were in use in England by the sixteenth century. These “tramways” were mainly employed in the English mining industry. A similar device was used in Boston in 1795 to transport brick. The first United States line that could truly merit the name “railroad” was built in Massachusetts in 1826 to haul granite for the erection of the Bunker Hill Monument. The Granite Line, as it was called, rode on raised tracks and was pulled along by a team of horses. At one particularly steep grade, a stationary engine

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<sup>2</sup> protective tariffs – import duties designed to preserve domestic industries by making imported goods more costly to business and consumers.

with a continuous chain pulled the train up the hill. Eleven years earlier, in 1815, the state of New Jersey had granted the first United States railroad charter to John Stevens. Stevens organized the Pennsylvania Railroad Company, but due to the lack of sufficient finances, he never built the line. Construction on this nation's first actual rail network was not begun until 1828. On July 4 of that year, Charles Carroll, the last surviving signer of the Declaration of Independence, turned over the first spadeful of earth on the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad. The thirteen-mile B&O line was put into full operation in the year 1830. By the end of that same year, the United States had twenty-three miles of operational rail lines.

12.
  - a. The election of 1816 was called “\_\_\_\_\_.”
  - b. What had been revitalized? \_\_\_\_\_.
  - c. The federal government was financially stable/unstable. (Choose one)
  - d. The population was \_\_\_\_\_.
  - e. What 2 things bolstered the economy? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_.
13. Which President was the first to tour the country? \_\_\_\_\_
14. What 3 things caused the country to be divided into three basic sections?
  - a. \_\_\_\_\_
  - b. \_\_\_\_\_
  - c. \_\_\_\_\_
15. The federally funded \_\_\_\_\_ stretched from Maryland to the banks of the \_\_\_\_\_ River by 1818.
16. The Erie Canal linked the \_\_\_\_\_ with the \_\_\_\_\_.
17. The first US railroad charter was granted to \_\_\_\_\_.

4. The Marshall Supreme Court. One major factor in the creation of a strong feeling of nationalism in the country's formative years following the War of 1812 was John Marshall's influence in the United States Supreme Court. Between 1801 and 1835, Chief Justice Marshall personally wrote over five hundred major decisions, all of which reflected his strong nationalistic point of view. Marshall based all his decisions on a broad interpretation of the Constitution. He constantly strengthened the federal government at the expense of the states and elevated the Supreme Court to a position of importance and prestige not before held. In the

important case of *Marbury vs. Madison*, Marshall established for all time the right of the Supreme Court to review any federal or state law. In *McCulloch vs. Maryland*, he further supported the doctrine of broad interpretation of the Constitution granted implied powers to the federal government to carry out the enumerated express powers. These and other decisions were to shape the very destiny of this country throughout its history. The authority of judicial review and the other precedents established by Marshall set the pattern, which we today have inherited, of loose interpretation of the Constitution rather than strict construction.

5. Seminole Wars. In the Southwest the white population was subject to repeated Indian attacks, which were often incited by British agents operating in Spanish Florida. The United States was forced to fight a series of three wars with the Seminole Indians of that area. In 1817 General Andrew Jackson, whom the Indians called “Big Knife,” was sent to subdue the Seminole. Jackson chased the Seminole back into Florida. The impetuous Jackson ignored the international border and pursued the Indians onto foreign soil. “Old Hickory” defeated the Indians, captured and burned Pensacola (the Spanish capital of Florida), and hanged two British agents who had been arming the Indians. Jackson’s acts were totally illegal and he was the recipient of official censure, but he received popular applause. Once again, the brash frontiersman was a hero to the common man. The First Seminole War proved to Spain that she could not adequately defend her Florida possessions. The result was that the United States was able to purchase Florida for five million dollars. The victory over the Indians and the subsequent acquisition of more territory added greatly to the flames of nationalism in the United States.

In 1832 some of the Seminole leaders signed a treaty with the United States, but the majority of Indians had no part in it. An attempt to remove the Seminole from their reservation to “Indian Territory” in the West resulted in the Second Seminole War. In this seven-year conflict, the Seminole were led by their brilliant chief, Osceola. This second war with the Seminole was one of the most costly of all the United States’ Indian wars. Nearly two thousand American fighting men were killed, and between forty and sixty million dollars were spent. General Thomas Jesup was able to subdue the Seminole only by tricking Osceola into meeting him under the protection of a flag of truce. Osceola was treacherously captured and subsequently died in prison in 1838; however, the Seminole were still not defeated until 1842. The years 1855 to 1858 saw yet the Third Seminole War break out, but this war was very minor compared to the other two conflicts.

6. Settled Disputes. Several areas of international disputes were settled under the Monroe administration. The Rush-Bagot Agreement of 1817 between the United States and England prohibited fortifications along the United States and Canadian border. The next year England and the United States mutually accepted the 49<sup>th</sup> parallel as the northern boundary of the United States from the Lake of the Woods on the Minnesota and Ontario border to the Rocky Mountains in the West. It was also agreed that the United States and Britain would jointly occupy Oregon country. Spain was persuaded to give up her claims to Oregon in 1819, and Russia did likewise in 1824.

While many aspects of American national and international life were contributing to national harmony, the germ of sectionalism was growing. The spread of the institution of slavery was becoming an ever more emotional issue. In 1819 and 1820, a crisis was averted that might have led to civil war. Until then, a balance had been maintained between slave and free states, but as the growing territories began to clamor for statehood, that balance was threatened. The Missouri Compromise enabled Missouri to enter the Union as a slave state and Maine as a free state. The Compromise further declared that the rest of the Louisiana Territory, north of the southern boundary of Missouri, would be free territory. The Missouri Compromise temporarily lay to rest a serious source of discontent, and the “era of good feelings” was able to continue with seeming calm.

7. Monroe Doctrine. In 1820 James Monroe was reelected President without opposition, and he received all the electoral votes except one. That one opposition vote was cast to preserve George Washington’s record of being the only man ever elected to the United States Presidency by unanimous vote. Of all the accomplishments of Monroe’s two terms in office, the Monroe Doctrine is by far the most significant. The Monroe Doctrine, in reality, was but a few phrases inserted into a much larger Presidential message delivered by President Monroe in 1823. The Monroe Doctrine was actually written by Monroe’s Secretary of State, John Quincy Adams. The principles cited were not referred to as the Monroe Doctrine until nearly thirty years later.

The Monroe Doctrine contained three basic elements: (1) No further European colonization in the New World. (2) Abstention of the United States from European political affairs. (3) Nonintervention of Europe in the governments of the Western Hemisphere.

The thrust of the Monroe doctrine was Monroe’s personal response to Russian expansionism in Alaska and the suspected attempts by European powers to restore to Spain lost Spanish colonies in Latin America. (By 1820 many of the Spanish colonies in the New World had won their independence.) The Monroe Doctrine stipulated that any European interference in

the affairs of the Western Hemisphere would be considered as an unfriendly act toward the United States. The Monroe Doctrine was welcomed by Britain, who enjoyed a thriving trade with the recently independent Spanish colonies and did not wish to see Spain or France regain control over them. Oddly enough, the Monroe Doctrine actually benefited the United States little, if at all, and even became a source of irritation to the Latin American Republics.

18. General Andrew Jackson was called “ \_\_\_\_\_ ” by the Indians.
19. The US purchased Florida for \_\_\_\_\_ dollars.
20. The Americans spent \_\_\_\_\_ to \_\_\_\_\_ million dollars on the Second Seminole War.
21. England and the US accepted the \_\_\_\_\_ parallel as the northern boundary of the US.
22. The Missouri Compromise declared that the \_\_\_\_\_ Territory north of the southern boundary of Missouri as \_\_\_\_\_.
23. List the three basic elements of the Monroe Doctrines:
  - a. \_\_\_\_\_
  - b. \_\_\_\_\_
  - c. \_\_\_\_\_

### C. Adam’s Administration

1. Sectional Rivalries. The so-called “era of good feelings” began declining even before the end of President Monroe’s second term. Sectional rivalries, which had lain smoldering beneath the surface, began to blaze forth into little fires and eventually burst into a full-fledged conflagration that would engulf the country. The sovereignty of the several states had been repeatedly violated by the sweeping Supreme Court decisions of John Marshall, and the ever-present slavery issue simply refused to remain buried. In addition the United States experienced financial panics in 1817, in 1837, and in 1857. This created great public hostility toward the Bank of the United States.

2. Election of 1824. The election of 1824 witnessed the final death pangs of “the era of good feelings.” During the campaign of that year, an essentially sectional battle developed among candidates Andrew Jackson, John Quincy Adams, John C. Calhoun, Henry Clay, and Secretary of the Treasury William H. Crawford. Each of these men was a favorite son of a different section of the country. The results of the voting were inconclusive, and the election was thrown into the House of Representatives where John Quincy Adams was elected President and

John C. Calhoun was elected Vice President. Upon entering office Adams appointed Henry Clay as Secretary of State. Jackson immediately charged Adams and Clay with *collusion*.<sup>3</sup> These charges of fraud set the pattern for Adams’ entire term in office. His administration was under constant attack from his political enemies, and John Quincy Adams himself was an extremely unpopular President.

3. National-Republicans. When Southern farmers attempted to oust various Indian tribal groups from land in the Southeast to which the Indians legitimately held title, President Adams took the unpopular position of defending the Indians. The governor of Georgia asserted the doctrine of the sovereignty of the states and chose to ignore the federal government.

Adams also supported a protective tariff, which further displeased Southern planters. As these and other differing political opinions continued to be expounded, the Republicans developed an irreparable party schism. The party members who supported the “American System” concept became known as National-Republicans. Those of a more democratic turn of mind retained the old name, Democratic-Republican. In the election of 1828, John Quincy Adams was the National-Republican candidate against whom the Democratic-Republicans ran the frontier hero, Andrew Jackson. Jackson won a decisive victory, and a new chapter in American history began.

24. The US experienced financial panics in \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, and \_\_\_\_\_.
25. a. The election of 1824 was decided by the \_\_\_\_\_.
- b. \_\_\_\_\_ was elected President.
26. Adams was an extremely \_\_\_\_\_ President.

## II. THE JACKSONIAN AGE

### A. Jackson’s First Administration

1. Election of 1828. The election of Andrew Jackson in 1828 has, like that of Jefferson in 1800, been considered a “Second American Revolution.” Each of these men considered his own election to be a triumph for the common man. Perhaps it may be said of Jefferson that, in the formative years of this country, no other President did so much to transform our republic into a democracy. Unlike Jefferson, however, Jackson himself was one of the

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<sup>3</sup> collusion – a conspiracy aimed to defraud

common people. He was the first United States President to be born in a log cabin. Jackson's slogans, such as "Let the people rule" and "Equal rights for all; special privileges for none," greatly appealed to the urban working man, the rural farmer, and the frontiersman. The campaign of 1828 was bitterly fought with slander and abusive language being hurled by both sides. When the votes were cast, "Old Hickory" Jackson had won a decisive victory. Jackson's triumph was not, however, without its personal tragedy. Jackson's beloved wife, Rachel, died less than a month before he left for Washington, D.C., and the White House. Jackson always blamed his wife's death on the slander heaped upon her during the campaign.

Upon assuming office Jackson immediately discharged nearly seven hundred government employees and replaced them with his own supporters. Jackson was the type of man who demanded absolute loyalty among those around him. He is sometimes credited with introducing the *spoils system*<sup>4</sup> into American political life. A friend of Jackson popularized the slogan, "To the victor belongs the spoils of the enemy."

Jackson also formed an auxiliary advisory group that met together with him to discuss all important matters. Because this group usually met in the rear of the White House, it became known as the "Kitchen Cabinet." The name was derisively applied to the group by Jackson's official cabinet members but was often charged with having more influence on United States policy than the real Cabinet.

2. Webster-Hayne Debate. Shortly before Jackson took office, Congress again raised duties on imported goods. As a reaction to this so-called Tariff of Abominations, which was passed in 1828, Vice President John C. Calhoun of South Carolina wrote an essay known as the "South Carolina Exposition and Protest." In this document Calhoun maintained that if a state considered any federal law illegal, the state could declare that law null and void. Calhoun and other like-minded Southerners believed that the United States Constitution granted the individual states this right of nullification. The general spirit of the times was beginning to change. To many Americans sectionalism was replacing nationalism. More emotional Southerners were even talking of secession. Calhoun hoped that nullification would be considered a viable alternative to secession. The issue of nullification was simply a part of the larger issue of states' rights. In January 1830 Senators Robert Y. Hayne of South Carolina and Daniel Webster of Massachusetts took up opposite sides in the overall states' rights vs. federal rights debate. From the nineteenth to the twenty-seventh of January, these two eloquent orators heatedly argued their respective sides of the dispute. A summation of the position of each man follows:

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<sup>4</sup> spoils system – the placing of one's friends in appointed positions

HAYNE –

1. The states had framed the Constitution and set up the government.
2. The Constitution had not given the national government the power to pass a law that was harmful to one section of the country.
3. If such a law were passed, a state could nullify it.

WEBSTER –

1. The Constitution and the federal government were created by the people and not the states.
2. Only the Supreme Court (and not an individual state) could decide the constitutionality of a law.
3. No state had the right to nullify a federal law or to secede from the Union.

Daniel Webster was known as one of America's greatest orators, and he used that gift in tireless support of the Union. For many years after his death, American school children memorized this stirring line from his famous retort to Hayne, "Liberty and Union now and forever, one and inseparable." Webster changed his position on many issues as he grew older, but on one point he stood firm and that was his faith in his Creator. He constantly reminded his fellow Americans that this nation was founded on basic Biblical principles. His stirring words still ring true.

"Let us not forget the religious character of our origin. Our fathers were brought hither by their high veneration of the Christian religion. They journeyed by its light and labored in its hope. They sought to incorporate it with the elements of their society, and to diffuse its influence . . . until the full conviction that that is the happiest society which partakes in the highest degree of the mild and peaceful spirit of Christianity."

Webster further states, "It is in the inculcation of high and pure Christian morals . . . (in children) that, in a free republic, woman performs her sacred duty and fulfills her destiny."

In his own case, Webster said, "If there be anything in my style of thought to be commended, the credit is due to my kind parents in stilling into my mind an early love of the Scriptures."

Webster's love of the Word of God produced the following testimony of faith written to his pastor in 1807, "I believe Jesus Christ to be the Son of God . . . I believe there is no other way of salvation than through the merits of His atonement. I believe that the Bible is to be understood and received . . ."

27. Andrew Jackson was the first President born in a \_\_\_\_\_.
28. Jackson's wife died \_\_\_\_\_ month before he left for Washington, D.C.

29. Jackson's auxiliary group was known as the "\_\_\_\_\_."
30. Senators Robert Hayne & Daniel Webster had several heated arguments of the overall \_\_\_\_\_ vs. \_\_\_\_\_.
31. Daniel Webster was known as one of America's greatest \_\_\_\_\_.

3. Nullification. The issue of nullification was not laid to rest with the Webster-Hayne Debate. Emotions continued to run high in the nation's capital. At a political banquet in April 1830, President Jackson declared to those in attendance, "Our Federal Union, it must be preserved!" The ensuing silence was shattered by Vice President Calhoun's terse reply, "The Union, next to our liberty, most dear!" In 1832 a new tariff law was passed, which was only slightly less onerous than the earlier Tariff of Abominations. South Carolina immediately countered by promulgating the Ordinance of Nullification, which declared the tariff void in South Carolina. The Ordinance threatened secession if the offending tariff was enforced. President Jackson met the Southern challenge by threatening to send in federal troops if necessary. Jackson also reminded the people of South Carolina that he was a native son of the South and thus sympathized with their problems, but that he must uphold the law. In February 1833 a compromise tariff bill was passed that postponed, but not prevent, further escalation of the sectional differences.

4. Jackson-Calhoun Split. Political and personal differences gradually drove a wedge between President Jackson and Vice President Calhoun. The battle over the issues of nullification, states' rights, and protective tariffs found Jackson and Calhoun at logger heads. While serving as Jackson's Vice President, Calhoun had been working behind the scenes against Jackson's policies. It was, for instance, Calhoun who had secretly written the "South Carolina Exposition and Protest." During the Webster-Hayne Debate, it soon became obvious that Senator Hayne was merely the mouthpiece of Vice President Calhoun. The final break between Calhoun and Jackson came as a result of the "Eaton Affair." Secretary of War John H. Eaton had married Peggy O'Neale, a woman of questionable virtue. Many of the wives of other Cabinet members, led by Mrs. John C. Calhoun, refused to receive Mrs. Eaton socially. President Jackson personally arose to Mrs. Eaton's defense. A crisis resulted and Calhoun resigned as Vice President, but he was almost immediately backed in Washington as a Senator from his native South Carolina.

5. Bank of the United States. From the inception of the concept of a national bank, the Bank of the United States had been a controversial issue. Largely the creation of Alexander Hamilton, the First Bank of the United States was founded in 1791. Thomas Jefferson greatly feared and opposed the institution. He felt that the Bank was unconstitutional and injurious to the American economy. Enough opposition was engendered that the charter was not renewed, and the First Bank of the United States ceased to exist in 1811. The period following the War of 1812 was one of great financial instability. Many Americans hoped that the establishment of a Second Bank would remedy the economic problems. The Second Bank of the United States, like its predecessor, was a privately-owned monopoly, with the federal government owning only one-fifth of the stock. The battle over the Bank was probably the most serious issue of Jackson’s administration. Jackson personally believed the Bank to be unconstitutional, undemocratic, and un-American. He charged that the Bank enabled individuals to make a profit from tax-garnered public funds. Jackson vowed that he would destroy the Bank of the United States.

The Second Bank had been chartered in 1816 for a period of twenty years, and that charter was due to expire in 1836. The issue of renewal, however, was forced four years earlier in 1832. Anti-Jackson and pro-Bank forces planned to push Jackson into taking what they hoped would be an unpopular position on the Bank issue. Congress passed a new charter bill and sent it to the President for his signature. President Jackson vetoed the charter renewal bill and returned it to Congress with a scathing message attacking the Bank as a totally evil institution. The supporters of the Bank had made a serious miscalculation. Instead of disgracing him, Jackson’s veto made him a hero to the electorate, and he was returned to the White House in 1832 with an overwhelming majority of the votes. Jackson interpreted his decisive victory as a public mandate to destroy the Bank. His next move was to gradually withdraw all government funds from the Bank of the United States and place them in certain state banks. This action crippled the Bank of the United States ceased to function as such. The bank did become chartered as a state bank, but it failed in 1841, probably due to poor investments on the foreign market.

32. Political and personal differences drove a wedge between President \_\_\_\_\_ and Vice-President \_\_\_\_\_.
33. a. The final break between Jackson & Calhoun came as a result of the “\_\_\_\_\_.”
- b. Many of the wives of \_\_\_\_\_ members refused to receive Mrs. Eaton socially.
- c. Mrs. Eaton had been a woman of \_\_\_\_\_ virtue.

34. Calhoun resigned as \_\_\_\_\_ as a result of the Eaton crisis when President Jackson came to her defense.
35. The first Bank of the US ceased to exist in \_\_\_\_\_.
36. The second Bank of the US was a privately-owned \_\_\_\_\_.
37. Jackson believed the Bank to be \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_ and \_\_\_\_\_.

## **B. Jackson's Second Administration**

1. Anti-Masonic Party. The two elections of the rough-and-ready William Morgan, an upper New York state member of the Ancient and Accepted Order of Free Masons, wrote a book "exposing the secrets" of Freemasonry. The Grand Master of his Lodge ordered Morgan's immediate arrest and imprisonment for indebtedness. Shortly thereafter Captain Morgan was abducted from prison and taken to Fort Niagara where he mysteriously disappeared. Some time later a body, which was identified as Morgan's was found in the Niagara River. These events resulted in such a wave of anti-Masonic feeling that a political party was born out of the furor. The Anti-Masonic Party was the first such third-party movement in the history of the United States.

Anti-Masonry was especially popular among the New England descendants of the Puritans, the Scottish Presbyterians, and numerous German Pietists. These groups equated Freemasonry with *Unitarianism*<sup>5</sup> and decried Masonry as an evil, oath-bound society that practiced wild, wine-drinking feasts as a part of its secret Masonic ritual. In the 1828 Presidential campaign, the Anti-Masonic elements polarized behind John Quincy Adams because Andrew Jackson was known to be a high-ranking Freemason. By the 1830s the Anti-Masonic Party had become even more firmly established, and on September 26, 1831, the party held the first national nominating convention in United States history.

The Anti-Masons saw their open convention as the very antithesis of the secret meetings of the Freemasons whom they opposed. Many of today's convention traditions such as rules committees, platform committees, and the like were the creation of this splinter party. The National-Republican Party and the Democratic Party followed the Anti-Masonic example and held open conventions of their own on December 12, 1831, and May, 21, 1832, respectively. Thus, Andrew Jackson became the first United States President to be nominated by means of the convention system.

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<sup>5</sup> Unitarianism – a doctrine that rejects the Trinity and asserts that God is one being.

After much deliberation the Anti-Masons nominated William Wirt of Maryland for President and Amos Ellmaker of Pennsylvania for Vice President. Wirt lost his bid for the Presidency, carrying only the state of Vermont with its seven electoral votes. The Anti-Masonic Party won the governorship of Vermont and sent to Washington several Anti-Masonic Congressmen. By the next election, however, the party had much declined, and most Anti-Masons had been assimilated into the Whig Party.

38. The \_\_\_\_\_ was the first third party movement in the history of the US.
39. The Anti-Masonic party held its first national convention in \_\_\_\_\_.
40. \_\_\_\_\_ was the first President nominated by the convention system.

2. Indian Removal. The blackest chapter of Jackson's administration was the confiscation of Indian lands in the East. In 1830 the United States Congress passed the Indian Removal Act, which called for the exchange of Indian lands in the East for new reservation lands in the West. President Andrew Jackson greatly resented the fact that Native Americans owned such good fertile farm land. He was constantly looking for any opportunity to send Native Americans west of the Mississippi River.

In 1832 about one thousand men, women, and children of the Sauk and Fox (one tribe) and Winnebago Indian tribes crossed into Illinois from the West. The tribes were suffering from hunger and simply wanted to plant some corn in the more fertile lands east of the Mississippi River. The land on which they camped had been previously "purchased" from them by white men. The Sauk and Fox leaders, under the influence of alcohol, had been tricked into signing a treaty agreeing to remove their tribe to west of the Mississippi. Upon hearing that the Sauk and Fox and Winnebago tribes had crossed back over the river, the governor of Illinois ordered the state militia to oust the offending Indians.

The major chief of the Sauk and Fox tribe, Black Hawk, met the white men in battle and inflicted a stunning defeat on them. When regular United States Army troops reinforced the Illinois militia, the Sauk and Fox tribe was forced to retreat slowly into Wisconsin. On August 2, near the Bad Axe River in southwestern Wisconsin, the Indians were slaughtered. Black Hawk and his two sons were captured and held prisoners for over three years. The Black Hawk War marked the end of Indian confrontations in the Northwest Territory.

As mentioned earlier, a similar situation took place between white men and the Seminole Indians of Florida. The Seminole Wars were fought in 1817, 1835, and 1855, and the bloodshed was considerable greater than that of the Black Hawk War.

Perhaps the most tragic events during the period of Indian Removal took place midway between the Sauk and Fox and the Seminole homelands. The Cherokee, Chickasaw, Choctaw, and Creek had long lived in peace with nearby white men. These four tribal groups, along with the Seminole tribe, have been called the Five Civilized Tribes. These Indians built homes, raised crops and animal herds, sent their children to schools, and attended churches. It has been demonstrated that where the Gospel of Jesus Christ is preached, people prosper. In seventeenth-century colonial America, such men as John Eliot and Roger Williams were missionaries to the Indians. The eighteenth-century saw John Wesley spend a brief period of his life as a missionary to the Indians of Georgia. In 1787 the Moravians founded their Society of Propagating the Gospel among the Heathen. These early missionary efforts were basic causal factors in producing the climate out of which grew the Five Civilized Tribes appealed to the federal government for help. Senators Henry Clay and Daniel Webster defended the Indians' rights on the floor of Congress.

The Cherokee in Georgia were truly a civilized people. They had their own written language, invented for them by a mixed-blood Cherokee named Sequoyah (also called Sequoia). Having developed their alphabet, these Native Americans were then able to publish their own newspaper, which they called the *Cherokee Phoenix*. In the year 1827, the Cherokee adopted a constitution modeled after our own and declared themselves an independent nation. Georgia immediately attempted to seize the Cherokee lands. In 1828 Georgia passed a series of laws that excluded the Cherokee from any legal protection and stripped them of all rights. The Cherokee retaliated by hiring a prominent lawyer and appealing their case to the Supreme Court. The Cherokee maintained that their lands belonged to them by right of a treaty with the federal government and that the state of Georgia could not nullify a federal law (the treaty). When Andrew Jackson became President, he declared that he “had no power to oppose the exercise of sovereignty of any state over all who may be within its limits.” (It may be noted that Jackson took a diametrically opposite point of view on nullification in regards to the tariff and had as a campaign slogan “Equal rights for all . . .”) While the debate over Indian rights continued, the states of Alabama and Mississippi confiscated the lands of the Choctaw and Chickasaw, and Georgia proceeded to press her claims against the Cherokee.

The 1831 Supreme Court decisions, in the case of *The Cherokee Nation vs. Georgia*, stated that the Indians were “domestic dependent nations” and had a right to the lands they

farmed. The next year, in the case of *Worcester vs. Georgia*, Supreme Court Chief Justice John Marshall and his Court held that the Cherokee Nation was a definite political community and that the state of Georgia had no jurisdiction over them. Georgia simply ignored Marshall’s pronouncement, and the state militia removed the Cherokee at bayonet point. Justice Marshall asked the President to support the Native Americans with federal troops. President Andrew Jackson refused and is reputed to have said, “John Marshall has made his decision; now let him enforce it.” Lifelong Indian fighter “Old Hickory” firmly held to his negative opinion about the Indians, and the tribes were herded like cattle beyond the Mississippi River.

The United States Army was sent to the Southeast to forcibly remove the peaceful Indians. Those who were farmers had to abandon their homes and livestock. The helpless ones were herded into concentration camps. Between 1832 and 1837, some 60,000 people were forced to march the 1,000 miles to “Indian Territory.” During bitter winter months, they were usually without blankets or adequate clothing and often lacked the proper food. The death toll was tremendous. Nearly 250 Creek drowned in the Mississippi River when a steamboat sank. Over 600 Chickasaw died of smallpox in Arkansas. Thousands more died of exposure, accident, or disease. Still others were shot or bayoneted when they tired to escape. The terrible ordeal was aptly named by the suffering Indians as the “Trail of Tears.” On the journey a number of Cherokee somehow managed to escape and hide in the mountains. Today their descendants reside on the Qualla Reservation at Cherokee, North Carolina. Many of the Seminole fled into the swamps of Florida, where their descendants continue to live, and a few Choctaw remain scattered throughout Mississippi.

From north of the Ohio River, the Kickapoo, Miami, Potawatomi, and Shawnee tribes were also taken west to “Indian Territory.”

The “Indian Territory” to which the Indians were removed later became the state of Oklahoma. The name “Oklahoma” comes from the Choctaw words; “okla” meaning people and “humma” meaning red, so the state’s name literally means “red people.”

41. In 1830 the US Congress passed the \_\_\_\_\_.
42. The Black Hawk War marked the end of Indian confrontation in the \_\_\_\_\_.
43. Name the Five Civilized Tribes: \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, and \_\_\_\_\_.

44. The Cherokee had their own written language invented by a mixed-blood named \_\_\_\_\_.
45. The Cherokee published their own \_\_\_\_\_ called the *Cherokee Phoenix*.
46. Between 1832 and 1839, some \_\_\_\_\_ people were forced to march the 1,000 miles to “Indian Territory.”
47. a. Some Indians drowned in the \_\_\_\_\_.
- b. Others died of \_\_\_\_\_ in Arkansas.
- c. Others died of exposure, accident and \_\_\_\_\_.
48. The terrible ordeal was named by the suffering Indians as the “\_\_\_\_\_ \_\_\_\_\_.”

### C. Van Buren's Administration

Andrew Jackson's hand-picked successor, Martin Van Buren, was the first President who had been born a United States' citizen. All the Presidents before him had been born citizens of England. Van Buren's opposition consisted of a coalition of anti-Jackson forces who became known as the “Whigs.” The loosely tied-together coalition was made up of former National-Republicans who opposed the veto of the Bank. Some were strong supporters of states' rights who favored nullification. The party also had nativistic elements who opposed open immigration, and it had basically conservative factions who opposed the “democratic” aspects of Jackson's administration. To these people Van Buren represented a third term for Jackson by proxy, or substitute.

1. Panic of 1837. The first year of Van Buren's administration saw the disastrous Panic of 1837. The country had been going through a period of great prosperity and overabundance. The surplus of the money supply led to wild speculation and the creation of many unsound banks. By 1837 most banks had suspended *specie*<sup>6</sup> payment, and businesses began to fail. In March and April of that year, the failures of New York City and New Orleans totaled 150 million dollars. A committee of businessmen from New York petitioned President Van Buren to retract Jackson's Specie Circular, which demanded specie as payment for public land. The Specie Circular, an attempt to curb inflation, had ruined public land sales. Many land investments had proved unprofitable. The results of the Panic of 1837 were vast unemployment and the cessation of new construction. By September nearly all the factories in the East were closed and over six hundred banks had failed. A ruinous blight on the wheat crop that same year

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<sup>6</sup> specie – money in the form of precious metal coins, usually gold or silver

further devastated American finances. These economic woes continued for the next four to five years.

2. Issue of Slavery. The issue of slavery continued to cause growing unrest. During the Van Buren administration, the beginnings of the organized *abolitionist*<sup>7</sup> movement were apparent. Ardent abolitionist William Lloyd Garrison publicly burned a copy of the United States Constitution and called it “a covenant with death and an agreement with hell” because the document granted formal recognition to the institution of slavery.

The emotional slavery issue made itself in many aspects of American life. American expansionists were eager to bring the newly independent Republic of Texas into the Union. It was then supposed that Texas would be divided up into several smaller states. Antislavery partisans feared that the annexation of Texas would destroy the delicate balance between free and slave states. Even President Van Buren opposed the annexation of Texas, but for a slightly different reason. Van Buren feared that such a move might bring on war with Mexico.

3. Anglo-American Incidents. In 1837 there was a rebellion in Canada, and a minority faction declared their independence from England. Many Americans sympathized with the rebels. English authorities seized and burned an American vessel, the *Caroline*, which they claimed was carrying men and supplies to the insurgents. An American on board the *Caroline* was said to have been killed. Americans in the northern border states demanded immediate war with England, but President Van Buren diplomatically settled the emotionally charged situation.

Yet another point of strain in British-American relations occurred along the northern border of Maine. Neither England nor the United States was exactly sure where the international boundary lay. Settlers and lumbermen from both the United States and Canada began to occupy the Aroostook Valley. Once again, tempers and war fever flared. Van Buren quickly sent General Winfield Scott to Maine to settle the “Aroostook War.” A “truce” was arranged before the so-called “war” could reach the point of bloodshed.

In 1840 the forces against Jackson and Van Buren were better organized than in 1836. The economic depression, coupled with voter dissatisfaction over what appeared to some as Van Buren’s cowardice in regard to the *Caroline* affair and the annexation of Texas, enabled William Henry Harrison, a Whig, to easily win the election. In some ways the Jacksonian period was over, but in reality the ideas and reforms of Jacksonian democracy continued to affect the country.

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<sup>7</sup> abolitionist – someone who wants to do away with slavery

49. \_\_\_\_\_ was the first President born a US citizen.
50. In 1837 New York City and New Orleans saw financial failures of \_\_\_\_\_ million dollars.
51. An abolitionist is \_\_\_\_\_.
52. A point of strain in British-American relations occurred when neither knew where the international border was in northern \_\_\_\_\_.

### III. PRELUDE TO THE WAR BETWEEN THE STATES

#### A. Manifest Destiny

In the early 1800s, many Americans believed in the concept of manifest destiny—that God had ordained American culture and institutions to encompass the entire continent of North America. In 1844 James K. Polk campaigned for the Presidency on the slogan “Manifest Destiny.” The spirit of nationalism seemed once more to be on the ascent. Some Americans dreamed of establishing the capital of the United States of America in what they hoped would become the geographic center of the country—Mexico City.

Five main groups of Americans espoused manifest destiny.

- (1.) Those who desired to open western lands to American settlement.
- (2.) Merchants who wanted Pacific ports for their Asian trade.
- (3.) Those who feared British encroachment in United States interests in the West.
- (4.) Those who sincerely believed that American political ideals should be shared with all North and South Americans.
- (5.) Nationalists who wanted to make the United States a great world power.

The ideas of manifest destiny motivated many Americans to migrate into western lands owned by nations other than the United States. By the 1840s American miners, farmers, ranchers, land speculators, and fortune hunters had settled in most parts of North America.

1. Texas Annexation. When Texas declared herself to be an independent republic in 1836, she immediately requested admission to the Union. The United States, for a variety of reasons, refused. In 1844 a more serious try for annexation was attempted, but again it was rejected. The people of Texas refused to give up because most of them still felt themselves to be

Americans. James K. Polk demanded “reannexation” of Texas, claiming that it was originally part of the Louisiana Territory. The South, in particular, was interested in acquiring the huge Texas territory. Finally, in 1845 the outgoing President, John Tyler, was able to persuade Congress to admit Texas to the Union by means of a joint resolution. It had originally been thought that the vast territory of Texas would be broken up into several smaller states; however, Texas remained intact and became the twenty-ninth state.

2. War with Mexico. As soon as the annexation of Texas was announced, Mexico broke off diplomatic relations with the United States, recalled her ambassador, and issued a formal protest. The Mexican government refused to recognize Texas independence and looked upon the annexation as the illegal seizure of Mexican territory. Mexican authorities had previously warned the United States that they would consider annexation as a declaration of war. When the United States acquired Texas, they also took on Texas’ problems. The Mexican government owed some Texans (now citizens of the United States) over a million dollars in claims. Further, both the United States—as the agent for Texas—and Mexico claimed the area between the Rio Grande and the Nueces River. John Slidell was sent to Mexico City as the chief negotiator for the United States. Slidell was empowered to attempt to buy California and New Mexico as well as settle differences over Texas. President Polk was utterly determined to place and keep all three of these areas under the American flag.

Even while Slidell was in Mexico City, Mexican and American troops moved into the disputed area between the two rivers. Early in 1846 the two rival armies met in a minor skirmish, and some American soldiers were killed. President Polk became enraged and requested the United States Congress to declare war on Mexico. “Mexico has invaded our territory,” he said, “and shed American blood on American soil.” Congress passed the declaration of war; but most New Englanders condemned Congress, President Polk, and the idea of war with Mexico. Southerners and Westerners were, however, wildly enthusiastic about going to war, and the majority of army volunteers came from these two sections of the country. Once again the usual sectional differences dominated any unified nationalistic spirit. President Polk was equally as determined to use war with Mexico to wrest California and New Mexico (includes Arizona) from Mexican hands as he was to settle the Texan dispute.

Colonel Stephen W. Kearny, stationed in Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, was ordered to invade New Mexico. In August 1846 Kearny and 1,800 men captured Santa Fe. Kearny then split his forces and sent one group of men, under the leadership of Alexander Doniphan, south into Mexico. Kearny and the men under his command marched toward California to join up with

the forces of Captain John C. Frémont urged Californians to revolt against the Mexican authorities. By the time the American Congress had declared war, Frémont and his men had successfully conquered California and declared it an independent state. Meanwhile, as soon as war was declared, American naval units landed at Monterey and San Diego. Upon the arrival of Colonel Kearney, Frémont hauled down the “Bear Flag” of the American Republic of California and hoisted the Stars and Stripes.

The American plan of attack involved the implementation of two major thrusts into Mexico proper. In northeastern Mexico, General Zachary Taylor fought and won two major battles at Monterrey and Buena Vista. Mexican President Antonio López de Santa Anna took personal command of the huge army that attempted to halt Taylor’s advance. The American victory at Buena Vista made Taylor such a popular hero that he was elected President of the United States in 1848. Meanwhile, Major General Winfield Scott, the highest ranking officer in the United States Army, landed with ten thousand American troops at Veracruz on March 9, 1847. Twenty days later Veracruz was in American hands, and Scott was on his way toward Mexico City. Everything along the way fell before the advancing American army, even though they were often outnumbered. The battles of Cerro Gordo, Contreras, and Churubusco were logged as decisive American victories. Finally, nothing stood between Scott and Mexico City except the hilltop fortress of Chapultepec. After a hard-fought battle that lasted all day, Chapultepec fell; and the victorious American marched unopposed into Mexico City on September 14, 1847. Santa Anna resigned as President, and the Mexicans formed a new government that sued for peace. On February 2, 1848, the treaty of peace was signed at the little town of Guadalupe Hidalgo.

The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo resulted in the transfer of 525,000 square miles of territory from the dominion of Mexico to that of the United States. The United States paid 15 million dollars for this territory, which included all of what is today California, Nevada, and Utah, most of Arizona and New Mexico, and parts of Colorado and Wyoming. In 1853 the Gadsden Purchase added 29,640 more square miles of Arizona and New Mexico. The area of land acquired from Mexico accounts for one-sixth of the land mass of modern United States. The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo helped create a United States that stretched from the Atlantic to the Pacific. The acquisition of this huge land area also brought with it certain problems. The old issue of slavery and its expansion was revived and intensified. The debate over whether the Southwest would be slave or free led to further bitterness between the North and the South. In a very real sense, the Mexican War can be said to have been a causal factor leading up to the War

Between the States. A number of young army officials who fought in the Mexican War would later fight against each other in the War Between the States.

53. What was James Polk campaign slogan? “\_\_\_\_\_.”
54. After two unsuccessful attempts to be granted admission to the Union, \_\_\_\_\_ finally became the 29<sup>th</sup> state in 1845.
55. At the recommendation of President Polk, Congress declared war on \_\_\_\_\_.
56. The majority of the volunteer Army came from the \_\_\_\_\_ and the \_\_\_\_\_.
57. As soon as war was declared American naval vessels landed at \_\_\_\_\_ and \_\_\_\_\_.
58. On Feb. 2, 1848 the treaty of peace was signed in \_\_\_\_\_.
59. The treaty resulted in the US gaining \_\_\_\_\_ miles of territory from Mexico at a cost of \_\_\_\_\_ million dollars.
60. The land acquired became the states of \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, most of \_\_\_\_\_ and \_\_\_\_\_ and parts of \_\_\_\_\_ and \_\_\_\_\_.

3. Other Territories Added. In 1839 the so-called “Aroostook War” had occurred along the Maine-New Brunswick border. General Winfield Scott was sent to settle without bloodshed, but the boundary line was not agreed upon until the United States and Britain signed the Webster-Ashburton treaty in 1842. The Treaty was a compromise between the claims of the United States and Canada with the United States gaining 7,000 of the total 12,000 square miles in dispute. The Treaty also provided the mutual extradition of criminals between the United States and Canada. Also mentioned in the document were provisions favorable to British efforts to suppress the slave trade from Africa.

In the West both the United States and England claimed Oregon Country. The conflicting claims to this area grew out of earlier explorations by men from both countries. The northern boundary of Oregon Country was the line of north latitude, 54 degrees and 40 minutes. Another expansionist plank in Polk’s campaign platform had been “54°-40' or fight.” The Mexican War, however, kept the United States too busy to press American claims in Oregon. In 1846 Polk was willing to compromise with Britain. The two nations agreed to accept the 49<sup>th</sup> parallel as the northern boundary. The United States received all of what is today Oregon, Washington, and Idaho, and parts of Wyoming and Montana.

To a very great extent, the opening of Oregon Country was due to American missionaries. Two Methodist brothers, Jason and Daniel Lee, were the first missionaries in the area. In 1834 the brothers established a mission and a school for Indian children in the Willamette Valley. One year later Samuel Parker, a Presbyterian minister, followed the example of the Lee brothers. Parker was able to interest other Presbyterians in mission work among the Oregon Indian tribes. Marcus Whitman had been a doctor in Canada and New York before he felt the call to the mission field. Under the auspices of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, Dr. Whitman and Samuel Parker traveled to the West to establish another mission among the Indians of Oregon. The two men explored the area and attempted to get acquainted with the local Indians. They found the Flathead and *Nez Percé*<sup>8</sup> extremely friendly. It was agreed that Parker would stay among the Indians while Whitman returned to the East to obtain additional recruits and assistance. In 1836 Whitman married his fiancée, Narcissa Prentiss. That same year the newly wed Whitmans, Rev. Henry H. and Eliza Spaulding, and two single men began the long journey to Oregon. Narcissa Whitman and Eliza Spaulding were the first white women to cross the Continental Divide.

Dr. and Mrs. Whitman founded a mission at Walla Walla among the Cayuse Indians. The Spaulding started their mission work among the Nez Percé, which was 125 miles from Walla Walla. The white men taught the Indians to build houses, till their fields, irrigate their crops, erect mills for grinding flour, and plant orchards. Because the missionaries' progress seemed slow, in 1842 the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions decided to close the Oregon missions. Dr. Whitman rode horseback the 3,000 miles to Boston to persuade the board not to abandon the project. He also went to Washington, D.C., to request that the United States government do what it could to encourage immigration to Oregon. When he returned to the mission field, Dr. Whitman began to experience difficulties. The Indians were more intrigued with the colorful ceremonies taught to them by some Jesuit priests than they were with the true simple Gospel of Jesus Christ. As a rough element of white men began to enter Oregon, further difficulties arose. When a measles epidemic swept that area, Dr. Whitman selflessly cared for the sick Indians and white men alike, but when many of their children died, the superstitious Indians thought the Whitmans were using black magic. On November 29, 1847, the Indians killed fourteen whites, including the Whitmans. The Whitmans' martyrdom for the cause of Christ, tragic as it was, inspired other Christians contemplating the mission field.

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<sup>8</sup> Nez Percé – American colloquial pronunciation for (nā pĕ-s'), a Northwestern American Indian tribe; literally "pierced nose"

61. In 1846 the US and Britain agreed that the 49<sup>th</sup> parallel would be the northern boundary where the US received the land which is now \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_ and parts of \_\_\_\_\_ and \_\_\_\_\_.
62. The opening of the Oregon Country was due to American \_\_\_\_\_.
63. The missionaries taught the Indians to build \_\_\_\_\_, till their \_\_\_\_\_, irrigate their \_\_\_\_\_, erect \_\_\_\_\_ for grinding flour, and plant \_\_\_\_\_.

## **B. Expansion of Slavery**

1. Abolitionist Movement. Any system of involuntary servitude is odious to free people. The founders of this republic fled the slavery of Europe to establish liberty and freedom for themselves and others. It is only natural that such liberty-loving men would desire to see all people enjoy the blessings of this freedom. The end of slavery in this country was a legitimate goal, but much was done in the name of abolition that was as evil as the institution of slavery itself.

Religious apostasy and political liberalism had made considerable inroads into the foundation of New England Puritan orthodoxy. Deism, Unitarianism, and *transcendentalism*<sup>9</sup> denounced the Gospel—salvation by the blood of Christ—and gave rise to a liberal social gospel of works. The result was that men began to be convinced of their own innate goodness and perfectibility. The social gospel championed social reforms of diverse sorts. New England Transcendentalists became taken up with reform movements that were humanistic in thought and practice—peace, women’s rights, utopianism, political liberalism, free thought, socialism, labor reform, Darwinism, economic reform, collectivism, and abolition. These consumed the passions of radical elements of New England society.

Harriet Beecher Stowe inflamed antislavery emotions with her novel *Uncle Tom’s Cabin*. The book magnified the slavery situation by presenting a series of fictional characters. Such a storm was generated by *Uncle Tom’s Cabin* that fights actually broke out in Congress over it, and the novel was banned below the Mason-Dixon Line.

Henry Ward Beecher was the brother of Harriet Beecher Stowe. He was also a strong abolitionist and a renowned liberal theologian. Beecher was a leader in the so-called “New Theology Movement.” He advocated Darwinian evolution and fought for its acceptance into Christian dogma. Bibles became known as “Beecher’s Bibles,” because Beecher made the

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<sup>9</sup> transcendentalism – a belief that reality is discovered by thought processes and is not limited by experience

statement—in reference to the Kansas struggle—that a Sharpe's rifle was a better instrument with which to convert a border ruffian than a Bible.

Horace Greeley, founder of the *New York Tribune*, was one of the most influential journalists of his day. He was impulsive and extreme in behavior, crusading for each and every popular fad that came along. He variously advocated spiritualism, vegetarianism, and abolition. He variously advocated spiritualism, vegetarianism, and abolition. He purposely cultivated idiosyncratic dress and manner. He hired Communist Karl Marx as his European correspondent and weekly columnist for the *New York Tribune*. Greeley himself became an ardent Marxist and incorporated many Marxist articles into his editorials in the *Tribune*. After losing his bid for the Presidency and suffering the death of his wife, he had a mental and physical breakdown ending in his death.

The famous poet Ralph Waldo Emerson was a theologian who was greatly influenced by the humanistic philosophy of G. W. F. Hegel, the forerunner of Karl Marx. Emerson glorified man, attacked historical Christianity, and espoused *pantheism*<sup>10</sup>. For a time he participated in the socialist experiment at the community of Brook Farm. Emerson recognized man, and not God, as his highest authority and stated, "Nothing is at last sacred but the integrity of your own mind." When leaders in the South and North condemned the seditious acts of John Brown, Emerson asserted that Brown would make the gallows "as glorious as a cross."

Few blacks participated in the abolitionist movement, simply because most of them were slaves. In 1838 a young slave named Frederick Augustus Washington Bailey escaped to New Bedford, Massachusetts, and changed his name to Frederick Douglass. In 1841 Douglass spoke before a meeting of the Massachusetts Antislavery Society. That address opened the door for him, and he was soon in great demand as an antislavery speaker. Douglass led many protests against racial and religious discrimination. For a brief time, Douglass fled the United States for England, fearing that he might be identified as a runaway slave. In 1847 Douglass returned to the United States and founded the antislavery newspaper, the *North Star*. He continued to devote his life to the cause of abolition and Negro rights, opening his own home as a station on the so-called "underground railroad."

The "underground railroad" was neither underground nor a railroad. It was simply a system to help slaves escape the South and reach the safety of Canada. People along the way who were sympathetic to abolition hid the runaways and passed them on to the next "station." There was no formal organization. Most of those involved in the "underground railroad" were either white Quakers or former slaves. The most famous "agent" of the "railroad" was an

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<sup>10</sup> pantheism – a belief that God and the universe are one and the same.

escaped slave by the name of Harriet Tubman. At great risk to herself, Mrs. Tubman made nineteen secret trips into the South to aid other slaves to escape. In all, she is said to have helped some three hundred slaves escape the bondage of slavery. Two of those she was able to free were her own parents. Her activities became so famous that there was, at one time, a forty thousand-dollar reward for her capture.

64. Harriet Beecher Stowe inflamed \_\_\_\_\_ with her novel *Uncle Tom's Cabin*.
65. Henry Ward Beecher advocated Darwinian \_\_\_\_\_.
66. Horace Greeley advocated \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, and \_\_\_\_\_.
67. Ralph Waldo Emerson glorified \_\_\_\_\_ and attacked historical \_\_\_\_\_.
68. The “\_\_\_\_\_” was a system to help slaves escape the South and reach the safety of Canada.
69.
  - a. Harriet Tubman helped about \_\_\_\_\_ slaves escape slavery.
  - b. She had a \$\_\_\_\_\_ reward for her capture one time.

2. Compromise of 1850. The new territory acquired from Mexico posed a serious problem. Should the new states formed out of this land be allowed to enter the Union as slave or free? The debate over this issue was one of the greatest and most important in the history of this nation. The aging “Great Compromiser,” Henry Clay, spoke for two solid days in an attempt to settle the issue peaceably. Finally, Clay proposed the Compromise of 1850, which enjoyed the support of not only Southerners but also Stephen A. Douglass of Illinois and Daniel Webster of Massachusetts. Webster declared that he supported the Compromise “not as a Northern man, but as an American.” The Compromise, which everyone hoped would settle the slavery question forever, contained five provisions:

- (1) California would enter the Union as a free state.
- (2) New Mexico and Utah would be allowed to follow *popular sovereignty*<sup>11</sup>
- (3) A new and stricter fugitive slave law would be passed.
- (4) Slave trade in the District of Columbia would be stopped.
- (5) The boundary between Texas and New Mexico would be settled.

3. Kansas-Nebraska Act. The issue of the spread of slavery was stirred up again when Senator Stephen A. Douglas introduced the Kansas-Nebraska Act, which called for the

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<sup>11</sup> popular sovereignty – a doctrine making it the right of the people living in the territory to decide whether or not slavery will be permitted in that territory.

principle of popular sovereignty to be applied to the territories of Kansas and Nebraska. The Kansas-Nebraska Act totally violated the provisions of the Missouri Compromise of 1820, which declared that these states would be “free” states. Immediately, abolitionists and Southerners flocked to Kansas in an attempt to affect the outcome of the electors’ vote. The repeated clashes between these two highly emotional groups brought about a great deal of bloodshed. Kansas was the scene of a mini-civil war. The town of Lawrence, Kansas, was raided by pro-slavery men. In retaliation the fanatical abolitionist John Brown led a band of abolitionists in an attack on a settlement at Pottawatomie Creek. The victims in this raid were hauled from their beds and brutally killed. Incidents like these caused the nation to refer to Kansas as “Bleeding Kansas.”

Most Northerners were horrified by the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act, feeling that both the Whig and Democratic parties had betrayed them. The antislavery leaders formed a new party—the Republican Party. This new party stood in firm opposition to the further spread of slavery and strongly favored the repeal of the Kansas-Nebraska Act. In 1856 the Republican Party nominated the hero of California, John C. Frémont. The Democrats selected a Northerner with Southern sympathies, James Buchanan. Three other third-party movements offered candidates, thus adding to the confusion. Frémont carried eleven Northern states, but Buchanan easily won the election.

4. Dred Scott Decision. In 1857 an extremely significant case was decided in the United States Supreme Court. A black slave, Dred Scott, had been taken by his master into free territory, and they had lived there for a period of time. Then Scott was taken back to Missouri, which was a slave state. The abolitionists, eager to create a test case, sued to have Dred Scott freed on the basis that he had automatically become free due to his temporary residence in a territory where slavery was prohibited. The Supreme Court ruled that a slave was not a citizen but was the personal property of his master. Since Scott had no rights, he could not obtain freedom by being transported to a free state or territory. The Dred Scott Decision was applauded in the South and condemned in the North. It certainly did nothing to soothe emotions.

5. Lincoln-Douglas Debates. The 1858 senatorial race of Illinois was highlighted by a series of seven debates. A little-known Republican, Abraham Lincoln, challenged the incumbent, Democrat Stephen A. Douglas, to debate the issues. The two men toured all over the state of Illinois debating. Lincoln stated that slavery was morally wrong. Although he did not call for immediate abolition, he did stand firmly in opposition to the further spread of slavery into any new territory. Douglas supported the doctrine of popular sovereignty for each and every

territory. Although Douglas won the election by a narrow margin, the Lincoln-Douglas debates placed Lincoln in national prominence.

In 1859 John Brown, already declared an outlaw, struck again. Brown led a band of twenty men in a raid on the government arsenal at Harpers Ferry, Virginia. Brown wanted to seize the federal arms stored there so that he could lead a slave revolt. Brown, oddly enough, places himself in a position from which there was no escape. He was captured, tried as a traitor, and hanged. In the North, John Brown was eulogized as a saint. In the South, he was branded a monster. John Brown was hanged for what an entire nation was about to do.

In 1860 the Republican Party nominated Abraham Lincoln as their candidate for the Presidency. The emotionally charged South saw Lincoln as John Brown reincarnated. The stage was set, emotions were high, and there was no retreat from a war between the states.

70. The five provisions of the Compromise of 1850 were:
- a. \_\_\_\_\_
  - b. \_\_\_\_\_
  - c. \_\_\_\_\_
  - d. \_\_\_\_\_
  - e. \_\_\_\_\_
71. Antislavery leaders formed a new party, the \_\_\_\_\_ Party.
72. Abraham Lincoln challenged Stephen Douglas to debate issues in the Illinois \_\_\_\_\_ race of 1858 of which Douglas won the race.
73. In 1859 John Brown led a band of 20 men in a raid at \_\_\_\_\_, Virginia to seize federal arms so he could lead a \_\_\_\_\_.
74. Brown was captured and \_\_\_\_\_ and the North eulogized him as a \_\_\_\_\_ and was branded a \_\_\_\_\_ in the South.
75. In 1860 the Republican Party nominated \_\_\_\_\_ as their candidates for the Presidency.